DO INDONESIAN MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS ENGAGE WITH HOMELAND POLITICS?

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DO INDONESIAN MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS ENGAGE WITH HOMELAND POLITICS?

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ABSTRACT
International labour mobility has increased Indonesian female migrant domestic workers' involvement in transnational labour organisations. Because of their precarious work, advocacy and unions are crucial to protecting them overseas. This paper examines the debates on the political activism of Indonesian female domestic workers and discusses the gap that migration scholars have not yet addressed. The study's conceptual core employs the concept of migrant political transnationalism, which generates the intersection of migrant citizenship and receiving country sovereignty. The author has reviewed thirty journals using exclusion and inclusion criteria with a qualitative narrative literature review. Grassroots advocacy for Indonesian domestic workers primarily emerged in Hong Kong. On the one hand, territorial normativity and sovereignty in the receiving country may prohibit migrants from participating in politics. However, they still can engage in extra-electoral politics as non-citizens. Domestic workers advocate for their rights through lobbying, protests, and rallies. On the other hand, electoral political participation in homeland politics, which political transnational scholars rarely discuss, and their contribution to mobilising votes abroad is also necessary. This finding motivates the investigation's research agenda: Do Indonesian female domestic migrant workers engage with their electoral homeland politics?

Keywords: domestic workers, Indonesia, politics, electoral, activism
INTRODUCTION
Almost two decades have passed since Indonesian female migrant workers organised to advocate for migrant rights in their receiving country by bringing underpayment concerns and sharing their experiences within the migrant workers' union to secure better protection and recognition (Lim, 2016). Since foreign workers are not citizens in their receiving countries, they might have different ways to get involved in politics and advocacy. According to Chung and Abbas (2018), an immigrant as a non-citizen can adapt to the destination country, and they might not be a formal member or citizen in the destination country. However, migrants can engage in various forms of political participation far beyond their formal status. The relationship between migration and politics becomes essential in explaining how migrants can adapt to the recipient country while maintaining their political rights. However, historical analysis of Neo-Marxism can hinder migrant political participation as migrants tend to engage in the economic domain more than politics, making them more apathetic toward politics than immobile citizens (Bauböck, 1994, 2006). Martiniello and Baubock did agree that the interest of migrants in politics depends on the structure of the state in both their sending country and the country where they are living.

For migrants who work in the domestic sector, the scarcity of time and inadequate political resources are significant obstacles to their participation and representation in public discussion and politics. In the case of Indonesia, scholars have discussed how female migrant domestic workers are very vocal as they harness new ideas, values, and networks to unite as foreign migrants abroad. Domestic workers gathered in public spaces to discuss economic, social, and political aspects of life as they formed their identity as foreign workers. Over the last two decades, studies have provided critical analysis of the political advocacy and engagement of Indonesian female domestic migrant workers initiated by migrant workers, NGOs, states, and the mass media. Foreign migrant organisations were successful in advocating migrant workers from exploitation, making transnational labour networks, and collaborating with receiving-country NGOs and governments (Constable, 2020; Constable & Pai, 2009; Hastuti, Megawati, Pratono, & Nour, 2018; Lan, 2003; Rother, 2017).

Some NGOs (Non-governmental Organisations) worked to influence governments to become more involved in transnational labour migration and to connect with international financing resources for domestic worker empowerment (Killias, 2010;
Silvey, 2004). In addition, the Indonesian government and NGOs also attempted to establish better bilateral agreements between the Indonesian government and destination countries to protect Indonesian domestic workers' rights. The mass media also played a role in narrating violent cases of foreign domestic migrant helpers in receiving countries (Silvey, 2006).

These studies would have been more interesting if they had discussed the gap that migration scholars have not addressed. Empirical research on transnational political activity predominantly centres on extra-electoral political activities, employing quantitative and qualitative methodologies to elucidate the dynamics of public discourse and decision-making within the transnational space. However, the narrative discourse has overlooked examining homeland electoral participation as a form of migrant political engagement. As a result, they can expand their investigation of non-citizen political engagement, particularly among migrant domestic workers. This study attempts to assess the practice of political advocacy, the capacity of migrant political participation, citizenship, and the concept of receiving country nation-state sovereignty. This study aims to identify another mode of non-citizen political engagement to enrich the debate and discussion of migrant political transnationalism among Indonesian female migrant domestic workers.

