

Transnational Social Movement for the Protection of Migrant Workers in Southeast Asia



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ASEAN(東南アジア諸国連合)の域内では国境を越えた出稼ぎ労働者の往来が急増している。そうした労働者の地位や権利を守るため、市民レベルの人権団体も国境を越えて連携している。その現状と課題を探った。

Abstract

The trend of international migration in ASEAN has significantly increased in the last two decades. The movement of migrants has brought about diverse social and economic impacts, including challenges in protecting labor rights and increased cooperation among ASEAN countries to address migration issues. The limited involvement of these states provides space for civil society to participate in cross-border interactions. As a result, various activism initiatives have emerged, focusing on the protection of migrant workers in Southeast Asia, such as the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM), Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law, and Development (APWLD), Coordination of Action Research on AIDS and Mobility (CARAM) Asia, International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF), and Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA). This research examines how these organizations work for the migrant labor protection movement in Southeast Asia. The research employs qualitative methods, gathering data through interviews and literature reviews. The findings showed that they have distinct identities and areas of focus, they share common goals of advocating for the rights of marginalized populations, promoting social justice, and engaging in policy advocacy to effect positive change. Their strategies of advocacy include grassroots mobilization, policy engagement, awareness-raising campaigns, and collaboration with stakeholders at various levels to advance their respective agendas.

Keywords

transnational social movement, Southeast Asia, migrant workers, advocacy strategy

Introduction

The transnational social movement for the protection of migrant workers in Southeast Asia is important as the ASEAN state members give their limited involvement regarding the protection of the migrant workers. Migrant workers in Southeast Asia face various challenges, including precarious work conditions, failed migration attempts, and the separation of families due to labor migration. Scholars have highlighted the importance of transnational strategies in addressing these challenges, emphasizing the need for international conventions, civil society actions, and social protection initiatives to safeguard the rights and well-being of migrant workers

(1–3).

Moreover, the transnational nature of labor migration in Southeast Asia necessitates a broader perspective that goes beyond national boundaries. Studies have shown that migrant workers often navigate resources across borders to access social protection and support, highlighting the significance of transnational approaches in understanding and addressing their needs (4,5). Additionally, the emergence of a global migrant rights movement underscores the importance of solidarity and activism in advocating for the rights of migrant workers across different regions (2,3,6).

Furthermore, the protection of migrant workers in

Southeast Asia is intertwined with issues of gender, social inequality, and welfare. Scholars have emphasized the gendered aspects of labor migration, particularly the vulnerabilities faced by female migrant workers, and the need for gender-sensitive policies and initiatives to protect their rights (6,7). Additionally, the close linkage between transnational mobility and social inequality underscores the importance of addressing structural issues that perpetuate disparities among migrant workers (8).

From the brief exposition above, it can be seen that the role of states in protecting migrant workers is still minimal. The minimal role of states in protecting the rights of domestic migrant workers provides space for non-state actors to participate in these cross-border interactions.

This has led to various activism efforts by civil society such as those in Southeast Asia focusing on protecting migrant workers, for instance, Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM); Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law, and Development (APWLD); CARAM Asia; International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF); Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA). This research will examine how these organizations work for the migrant labor protection movement in Southeast Asia.

The universality of human rights is very pronounced in this phenomenon. Universalism is evident when citizenship is not a barrier in the application of human rights values. Secondly, studies on social movements in the labor context have been conducted extensively, but few have addressed cross-border labor protection movements. This paper attempts to offer ideas about rooted cosmopolitanism in transnational movements. While studies of movements still largely focus on old and new social movements, this study combines ideas of transnationalism with the concept of citizenship in the era of globalization. From the above review, the author raises this research with the title "Transnational Social Movement for the Protection of Migrant Workers in Southeast Asia."

Research Method

This research employs a qualitative approach, specifically focusing on case study analysis. Case study analysis allows for an in-depth exploration of specific cases or instances related to the transnational social movement for the protection of migrant workers in Southeast Asia. By examining the advocacy efforts of key organizations such as Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM), Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law, and Development (APWLD), CARAM Asia, International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF), and Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA), the study aims to understand the strategies, challenges, and impacts of transnational activism in promoting the rights and welfare of migrant workers in the region.

