



Gendered Vulnerabilities and Policy Gaps: Analyzing Alienation Among Indonesian Migrant Women Workers in Malaysia

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A B S T R A C T

Research on women migrant workers in East Nusa Tenggara intends to explore the dimensions of women's vulnerability that are often placed as disciplinary objects in the context and policies of labor migration. This research is described in the discourse of public policy confrontation with the moment of exploitation of women migrant workers in East Nusa Tenggara in the labor market between Indonesia and Malaysia. Indonesian women migrant workers experience vulnerability from recruitment in the upstream line to the placement location in neighboring Malaysia. Using the analytical tool from the perspective of alienation shows that every public policy scheme is not yet inclusive of the civic dimension. This research is based on the post-positivism paradigm using inductive logical reasoning, which implies the specification of the use of critical methods. The results show that pro-market policy choices marginalize the civic participation of women Indonesian migrant workers in East Nusa Tenggara, while alienating women and their work, women with their employers, and women with their civic identity per se. In summary, the significant number of women workers who are targeted by violence is a sign of moments of objectification, discrimination, and exploitation with gender, class, and even nationality-based identities.

INTRODUCTION

Efforts to handle migrant worker problems are carried out by the government within the framework of prevention and protection. So, the government's responsibility includes regulating laws and policies and governance of labor migration, both in sending and receiving countries. Protective policies for migrant workers in Indonesia only take place procedurally but do not provide fundamental protection for them, especially unprocedural workers. In rural areas, people have an image of happiness based on the penetration of modernist reasons. So, the common view is that as long as you work, even though it drains energy in a foreign country, you will have a prosperous life.

Consumptive motives significantly mobilize the desires and will of people to seek the highest possible income (Utami, 2019). The fastest and most attractive way is to migrate abroad to become a trend. The logic of collecting material from colleagues and relatives is understood as validation of success. Meanwhile, the challenges regarding the competence and skills of the working class in the employment industry are displaced by economic and consumption motives. The expansion of modern culture to remote areas has intensely distorted and restrained the mindset and behavior of residents, and policy choices in the framework of modern economization (utilitarian) can be determined (Dominggus, 2020). Villagers want to provide benefits to their families and villages. Living in the village to empower plantation, agricultural, and livestock products will not be an attraction in the future. The benefits are focused on material benefits for the family (village), starting from sending families to school, building houses, and buying cell phones and private vehicles. Indications are useful as far as they can provide

rupiah value, not maintaining social values, the environment, and livelihoods.

The workers' carriages from villages in East Nusa Tenggara who have been victims of massive violence come from the islands of Timor and Sumba. This phenomenon, if examined according to the data on the placement location of PPMI (Indonesian Migrant Women Workers) from BP3MI (Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Service Center) East Nusa Tenggara, shows that Malaysia is the highest target, namely 2019 as many as 335 in the informal sector; 2020 as many as 184 female migrant workers; 2022 as many as 210 PPMI; and 2023 as many as 1115 PPMI.

The increase in the quantity of human migration abroad has implications for data on women trafficking. Since 2015, approaching 2016, the accumulation has reached 1,667 people (Goma, 2020). Female Migrant Workers who are victims of human trafficking also involve minors who are forced to work as prostitutes, domestic helpers, and even beggars. The dignity of women in their glory has been reduced to mere commodities that sell according to the logic of the free market in an unequal competitive field. This irony, in turn, gave NTT a cynical nickname, namely "Nusa Tinggi Trafficking."

In response to the significance of the high PPMI figures in the neighboring country, it also became the background for President Joko Widodo's visit (8/6/2023) to Malaysia to reciprocate the visit of Malaysian Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim. In the meeting, the two leaders agreed to discuss the issue of protecting Indonesian migrant workers. The fresh air from the meeting is expected to reduce vulnerability and strengthen access to protection. The two heads of state promised to develop a unique bilateral mechanism to resolve the

problems of Indonesian migrant workers. Previously, the government had formed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers in the Domestic Sector in Malaysia, dated April 1, 2022. The signing of the MoU was witnessed by the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, and the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Ismail Sabri bin Yaakob. However, it is not enough to strengthen the protection of Indonesian workers based on fair law enforcement. For example, the story of the release of Mrs. Ambika MA Shan in June 2022, her employer, the late Adelina Sa'u at the Federal Court of Malaysia, shows that the protection of migrant workers within the framework of Human Rights and justice is still vulnerable.