Figure 1. Graphical Abstract of Conceptual Framework

Source: From Author

In solving the puzzle of migrant worker activism, there are two necessary propositions: First, I contend that the current practices of domestic migrant activism in the receiving countries are instances of non-citizen political engagement in extra-electoral or non-electoral politics. Extra-electoral politics refers to political engagement in social movements, public interest groups, and protest activities. In contrast, electoral politics
centres on voting to elect political representatives and encompasses campaigns and elections (Chung & Abbas, 2018). Second, I contend that even though migrant activism occurred in the receiving society, the sovereignty of the receiving state, the normativity of the territorial border, and their citizenship status restrict migrants' freedom to participate juridically in public policy. Thus, with their embedded status as foreign citizens, the political engagement channel can be directed toward homeland politics and its entanglement with their activism. The homeland electoral domain is the sphere of political participation in which migrants can participate in a counted and structured way based on the Indonesian external citizenship policy. External citizenship refers to all persons who are temporarily or permanently beyond the boundaries of a state that recognises them with status, rights, and duties (Bauböck, 2009). Regarding electoral politics, the Indonesian government recognises the political rights of Indonesians residing overseas to participate in electoral races or elect representatives.

**RESEARCH METHOD**

I conducted a narrative literature approach to analyse the data on this topic. A narrative literature review can identify the broad scope of sources using a search strategy, comprehensiveness, and time range and does not necessarily follow an established protocol (Popay et al., 2006). A narrative review aims to comprehensively summarise the evidence by examining various scholarly works (Blukacz, Cabieses, & Markkula, 2020). However, to be more systematic and transparent, a detailed search strategy, inclusion and exclusion criteria, and narrative synthesis can complement the narrative review. Narrative synthesis refers to synthesising findings from a comprehensive range of studies that use words and text to summarise and explain the included studies (Popay et al., 2006). Similar concerns and debates regarding focused issues emerged from this strategy's analysis. Therefore, this strategy allows researchers to dig into and build on prior studies' findings, categorise them, and synthesise them until they discover new ones.

The author has identified a document selection in Google Scholar and Web of Science to meet a wide range of existing literature sources on Indonesian domestic migrant workers' political transnationalism. The author also included Indonesian-text publications, not only English-text publications, in the document selection criteria. The keywords used in the search were Indonesia AND migrant OR migrants AND domestic AND worker OR workers AND political OR politics OR political published between 2003 and 2021.
Following the social-political condition of the post-authoritarian regime of Indonesia, the author has set a certain specific range of time. According to Mietzner (2018), while 2002 and post-2004 marked the stability of Indonesian democracy, surpassing that of many other Asian countries, it has also resulted in a lack of progress and susceptibility to regression because of the expanded form of coalitional presidential, which granted excessive influence on sectoral and group interests. Therefore, this period exemplifies the complicated nature of Indonesian politics, which has the potential to influence the policies pursued by migrant workers overseas, the objectives of migrant associations overseas, and their transnational political activities abroad. The following are the methodological stages of narrative literature analysis in this investigation using inclusion and exclusion criteria that meet the research questions, research objectives, and theoretical framework:

Table 1. Steps of Selection Criteria of Narrative Review

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. <strong>Preparation (selection criteria)</strong></td>
<td>In the preparation stage, the used platform was Google Scholar and the Web of Science (WoS) scholarly database in English and Bahasa Indonesia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. <strong>Search (included and excluded)</strong></td>
<td>Results from Google Scholar and Web of Science with keywords &quot;Indonesia AND migrant OR migrants AND domestic AND worker OR workers AND politic OR politics OR political&quot;, with no duplications, yielded 102 documents. After screening for eligibility based on titles and abstracts and implementing the inclusion/exclusion criteria, the author removed 57 publications because they did not report political transnational activities as migrant political transnationalism. The remaining 45 full-text papers were downloaded and reviewed for relevance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. <strong>Selection (included and excluded)</strong></td>
<td>The author was extracting a representative subset from the selected database. Forty-five chosen documents need to go further through the inclusion and exclusion process. The author removed fifteen articles because they did not take migrant protection and advocacy practise into account as outcomes and did not focus on migrant citizenship in the context of civil rights movements abroad. The narrative review included a total of 30 articles.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Upon evaluating the included articles' research objective, methodology, and research questions, the author formulated themes essential to the research objectives related to political transnational activities.

This analysis draws upon the theoretical framework of migrant political transnationalism as developed by Bogagni, Lafleur, & Levitt (2016) and Ciornei & Østergaard-Nielsen (2020) that examines the process of transnational negotiation of democracy, specifically focusing on the involvement of various actors such as government entities, civil society actors, and migrant organisations theoretical lens, three themes emerge that highlight the actors involved, the activities undertaken, and the type of political advocacy employed in both a civil society-led initiative and a government-led initiative.