Data Collection Techniques; 1) Thorough review of relevant documents, including reports, publications, campaign materials, and organizational documents, produced by APMM, APWLD, CARAM Asia, IDWF, and MFA. This will provide insights into the advocacy initiatives, approaches, and achievements of these organizations in the field of migrant workers' rights. 2) Conduct semi-structured interviews with key informants, including representatives, members, or staff of APMM, APWLD, CARAM Asia, IDWF, and MFA. These interviews will allow for a deeper understanding of the organizations' advocacy strategies, challenges faced, and perceived impacts on migrant workers' rights in Southeast Asia.

This research uses thematic analysis and triangulation. The author analyze the data collected from document review, interviews, and observations to identify recurring themes, patterns, and key findings related to the advocacy efforts of APMM, APWLD, CARAM Asia, IDWF, and MFA. Thematic analysis will help in organizing and interpreting the qualitative data to address the research objectives effectively. Then, we triangulate data from multiple sources, such as document reviews, interviews, and observations, to ensure the reliability and validity of the findings. Triangulation will enhance the robustness of the research findings by corroborating evidence from different perspectives and sources within the study.

Discussion

1. Labor Migration in ASEAN

At the 12th Summit meeting in Cebu in January 2007, ASEAN made a significant decision to endorse the Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers. This commitment was further reinforced in the ASEAN Community Roadmap 2009-2015, leading to the establishment of the ASEAN Committee on Migrant Workers (ACMW) to formulate the necessary implementation strategies (9). These actions were pivotal in the broader context of ASEAN's journey towards building a more integrated community, which commenced with regional agreements and the drafting of the ASEAN Charter as responses to the escalating processes of globalization and democratization in the region since the mid-1980s.

While ASEAN has made strides in institutionalizing its frameworks, the core principles of sovereignty, non-interference, and consensus continue to be paramount within the organization (9). This emphasis on state-centric approaches has, however, resulted in ASEAN being less agile in addressing the populace's needs across its member nations. Despite comprehensive regional agreements on trade and economic liberalization, advancements in areas such as human rights, labor, and migration, which are deemed sensitive by ASEAN Member States, have been sluggish due to strong public sentiments surrounding these issues within the member countries (9).

ASEAN has enormous political and economic diversity among its Member States. The unemployment rate in Thailand will only be 0.88% in 2023, while in Indonesia it will reach 5.86% (10,11). The economic and social landscape within ASEAN is marked by significant diversity among its Member States, as evidenced by varying unemployment rates and per capita income disparities (9). These disparities have fueled a notable surge in labor migration, particularly intra-ASEAN migration, since the mid-1990s. Intra-ASEAN migration dominates the total migration flows, with over 4 million intra-ASEAN migrants, and 60% of total in-migration originating from within the region. Singapore and Malaysia stand out as the primary recipients of

intra-ASEAN migrants, underscoring the critical role of labor migration in addressing economic and social inequalities within ASEAN (9).

In the past few decades, international labor movements have become a significant factor in shaping the social and economic conditions in Asia. In the 1980s, international labor movements in Asia were significantly influenced by the rapid economic growth in the ASEAN region, attracting migrant workers from neighboring countries (12). The number of intra-ASEAN migrants has experienced a significant increase since 1990. According to, there has been a continuous rise in intra-ASEAN migrants from 20.3% to 34.6% over the past three decades (13). The ASEAN region has witnessed a greater volume of movement of people, with intra-regional labor mobility more than quadrupling since 1980 to reach 6.9 million in 2015 (14).

The increase in the number of intra-ASEAN migrants is due to differences in economic development levels and labor needs in each country. This has significantly contributed to labor mobility in ASEAN. The movement of migrants has had diverse social and economic impacts, including issues in protecting labor rights and increasing cooperation among ASEAN countries in addressing migration issues.