The PPMI vulnerability footage to employer immunity in Malaysia tends to give an assumption of inferiority in Indonesia's diplomatic quality. Meanwhile, based on Malaysian law, employers are found guilty if they employ undocumented workers. However, threats or sanctions seem to be weak. So, as long as the Malaysian government does not want to take firm action against employers who commit violence, the logical consequence is that black market labor is increasingly rampant while strengthening the economization of public policy. As a result, citizenship identity only restrains PPMI like beggars who collect small changes from successful transactions or wait for a percentage of the profits that are left behind. When compared to Dutch masters and ladies, the treatment of employers in Malaysia can be considered more exploitative and alienating towards PPMI victims. This is not only done by employers but also by law enforcement officers who are more protective of their citizens. Regulations in Malaysia that recognize a pardon system make it easy for perpetrators of violence to quickly go free and breathe fresh air, while PPMI victims continue to be haunted by physical and psychological trauma. The proof is, since the *Nirmala Bonat* case in 2004, episodically following cases of violence against tiolence becomes prevalent by attaching the stigma of "Indon-Jenayah" or Indonesians as the source of the problem.

The sad fact is that the Indonesian government's ability to fortify the smuggling of workers across the border is not yet solid. The government (Indonesia-Malaysia) prioritizes profit motives by making workers commodity/goods for sale. PPMI should be a victim of a limited framework of empowerment and human development if in the context of seizing participatory, legal, and emancipatory citizenship. PPMI, in its citizenship efforts, needs to break through primordial barriers that negate inferior women and exclude certain groups from the most egalitarian position (Mohanty, 2021). In the logic of colonial reproduction, elements of epistemic and practical violence are entrenched, so just dialogue in treating citizens based on ethics is crucial (Gadis Arivia, 2022). Even inadequate employment opportunities, unequal public services, and the mode of commodifying workers as foreign exchange heroes are unconstitutional manifestations of the republic's postulate, "citizens are protected and maintained by the state." In addition, the challenges of climate change are intertwined with the identity of violence and antagonistic relations experienced by migrant women workers towards the reality of their lives and livelihoods (Sidun & Gibbons, 2024). Climate change has more detrimental consequences for women than men because of unequal power and women's physical vulnerability. The challenges of climate change and women's and girls' human rights trigger migration patterns and have implications for

injustice abroad. Other factors, namely economic instability, mental and physical health challenges, reproductive injustice, gender-based violence, exploitation, and human trafficking, are moments of hegemony over women's bodies and niches of consciousness.

METHOD

Method as a tool for knowledge systems. The critical method is certainly not a one-time way of working. The method is a logical consequence of the paradigm and a prominent background of research. Paradigm is *res mea* to approach the truth. Dichotomously different from the way religion approaches the truth to find the Creator, then on the contrary, paradigm guides scientists to uncover the facts of truth. The influence of paradigm was pioneered by two paradigmatic scientists, namely Thomas Kuhn, with his work *The Structure of Scientific Revolution* (1962). Another paradigm ghost is Karl Raymond Popper through his work *The Logic of Scientific Discovery* (1959). The latter believes that the way to construct truth develops revolutionary, and science develops in discontinuity.