1. Political advocacy actors
2. Political advocacy activities
3. Political advocacy type

Employing the concept of migrant political transnationalism, which generates the intersection of migrant citizenship and receiving country sovereignty, this analysis and narrative synthesis emerge around four areas:

1. The practice of political advocacy
2. The pathways of advocacy
3. Grassroots, the idea of sovereignty and normativity of territorial border

Source: From Author

Table 2. Selected Journal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Author and Years</th>
<th>Political advocacy’s actors and activities</th>
<th>Political advocacy type</th>
<th>Key analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Piper, 2003</td>
<td>NGO-led initiatives by forming advocacy network in the Asian Context</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Gender, migration, and governance,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Initiative Details</td>
<td>Perspective/Methodology</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Silvey (a), 2004</td>
<td>NGO-led initiative by lobbying and linking up to transnational funding in Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Gender, transnational migration, and the politics of scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Silvey (b), 2004</td>
<td>NGO and Indonesia State-led initiative by lobbying and linking up to transnational funding in Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>Grassroots and Decision Makers</td>
<td>Feminist perspective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Silvey ©, 2004</td>
<td>Feminist-led initiative in the context of the nature of space and place, the politics of scale and mobility, and migrants’ subjectivities in the context of migrants in Hong Kong and Singapore</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Questions of subjectivity/identity and critical theorisations place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Ford, 2004</td>
<td>Migrant workers-led initiative by networking with the Filipinas migrant workers association in Hong Kong</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Democratisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Piper, 2006</td>
<td>NGO-led initiative to respond to the economic and legal problems in Malaysia and Singapore</td>
<td>Grassroots and Decision Makers</td>
<td>Macro labour politic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Silvey, 2006</td>
<td>NGO and mass media-led initiative to report cases of migrant violence in Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Gender and transnational migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ueno, 2009</td>
<td>Migrant workers strategies of resistance in response to exploitation and coercion by employment agencies in Singapore</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>A framework of resistance of the weak and marginalised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Hsia, 2009</td>
<td>Migrant workers-led initiative to pressure the Indonesian government to meet their demands in Hong Kong</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>The danger of NGO-ism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Constable, 2009</td>
<td>Migrant-led initiative by protesting in the context of Hong Kong</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Domestic worker subjectivities, global city, and neoliberal space of exceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Type of Initiative</td>
<td>Geography/Approach</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Elias, 2010</td>
<td>Feminist-led initiative upon migrant domestic labour in the context of South-East Asia</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Critical feminist human rights approach, productive-reproductive relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Killias, 2010</td>
<td>Migrant workers’ strategies of resistance in moving outside of the state’s official labour export programme in Malaysia</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Resistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Constable, 2010</td>
<td>Migrant workers’ rights in the way of activism in Hong Kong</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Activism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Lindquist, Xiang and Yeoh, 2012</td>
<td>Private agencies-led initiative to contribute to the political, economic, and social transnational systems in Asia</td>
<td>Decision Makers</td>
<td>A new regime of transnational migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lan, 2013</td>
<td>NGO-led initiatives by forming advocacy network in Taiwan</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Geographic segregation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Krustiyati, 2013</td>
<td>National and international law on Indonesia migrant protection (Regulation-led) in the context of South-East Asia Region</td>
<td>Decision makers</td>
<td>Legal protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Devadason and Meng, 2013</td>
<td>Migrant union-led initiative to monitor migrant workers in Malaysia</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>A critical appraisal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Joseph, 2013</td>
<td>World global order-led initiative influencing social and political justice IDMW in Malaysia</td>
<td>Decision makers</td>
<td>Globalisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Xiang and Lindquist, 2014</td>
<td>Extension of market forces and the enhancement of state regulatory capacity (Private sector-led initiative) in Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>Decision makers</td>
<td>Migration Infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Yazid, Dewi, 2015</td>
<td>State and non-state actors from several Indonesian women to find solutions for female migrant workers in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Feminist Sense of International Politics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Allmark and Wahyudi, 2016</td>
<td>Migrants’ workers-led initiative to advocate the case of Erwiana Sulistyaningsih in Hong Kong</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Activism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Soetjipto, 2017</td>
<td>Legislation-led initiative to protect Indonesian migrants and their families</td>
<td>Decision makers</td>
<td>Gender and International Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Authors</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Level</td>
<td>Source</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Rother, 2017</td>
<td>Migrant-led initiative by conducting demonstrations, picketing, and campaigning in Hong Kong</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Chung and Abbas, 2018</td>
<td>NGO-led initiative in strengthening labour migrant rights in Hong Kong and Malaysia</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Dewi and Rezasyah, 2018</td>
<td>Tripartite UN Agency-led initiative on Convention No. 189 and Recommendation 201 on the decent work of domestic workers</td>
<td>Decision Makers</td>
<td>Law enforcement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Martyn, 2018</td>
<td>NGO-led initiative in strengthening labour migrant rights</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Lai 2018</td>
<td>Migrant-led initiative promoting human rights and transnational solidarity in Hong Kong</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Politics of identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Hastuti, Megawati, Pratono &amp; Nour (2018)</td>
<td>State-led initiative to regulate intergovernmental agreement</td>
<td>Decision makers</td>
<td>Migration and development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Killias, Lindquist, and Elmhirst, 2020</td>
<td>State-led initiative in shaping global migration development policies in the context of Indonesian migrants in Malaysia</td>
<td>Decision Makers</td>
<td>Temporality, brokerage-state regulation, social reproduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Uluwiyah, 2021</td>
<td>State-led initiative for legal assistance and advocacy in Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>Decision makers</td>
<td>Deliberation and Democracy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: From Author
The key concepts are the attempts to discuss Indonesian female migrant domestic workers' political mobilisation through participation in public issues through membership in an organisation or civil society. Gender analysis calls into question feminist perspectives such as the feminist sense of international politics, the critical feminist, and female migrants' gender roles (Piper, 2003; Silvey, 2004, 2006; Soetjiptio, 2017), and the analysis of migrant political subjectivity has inextricably interwoven the gender analysis (Constable & Pai, 2009). The patriarchal system seems to embed the relationship between gender and migrant political subjectivity deeply, demonstrating how global care works and women's experiences in public spaces that deserve to be recognised.