The trend of labor migration to major cities in Asia is changing. Now, more workers are migrating abroad for higher incomes. According to the UN, in the decade leading up to 2016, around 26 million workers in Asia were involved in international migration, a number higher than any other region in the world. Asian countries also dominate in receiving remittances from migrant workers. Even in 2018, developing countries received remittances totaling \$529 billion, three times the amount of official foreign aid received. In this regard, transnational labor migration (TLM) is defined as the mobility of workers associated with working outside their home country, to send money back to their hometowns. This is different from rural-urban migration, which is only seasonal. Although TLM carries higher risks, it generates higher income and remittance transfers. The previous research indicates that South-South TLM tends to attract people from poorer economic

backgrounds, especially from rural areas. Additionally, Research by Parreñas (2005) and Schmalzbauer (2004) underscores the importance of gendered patterns of transnational family labor in understanding the broader effects of migration on families and households (15,16). Gender norms also play a crucial role in influencing participation in agriculture and remittance patterns of migrants, as evidenced by (17). Moreover, Carr (2008) highlights that migration tends to be gender-specific, with intra-household hierarchies and gendered division of labor influencing migration trends (18).

For example, Malaysia, a country in Southeast Asia, has a high dependency rate on the availability of migrant workers, unfortunately not matched with legally binding protection. The Malaysian government has not specifically regulated foreign workers, especially those working in the domestic sector. All workers in Malaysia, both domestic and foreign, are only governed by valid employment contracts between the employer and the employee (19). Domestic migrant workers in Malaysia are bound by the immigration regulations of Malaysia as foreign nationals residing in Malaysia for a certain period (19).

Female migrants are a highly vulnerable group to exploitation, especially forced labor and physical, mental, and sexual violence. They often work in the informal and vulnerable sectors of domestic work, hospitality, and the sex industry (20–22). Since 2002, more than 85 percent of identified human trafficking victims from Indonesia, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and the Philippines have been women (23). This is evidence that female migrants in certain sub-regions require greater protection and assistance.

Transnational activism emerges as a response to global phenomena such as labor migration. The increased activity of labor migration in the past two decades has brought human rights issues (HR) into more frequent discussions. HR protection has become a global issue specifically concerning migrant workers.

From the perspective of international legal protection, the position of migrant domestic workers is guaranteed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR); Convention on the Elimination of All Forms

of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW); and conventions of the International Labor Organization (ILO). ILO conventions include the Forced Labour Convention (No. 29), Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182), and Domestic Workers Convention (No. 189). Additionally, there is the UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families addressing the rights of migrant workers.

Debates often arise when universal and regional values intersect, as seen in ASEAN. ASEAN member states are often hesitant to sign international commitments due to their emphasis on "Asian values." According to Acharya (2004) (24), transnational norms can be disseminated through localization in ASEAN, affecting their acceptability. ASEAN is better able to localize security norms through the adoption of "flexible engagement," but not so with human rights norms. ASEAN's challenge in addressing migration policy is to adapt to international norms and unite to solve common problems in addressing the protection of migrant workers. How ASEAN responds to these challenges will affect the shape of transnational social movement advocacy.

2. *Rooted Cosmopolitanism*

Transnational activism, as defined by Sidney Tarrow, involves the complex processes through which activists establish connections between local issues and global networks, international institutions, and processes (25). Tarrow emphasizes the diffusion of solidarity networks across borders, such as the spread of the Zapatista network from Chiapas to North America (26). This diffusion highlights the interconnectedness of local movements with broader transnational activism.

Tarrow's work underscores the importance of framing strategies in transnational activism. For example, the Palestine solidarity movement effectively links local concerns with global issues like indigenous rights and neoliberal imperialism to gain support on a global scale (27). This approach demonstrates how global framing can mobilize social solidarity and create a cohesive global protest movement in support of local conflicts.

Furthermore, Tarrow's concept of "rooted cosmopolitans" emphasizes the role of first-generation migrants

who maintain ties to their homelands while engaging in transnational activism, leveraging their dual networks for effective advocacy (28). Tarrow also highlights the influence of national contexts on transnational activism, noting that states continue to wield significant power in shaping policy areas (29).