Table 1. Knowledge Paradigm Comparison

Comparison of Karl Popper and Thomas Kuhn's Paradigms	
Karl Popper	Thomas Khun
Science is merely a product of social agreement	Science is the result of intersubjective agreement
Science is gradual and evolutionary	Science occurs revolutionary
The development of science is continuous	The development of science occurs discontinuously

In the paradigm, there are three main elements that form the basis: ontology, epistemology, methodology, and axiology. Ontology explains the nature of reality, and epistemology is about how researchers know the truth, the limits of knowledge, and how researchers relate to reality. Methodology explains how we gain knowledge. The methodology is what frames the reasoning of knowledge in this study because it shows the procedure of knowledge in sequence. The last two are increasingly concentrated on reality/phenomena. In sequence, this study uses a critical paradigm. The critical paradigm understands ontology as being formed by social, political, cultural, economic, and gender values that have been crystallized historically. The epistemology section shows that the way of knowing knowledge is very dialectical and transactional. So that the methodology is also discursive/dialectical/dialogical. In the critical paradigm, the process of revealing the actual structure aims to form social awareness to change the social life of society. The analytical framework used as the logical consequence of the imposition of the critical paradigm is the perspective of alienation from Karl Heinrich Marx.

Critical research methods present information about the phenomena studied, research informants, and research locations (VanderStoep & Johnston, 2009). This research took place in East Nusa Tenggara, more specifically in each agency/institution that plays a role as a policy maker in the area of employment topics. Researchers present narratives of stakeholder involvement or policymakers, find new, more accurate facts, categorize and classify types, and document the process as the intention of this research is to review with careful reading the

style of hegemonic diplomatic public policy towards Indonesian Migrant Women Workers. Because of the injustice that is familiar with women's daily lives, they, more specifically women and children, are assumed to experience many moments of totalitarian policy repression but pretend to be tolerant. The subjects of the study were determined through purposive sampling. Data collection was obtained from each stakeholder whose data was in the form of narratives. Relevant previous research was used as a scientific source to be used as a description in conducting research. Furthermore, data condensation is carried out, namely the method of dividing, prioritizing, simplifying, interpreting, and transforming information that has been obtained de facto in the form of files and other empirical data.

The critical method section becomes urgent to follow the deconstruction scheme that views reality as a trace or marker so that with great care, researchers always try to recheck every reality that appears. If we borrow Immanuel Kant's dichotomy, namely in seeing reality, it is necessary to be careful to distinguish noumena and phenomena. From here, researchers try to uncover something essential from each fact with the expertise of researchers in the field of public policy. In every demonstration carried out, researchers try to see the government policy scheme and related stakeholders, whether it is responsive-inclusive or just riding on PPMI's awareness in understanding their own reality. In several cases, researchers have also voiced the rights of PPMI in mass demonstrations.

Therefore, observation, advocacy, and defense are important to understand experience. Researchers can understand the symptoms and the world around them because, in fact, there will be no separate reality for researchers. Through experience and empathy, researchers participate in the ranks of the humanitarian struggle. The perspective of involvement intelligence emphasizes two important aspects. First, understanding how the victims of PPMI experience and how they interpret their fate. Second, the best way for researchers to understand PPMI victims is to engage with their life experiences immediately. Through this method, researchers can promote an emancipatory theoretical and practical movement (Djamba & Neuman, 2002). As a result, the stages of the research are as follows:

- a. Data collection, where researchers try to collect and identify empirical data on conflictual relations that place female migrant workers as the losers and oppressed parties against pro-market policies and diplomatic policy repression.
- b. Data reduction, at this stage researchers summarize and select information that is authentic and relevant to the research.
- c. Data validity testing, then the data will be tested again for its truth to map the mode of violence and vulnerability of female migrant workers.
- d. Data testing using triangulation techniques, Data comparison involves several approaches to ensure the validity and reliability of research findings. First, observation data are compared with in-depth interview data by examining how observed conditions align with the informants' responses during interviews. Second, data from written documents are compared with interview results to assess the consistency and support between policy documents and the information provided by informants. Finally, interview data from various informants are cross-checked, allowing researchers to identify commonalities or

discrepancies among responses on the same topic, thereby enhancing the depth and accuracy of the analysis.