The critical analysis of selected sources on political advocacy also demonstrated the multidirectional interrelationship of the structure of migration, transnational migration and globalisation, and the structure of politics: democratisation and citizenship. The practice of political advocacy is not only related to the gender structure of migrants' experiences but also to the structure of migration and politics. Thus, transnational migration and globalisation are unavoidable, explaining the flow of labour migrant care in Southeast Asian and East Asian contexts (Joseph, 2013; Silvey, 2004, 2006). Likewise, democratisation and citizenship are political effects concerning labour issues that appear in the ideas of advocacy, nationhood, and the non-citizen civil rights movement (Chung & Abbas, 2018; Ford, 2004).
In conclusion, the examination of the relationship between gender and the subjectivity of migrants, the framework of transnational migration, and the structure of politics are the three overarching themes that can serve as the foundation for a lens and interrelated processes that generate the political advocacy practices of Indonesian female migrant domestic workers. It is crucial to avoid a linear and sequential understanding of political advocacy. Indonesian female migrant domestic workers activate their activism when abroad. Their gender and experience of precarious migration perpetuate the sense of achieving better gender equality and safe migration through political advocacy. This practice is the iterative process between the migrant political agency or subjectivity and the structure of political transnationalism.

DISCUSSION
The Concept of Migrant Political Transnationalism
The study's conceptual core employs the concept of migrant political transnationalism, which generates the intersection of migrant citizenship and receiving country sovereignty. Migrant political transnationalism refers to the movement of individuals across borders to engage in political activities involving the exchange of values, ideas, information, and skills. This movement occurs due to transnational negotiation within the framework of democracy and its progression, involving the receiving country, the sending country, civil society actors, migrants, and migrant organisations. (Boccagni, Lafleur, & Levitt, 2016; Ciornei & Østergaard-Nielsen, 2020). The political transnational in homeland turnout revealed an understanding of how democratic participation functions in national contexts are separated by borders and interconnected through cultural, political, and economic ties. In addition, according to Waldinger and Fitzgerald (2004), migrants are frequently motivated to maintain a connection to the town, region, or country they left behind when they move abroad. As a result, migrants' sense of belonging to their sending country tends to increase while abroad.