In addressing the complexities of transnational coalitions for social change, Tarrow takes a nuanced approach, recognizing the challenges inherent in creating and sustaining such alliances (30) (Schmitz, 2007). His research emphasizes the importance of understanding the diverse forms of transnational activism, rejecting the idea of a singular model and acknowledging the variety of approaches within this field (31).

In his book “The New Transnational Activism,” Sidney Tarrow explains the process of transforming positions within ideas and cross-border movements rooted in locality. As a transformative agenda, Tarrow emphasizes that transnational activism can turn actors in domestic protests into transnational movement actors while still rooted in the historical context and culture of cross-border movements.

This transformation can act as a bridge in social movements from the local level to the global level through 3 sets of processes (32). First, the domestic ground level consists of global framing and internalization in the domestic realm with domestic issues as its focus. The second level is the “transition process,” where there are two activities: diffusion and scale shift. This transition process can occur at both the local and international levels with issues being more varied across different levels. The last level is the international level, where there is externalization and transnational coalition processes (32). These six sequences can run separately or in combination. This concept helps the author to illustrate transnational activism carried out by four CSOs in Malaysia, both individually and collectively, in advocating for the rights of domestic migrant workers.

Three premises emphasized by Tarrow about transnational activism are that transnational activism has a historical process; it is a reflection of globalization; and it is shaped by changes in structural opportunities in international politics. In line with Tarrow’s premises,

Ilcan and Lacey (2013) also state that historical, social, and political conditions are important considerations in influencing the form of transnational activism (33). Transnational activism is rooted in locality and falls within the conditions of a cosmopolitan world. Meanwhile, globalization in transnational activism provides incentives in the form of internationalization processes that offer frameworks and sets of focal points and structures for international activists (32). Finally, changes in the structure of international politics contribute to two mechanisms of the emergence of transnational activism: diffusion and mobilization.

The spirit of cosmopolitanism is reflected in the vision and mission of these organizations. Some cosmopolitan principles include equality and dignity, active agency, personal responsibility and openness, consent, collective policy-making, inclusivity, crime prevention, and sustainability. These eight principles are further classified into three aspects: those related to universal cosmopolitan morals, inclusivity, and thirdly, the conservation of resources sustainably. These cosmopolitan principles are inseparable from Tarrow’s argument about the cosmopolitan roots in transnational activism. The foundation of these organizational movements is grounded in the universal spirit of cosmopolitanism. All five organizations depart from the principles of human dignity, inclusivity, and sustainability.

Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM), Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law, and Development (APWLD), CARAM Asia, International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF), and Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA) all have a strong commitment to human rights and social justice, and they advocate for the rights of marginalized communities in the Asia Pacific region.

The concept of cosmopolitanism permeates through the missions and activities of key organizations such as Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM), Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law, and Development (APWLD), CARAM Asia, International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF), and Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA), as they champion the rights and welfare of migrant workers across the Southeast Asian region. APMM stands at the forefront, specifically focusing on defending

the rights of women migrant workers, embodying the cosmopolitan principle of equality and dignity for all individuals regardless of their background or nationality. APWLD, as a regional network dedicated to women's rights advocacy, embodies the cosmopolitan ideal through its promotion of gender equality and empowerment on a regional and international scale, emphasizing inclusivity and solidarity among women across borders.

Similarly, CARAM Asia's commitment to human rights in the Asia Pacific region, particularly for women, children, and migrants, reflects the cosmopolitan values of universal human dignity and protection, transcending national boundaries in its pursuit of justice and equality. IDWF, as a global organization representing domestic and household workers, embraces a cosmopolitan ethos by advocating for the rights and recognition of marginalized workers across diverse cultural and national contexts, fostering a sense of global solidarity and cooperation.

Finally, MFA, a regional network focused on migrants' rights issues, epitomizes cosmopolitanism through its collaborative efforts across the Asia Pacific, uniting diverse organizations and individuals in the common cause of advocating for the rights and well-being of migrants, regardless of their national origins or backgrounds. In essence, these organizations exemplify the cosmopolitan ideal by advocating for the rights and dignity of all individuals, irrespective of their nationality, ethnicity, or social status, and by fostering solidarity and cooperation across borders in the pursuit of social justice and human rights for migrant workers in Southeast Asia and beyond.