- e. Data analysis: Researchers analyze the vulnerability position of Indonesian female migrant workers both in line with and at the level of absorption in the labor market industry based on the alienation analysis knife, according to Karl Marx, drawing conclusions and finally obtained an alternative for the formulation and implementation process in the policy of protecting Indonesian female migrant workers.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Double Alienation, Total Separation

Workers, women, and migrants represent the image of conquest by a superior identity the Aristotelian logic of binary and, therefore, tend to be excluded in the layers of the economic-political institutions of patrimonial society (Rihi Ga, 2022). Karl Heinrich Marx (when in Paris, in the latter half of October 1843, transformed from a radical liberal to a communist socialist) constituted workers not as subjects but as commodities (labor power can appear upon the market as a commodity, only if, and so far as, its possessor, the individual whose labor-power it is, offers it for sale, or sells it, as a commodity). Workers are capitalized as products conditioned to satisfy human consumer needs (Marx, 1887). This moment places workers oppressed, separated, and alienated either by physical or mental aspects (by labor-power or capacity for labor is to be understood as the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in human beings). Alienation in the sociality of workers is in the capitalist economic system. Alienation at work is the foundation or trigger of various alienations. Workers should, in the act of work, make themselves real or present (being) through work. In work, humans become free in the universality of their products. Workers find themselves in the results of their work. Therefore, they become "real and meaningful." As a result, workers build social relationships with others because the results of their work are appreciated and consumed by others.

Migrant women workers should do something to try to establish their identity, but work is no longer enjoyable, which causes problems (Wetangterah, 2023). The first problem is that workers are alienated from their work (products/services). Because they are alienated from their work, workers no longer realize their ethos, pathos, and logos. This is the second problem, and the third is when workers exploit and exploit themselves to pursue teleological goals, meaning to pursue material wages alone, not the opposite of deontological goals, namely as a "categorical imperative," an unconditional command that mandates something not because of external goals but original inner preferences (Kant, 1785). If not, this situation causes humans to deny ethical-moral obligations.

Deontological ethics is distinctive from teleology, namely in the concept of utilitarianism, with its leading exponent, Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832), declaring the principle of utility as a constant of work, as well as a tool to articulate Adam Smith's idea (Wealth of Nations) namely how material progress brings happiness. His postulate the greatest happiness for the most significant number is the basis of workers' actions (Goldworth, 1992). However, here Marx instead sees Bentham as a factor in the transaction of buying and selling labor power in addition to freedom, equality, and assets (property) (Freedom, because both buyer and seller of a commodity, say of labor-power, are constrained only by their own free will. Equality is because each enters into a relationship with the other, as with a simple owner

of commodities, and they exchange equivalents for equivalents. Property, because each disposes only of what is his own. Moreover, Bentham, because each looks only to himself.). Then Marx continued to criticize him, "I should call Mr. Jeremy Bentham a genius in the way of bourgeois stupidity."

Women, sadly, experience all moments of oppression if attributed to various marginal identities (Susanti et al., 2020), unskilled labor, unprocedural, undocumented, and underage labor. So, women become the most unfortunate social class, namely the proletariat class. All of their existence and life experiences are uprooted from the style of life that should be more emancipatory, egalitarian, and based on gender equity.

Because women's position is vulnerable to protection from a human rights perspective, they position themselves quickly to be conquered, oppressed, and disciplined (March et al., 1999). Migrant women workers should experience double alienation (Prakash et al., 2022). First, because of the status of migrant workers in situations (e.g., unskilled, unprocedural, undocumented, underage) per se; second, biologically, women in their gender are often negated as the weak and irrational party.

Women are uprooted from their living space and livelihoods due to various factors, one of which is driven by the flow of migration in market logic. It becomes increasingly vulnerable when women in their status as migrant workers are surrounded by prejudices about how material benefits can be generated for themselves, their families, and their employers. At this time, women have been separated, the reason being that migrant women workers have been separated from their essence. Work activities should be a means for humans to construct their reality freely (working without being tied to direct needs) and universally (using various methods for the same purpose). Women are separated from their families because work measures happiness in material things, and they are separated from employers who require domination. Women are also separated from their work tools (for example, cooking and washing with tools/technology).