The spirit of rooted cosmopolitanism evident in APMM, APWLD, CARAM Asia, IDWF, and MFA can be attributed to a combination of historical, social, and ideological factors, including the recognition of shared experiences, the impact of globalization and transnationalism, an intersectional approach to advocacy, and a commitment to grassroots engagement and community empowerment. These organizations embody the cosmopolitan ideal by advocating for the rights and dignity of all individuals, fostering solidarity and cooperation across borders, and recognizing the interconnectedness

of migrant workers' rights issues on a global scale.

3. Advocacy Strategy

The Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM) is a registered non-profit limited company with charitable status in Hong Kong, founded in 1984. It is a regional research, advocacy, and movement-building organization for the Asia Pacific and Middle East (APME) regions. APMM's spirit of human rights is reflected in its mission to serve those who migrate to other countries in search of a better life, advocating for the advancement of migrants' rights and welfare.

APMM's aim and agenda include supporting grassroots migrant organizations in 13 countries and areas, catalyzing 3 global alliances, and promoting advocacy, campaigns, education, and research. They also engage in networking, organizing, and cooperation to empower migrants and their movement-building.

APMM's identity is centered around its commitment to serving migrants and supporting their rights and welfare. It has contributed to the establishment of grassroots migrant formations in various countries and regions, including Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Qatar. APMM also works closely with organizations in major sending countries like Indonesia, Philippines, Bangladesh, and Vietnam, as well as other institutions and grassroots organizations outside of the Asia Pacific region.

APMM advocates for migrants' rights and welfare through various means, including advocacy, campaigns, education, research, networking, organizing, and cooperation. They are currently the secretariat of the International Migrants Alliance, AMMORE (Action Network for Marriage Migrants Rights and Empowerment), and the United for Foreign Domestic Workers Rights (UFDWR).

The Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD) is a regional, women's rights network that focuses on initiating and promoting regional and international advocacy on women's rights and development. The organization's spirit of human rights is reflected in its mission to empower women in

the region to use law as an instrument of change for equality, justice, peace, and Development Justice.

APWLD's aim and agenda include advocating for the advancement of women's rights and development, as well as promoting feminist perspectives and practices in law and development. They also engage in networking, organizing, and cooperation to empower women and support their rights and welfare.

APWLD's identity is centered around its commitment to women's rights and development. The organization has a long history of advocacy, activism, and movements to advance women's human rights and Development Justice in the Asia Pacific region. APWLD has over 250 members in Asia and the Pacific, and they work closely with various organizations and institutions to support women's rights and development.

APWLD advocates for women's rights and development through various means, including advocacy, campaigns, education, research, networking, organizing, and cooperation. They are involved in a range of initiatives, such as promoting feminist food sovereignty and supporting Pacific feminist legal theory and practice. APWLD also engages in international and regional advocacy on women's rights and development, and they are a member of the ESCR-Net, a global network of civil society organizations advocating for economic, social, and cultural rights.

CARAM Asia is a regional human rights organization that focuses on the rights of women, children, and migrants in the Asia Pacific region. The organization's spirit of human rights is reflected in its mission to promote and protect the rights of marginalized communities, particularly women, children, and migrants.

CARAM Asia's aim and agenda include advocating for the advancement of women's, children's, and migrants' rights, as well as promoting gender equality and social justice in the region. They also engage in networking, organizing, and cooperation to empower these groups and support their rights and welfare.

CARAM Asia's identity is centered around its commitment to human rights and social justice. The organization has a long history of advocacy, activism, and movements to advance the rights of women, children,

and migrants in the Asia Pacific region. CARAM Asia is involved in a range of initiatives, such as promoting gender equality and supporting the rights of migrants, particularly women and children.