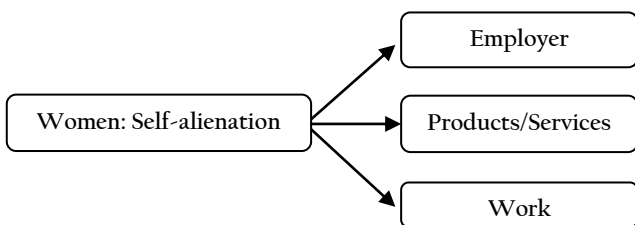


Figure 1. Moments of Alienation of Indonesian Migrant Women Workers

The rationale of development and growth becomes the determining ideology and permeates the social life of women in the village (Nakayama et al., 2019). The discourse of developmentism determines how society perceives the reality of its life (Djouidi et al., 2016). Life can have meaning (utility) if and only if it can benefit many people the most. All needs are focused on everything consumptive. The benefits of life are the ability to renovate or build a house, buy a cell phone, finance educational needs, buy a vehicle, and so on. Parallel to the rationale of growth and development, most female migrant workers see the benefits of life in the symptoms and even provide themselves as commodities in an alienating and separative labor market (Caruso et al., 2016; Susan Solomon et al., 2021).

Diplomatic Regime Deception as Policy Repression

Efforts to handle migrant worker problems are carried out by the government within the framework of prevention (mitigation) and protection (protection). So, the regime's responsibility includes regulating laws and policies and governance of labor migration, both in sending and receiving countries (Monique & Puspamawarni, 2020). Unfortunately, the phenomenon of poor diplomatic quality and the minimal role of various state institutions in protecting citizens is caused by corruption, rhetorical policies, corruption, and the dominance of the expansion of the labor market (Gerrard, 2016). During President Joko Widodo's visit (8/6/2023) to the neighboring country to return the visit of Malaysian Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim, he also discussed the issue of protecting Indonesian migrant workers. Malaysia is a country that should focus or be concerned about empowering professional feminist professions (Baird, 2017). The fresh air from the meeting is expected to reduce vulnerability and strengthen access to protection. The two leaders also agreed to develop a unique bilateral mechanism to resolve the problems of Indonesian migrant workers. Referring to the intention of the two countries' solution, the Indonesian and Malaysian governments have formed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers in the Domestic Sector in Malaysia, dated April 1, 2022. The signing of the MoU was witnessed by the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, and the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Ismail Sabri bin Yaakob.

Sadly, cases of violence resulting in disabled victims and even death experienced by NTT Women Migrant Workers in Malaysia show how weak Indonesia's international geopolitical profile is in the Southeast Asia region. The release of Mrs. Ambika MA Shan in June 2022, her employer, the late Adelina Sa'u - a victim of physical torture from TTS with complications of organ failure who even had to fight over food with her employer's pet dog until she died in 2018 - at the Federal Court of Malaysia (equivalent to the Supreme Court in Indonesia) has hurt the conscience of the Indonesian people, especially East Nusa Tenggara (NTT).

It is as if Indonesia is less able to protect its citizens against Human Rights (HAM) and justice. The Malaysian Panel of Judges lightly argued that Mrs. Ambika MA Shan was elderly and was, therefore, acquitted. Malaysia seemed to have reneged on the memorandum of understanding (MoU) on the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers in the Domestic Sector in Malaysia dated April 1, 2022, through the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo, and the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Ismail Sabri bin Yaakob. The two parties who had agreed in April suddenly changed in June to Malaysia, which reneged, and Indonesia, which was noisy. The Indonesian government should have been offended by Malaysia's attitude, which clearly wanted to protect its citizens as perpetrators of crimes, while Indonesia was unable to protect its citizens as victims of violence.

President Joko Widodo, some time ago, in his luxury, brought a peace proposal to Russia and Ukraine, but he did not know that his citizens were victims of international humanitarian violence. Indonesia wants to emphasize its participation in order and peace in Europe, so what about at the Asian level? We are being belittled. Postpone talking about European peace before the safety and justice for the nation's children are protected. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reactively argued that the number of victims was not hundreds but only 25 people (in detention in Sabah, Malaysia).

Our point is not a lot or a little, but once the life of an Indonesian citizen (WNI) is sacrificed, the country is failing to protect its citizens. Death is not a matter of statistics but ethics. Isn't human life very valuable?

The problem is increasingly multiplying into a multi-dimensional vulnerability due to the penetration of capitalism in the international labor market. Unequal competition is eradicating humanity as the principal capital of democratic trade. The Kompas ID daily edition (31/5/2023) carried the headline "Two Bodies of Migrant Workers Arrive in Indonesia Every Day," revealing the artifact of migrant worker vulnerability. The repatriation of the bodies of Indonesian migrant workers from the Middle East and Asia as of 2020 until May 25, 2023, reached 90 percent or 1,937 people (2 people per day). In NTT, based on data from BP3MI from January to June 17, 2024, there were 51 bodies. Sadly, the majority of these were female migrant workers and, of course, departed unprocedurally. This phenomenon of feminization of migration strengthens the dimension of vulnerability of victims who work as domestic helpers, caregivers, and sex workers.

Based on data from the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI) in the period 2016-2019, migrant workers increased by around 1.1 percent each year. Migration of labor from around hundreds of thousands of Indonesians migrated abroad every year until finally, the COVID-19 pandemic hit; in 2020, the number of migrant workers became 113,436 people, and 72,624 in 2021. Furthermore, in 2022, the number of workers rose again to 200,761. However, there were 5.4 million people who left unofficially (2007-2017) who were vulnerable to being exploited physically, psychologically, working hours, wages, sexually, etc. They were trapped in human trafficking practices organized by syndicates and mafias whose work systems were elegant and layered. Labor migration in Indonesia took place independently through strong cultural ties with Malaysia (Ford et al., 2012). As seen from the most significant preference of Indonesian migrant workers to work in Malaysia, reaching around 1.67 million people and contributing remittances of around 2.5 billion US dollars (2022). The problems that emerge are becoming more complex as the boundaries of mobility between countries become thinner, and the securitization of borders increases.

Diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Malaysia have ups and downs. The two countries that are geographically neighboring and have similar socio-cultural backgrounds do need to unravel their historical threads. However, there is an experience of rivalry in the sports sector, the borders of the Malacca Strait and the Sulawesi Sea, the struggle for the islands of Sipadan and Ligitan, and the claims of Indonesian versus Malaysian batik. Do not let it trigger violations of migrant workers' rights based on community, culture, nation, and civilization. The illusion of conflict in the past can trigger an attitude of intolerance towards female migrant workers in Malaysia. The Malaysian government has chosen to employ a liberal policy of cutting migration controls, resulting in a reduction in the role of the agency (Li, 2019). Moreover, the state, through its demagogue government that failed to enforce regulations/policies to protect female migrant workers, has violated the public trust, aka "discriminating against the people."

Contemporary Political-Market Reasoning

Cash logic and the dominance of market expansion logic are the root causes of migration and exploitation (Septia et al.,

2016). Workers' self-esteem is sold to the market even though workers are human beings who, in this republic, are given the jargon of free humans. The impact of the expansion of the labor market has uprooted subsistence communities moving towards a cash economy. The state's steps to increase the income of people with low incomes are through remittances; the dominant economic logic says that workers are contributors of foreign exchange, so they are often sent abroad with fake documents, such as the case of Nirmala Bonat. The shift of the state in the neoliberal era (free market, the minimal state) is because the state is unable to become an institutional shield for migrant workers, including women and children. From a macroeconomic perspective, in the utilitarian perspective frame, the sending of female migrant workers is bypassed because it is a consequence of increasing state income with a heavy flow of remittances. This is an antagonistic element to the concept of inclusive citizenship (Syaiful, 2013). The condition that dims the initial idea of the founding of the republic, namely, the poor and neglected children are cared for by the state.