CARAM Asia advocates for human rights and social justice through various means, including advocacy, campaigns, education, research, networking, organizing, and cooperation. They are involved in international and regional advocacy on women's, children's, and migrants' rights, and they work closely with various organizations and institutions to support these rights and welfare. CARAM Asia is a member of the Asia Pacific Alliance for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR), which is a network of civil society organizations that aims to advance SRHR in the region.

The International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF) is a membership-based global organization that represents domestic and household workers. The IDWF believes that domestic work is work and all domestic and household workers deserve the same rights as all other workers. Their spirit of human rights is reflected in their mission to build a strong, democratic, and united domestic/household workers' global organization to protect and advance domestic workers' rights everywhere.

IDWF's aim and agenda include advocating for the advancement of domestic workers' rights, promoting gender equality, and supporting the rights of migrant and refugee domestic workers. They engage in both advocacy and research efforts to organize domestic workers around the globe, documenting violence and exploitation of domestic workers, and bringing attention to their struggles.

IDWF's identity is centered around its commitment to domestic workers' rights and social justice. The organization has a long history of advocacy, activism, and movements to advance the rights of domestic workers, particularly women and children[2]. IDWF is involved in international and regional advocacy on domestic workers' rights, and they work closely with various organizations and institutions to support these rights and welfare.

IDWF advocates for human rights and social justice through various means, including advocacy, campaigns,

education, research, networking, organizing, and cooperation. They are involved in initiatives such as promoting gender equality and supporting the rights of migrant and refugee domestic workers. IDWF is a member of the Asia Pacific Alliance for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, which is a network of civil society organizations that aims to advance SRHR in the region.

Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA) is a regional network of non-government organizations (NGOs), associations, and trade unions of migrant workers, as well as individual advocates in Asia. They are committed to protecting and promoting the rights and welfare of migrant workers, guided by a vision of an alternative world system based on respect for human rights and dignity, social justice, and gender equity.

MFA's spirit of human rights is reflected in their mission to advocate for social justice for migrant workers and their families. Their aim and agenda include advocacy, campaigns, education, research, networking, organizing, and cooperation to support the rights and welfare of migrant workers.

MFA's identity is centered around their commitment to migrant workers' rights and social justice. They are involved in various initiatives, such as organizing webinars on recruitment reform, collaborating with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) on events, and participating in regional conferences on recruitment reform. MFA is also a member of the Global Coalition on Migration (GCM), which represents a vital space for collective action on migration issues.

MFA advocates for human rights and social justice through various means, including grassroots mobilization, policy engagement, awareness-raising campaigns, and collaboration with stakeholders at various levels to advance their agenda. They are involved in initiatives such as the Hamsa complaints mechanism and Migrant Recruitment Advisor (MRA) partners meetings, which focus on understanding recruitment fees and addressing issues related to sub-agents in the recruitment process.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the surge in international migration within the ASEAN region over the past two decades has

brought about significant social and economic transformations. However, it has also posed challenges in protecting the rights of migrant workers, prompting increased cooperation among ASEAN countries to address migration issues. Despite the limited involvement of states, civil society organizations have stepped in to fill the gap, particularly in advocating for the protection of migrant workers in Southeast Asia.

Through qualitative analysis, this research has shed light on the efforts of key organizations such as the Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM), Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law, and Development (APWLD), CARAM Asia, International Domestic Workers Federation (IDWF), and Migrant Forum in Asia (MFA) in advancing the migrant labor protection movement in the region. These organizations, while having distinct identities and areas of focus, share common goals of advocating for the rights of marginalized populations, promoting social justice, and engaging in policy advocacy to drive positive change.

The findings reveal that these organizations employ various advocacy strategies, including grassroots mobilization, policy engagement, awareness-raising campaigns, and collaboration with stakeholders at different levels. By leveraging their strengths and networks, they have been able to amplify the voices of migrant workers, raise awareness about their plight, and push for policy reforms to improve their working conditions and rights protection.

Overall, the research underscores the crucial role of civil society in driving the migrant labor protection movement in Southeast Asia. As these organizations continue to collaborate and mobilize efforts, there is hope for greater recognition and enforcement of migrant workers' rights, ultimately contributing to a more just and inclusive society in the ASEAN region.

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