There are two efforts in the context of determining our citizenship identity, first, deconstructing the discourse of citizenship, and second is constructing a new identity of citizenship. The usual paradox in the discourse of liberal citizenship emphasizes that citizens will only be recorded administratively properly during the general election (election), after which citizens are left to walk on their own, especially the group of migrant women workers who are increasingly vulnerable to exclusion.

Indonesia follows the classic pattern of capitalist development, namely the increasing upper-class group, with prosperity slowly trickling down to the layer of the wealth of small-class citizens, so the wealth of a handful of people in the upper class increasingly moves to leave other citizens behind. Finally, there is no nap, no free Saturday night to tolerate the market logic that sacrifices migrant women workers throughout the Republic of Indonesia and in the beloved land of Flobamorata (Flores, Sumba Timor, Rote, Alor, and Lembata). Market power cannot be considered neutral because it represents a destructive element of policies that are pro-free labor market liberalization. The East Nusa Tenggara government is currently in an emergency for victims of international violence. Due to this reality, various elements of civil society have consolidated themselves in the NTT Humanitarian Solidarity Network, holding a thousand candles for the international anti-violence movement in the yard of the NTT Governor's office on Saturday, July 2, 2022. The NTT community showed sympathy, empathy, and solidarity towards the victims while at the same time arousing the conscience of the NTT Governor, Victor Laiskodat (through the 9-point statement of the alliance's position) to no longer allow NTT children to return home in a state of trauma, disability, or even death. The involvement of students, Non-Governmental Organizations, religious leaders, and the public in the movement was significant.

The moratorium policy on the departure of NTT migrant workers abroad must be accompanied by the preparation of extensive employment opportunities (Pülzl & Treib, 2017). The NTT community decided to migrate abroad because they felt like lackeys whose living space had been seized by tycoons, their land exploited, and their employment dominated. The government has not maximally empowered the community's skills and abilities to realize legal, participatory, and

emancipatory citizenship dimensions (Ernanda, 2019). If the state's responsibility to protect citizens at the national level is fulfilled, the next step is to improve support for safe migration at the international level in accordance with the UN Convention No. 1990 concerning the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families which has been ratified to produce Law No. 18 of 2017 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. As a result, the realization of migrant worker protection includes pre-migration-post migration situations that form end-to-end protection, the ability to avoid exploitation while in-country and to maximize the financial returns of their time overseas, or end-to-end protection at home and abroad. All workers have their own fates, including how they die. However, each country is responsible for the vulnerability of workers, namely through "Pro Bono Publico" policies.

CONCLUSION

A potent recipe for deconstructing the status of our citizens is through the reconstruction of the citizenship identity of female migrant workers who must receive protection as mandated by the constitution. The state tends to call citizens people who have an ID card (KTP), but unfortunately, many female migrant workers go abroad without an identity. The government needs a precise strategy and is sensitive to the deep-rooted triggers of migration, namely the welfare dimension of rural communities. People are tempted to work abroad because they are hit by poverty and unemployment. From a policy perspective, improvements can be made by consolidating the country's human and natural resources so that they can later make a real contribution to the 2030 Demographic Bonus and 2045 Golden Indonesia. It is sad to know that 68 percent of women are involved in labor migration. As female migrant workers, they are vulnerable to being objectified, discriminated against, and exploited by targeting gender, class, and even citizenship. Preparation of a competitive and professional workforce begins with mitigating female victims because, in turn, they will give birth to a critical generation that does not repeat the vicious cycle of human trafficking practices.

The resolution of protection for Indonesian female migrant workers needs to be initiated from the upstream with precise problem mapping and continued with the opening of inclusive employment opportunities at home and abroad. Maximizing the role of the regime includes regulations on laws, policies, and governance of labor migration, both from sending and receiving countries. However, the limitation of this study is the limitation in dismantling the power relations between actors who handle female migrant workers in all lines.

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