Migrant political transnationalism can take the form of non-citizen political engagement. According to Chung and Abbas (2018), three postulates underpin the concept of political engagement: immigrants adapt to receiving society by remaking the give-and-take process between the migrant and new environment; non-citizens can engage in a variety of forms of politics to participate in public politics and public opinion; and non-citizen involvement indicates that political engagement can extend far beyond the formal legal status. Although migrants in the receiving country do not have the same
rights and responsibilities as the natives, they can still engage in a range of activities and strategies to gain insights into the social and political landscape in the receiving country. Political engagement among migrants can potentially advance political objectives and drive societal change. They typically take the form of extra-electoral or non-electoral politics, which do not necessitate citizenship status. This form enables the non-citizens to engage in political activities in their destination countries.

However, in the context of remaking the practice of migrant activism, migrant political engagement and freedom clashed with the ideas of sovereignty, nation-states, and citizenship status in the receiving countries. Democratic theory and cultural nationalism shape the liberal tradition of historical and ethical community. They came together to recognise state sovereignty, which controls their defined boundary, which is also a political concept (Achiume, 2019). The legal principle of sovereignty is problematic because it concerns all of the internationally recognised rights and duties recognised by international law. On the other hand, it refers to political manifestations. Future exploration must unpack the interrelationship between law, politics, and the state (Allen, 2006). Nonetheless, as a political concept, sovereignty as a nation-state effectively establishes a controlled national border.

It results from two political theory strains: liberal democracy and cultural nationalism. Liberal democratic theory explains the social contract between individuals and the state to regulate citizenship, whereas cultural nationalism relies on historical and ethical communities to define national self-determination. Liberal democracy and cultural nationalism combine to create a national identity recognised by international law to safeguard a nation-state's territorial and political integrity by exercising self-determination.

Territorial normativity pertains to the notion that boundaries demarcating geographical regions possess institutional significance. Political, legal, and ethical implications and expectations complemented the territorial normativity. This normativity converges nation-state sovereignty and its hegemony over the national territorial boundary to exclude economic migrants or non-nationals, whom they label political strangers (Achiume, 2019). The Lockean theory, which assumes the state has the authority to create, adjudicate, and enforce law within a relationship with geographic regions, is the source of territorial normativity (Nine, 2008). Despite increased economic interconnectedness, the sovereign state model and its territorial normativity are significant
in defining territorial jurisdiction and geographical boundaries (Banai, Moore, Miller, Nine, & Dietrich, 2014).

Migrant political transnationalism refers to the concept and implementation of democracy beyond national borders, considering the citizenship status and sovereignty of the receiving country. It promotes the engagement of non-citizens in political activities in both their country of origin and their current place of residence. While migrants often engage in non-electoral political movements, such as joining migrant labour organisations in their receiving country and demonstrating their political participation in a transnational context, political transnationalism can also lead to direct and formal involvement with their sending country through participating in elections. Migrants establish a sense of belonging and citizenship in their homeland, creating a political connection with their diaspora and fostering a sense of national identity. This sense of belonging makes migrants transnational political members of their homeland.

On the other hand, receiving countries develop a historical and ethical community within their borders, asserting their sovereignty and establishing norms. This historical community makes migrants political outsiders in the receiving country. Political advocacy to safeguard domestic migrant workers as migrant political transnational activities has emerged as an immediate corrective measure to address labour vulnerability and exploitation, owing to the precarious working conditions prevalent in the receiving countries. Abusive treatment and mistreatment of migrant domestic migrant workers in foreign countries constitutes migrant labour exploitation. Exploitation occurs throughout the entire migration process, from the pre-departure to placement. While before departure, paying substantial recruitment and illegal fees are the requirements for the migrants, they are not well informed about their right to retain their documents, their right to a weekly rest day, or their right to regular salary payments (Yuen Xin Er and Paul, 2020).

**Global care structure, women migrants and domestic work: An Overview**

According to data from the Protection of Migrant Workers, there are more Indonesian female migrant workers than male migrant workers. The Indonesian government has acknowledged that the number of female workers will be approximately three times that of male workers by September 2021. Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan are among the countries that have a substantial demand for female domestic workers. This phenomenon is known as the feminisation of migration, as the number of women moving
The feminisation of migration at least identifies three entities that form an inextricable link between global care structures, women, and informal jobs. The relationship between them produces the routine of social structure in everyday life. First, the arrangement of the global care system maintains a relationship that seems to be equal, but it has a relatively detrimental effect on women who migrate. The operationalisation of global care relations places Indonesian migrant workers with assistance in household chores and live-in working arrangements. With the 'closed' working environment and intimate labour, they potentially get verbal abuse, violence, or even death threats. The global care system, on the other hand, attempts to provide a solution to the meeting of labour supply and demand in a globalised world, given the need for care-intensive labour in the receiving country, such as childcare, eldercare, or healthcare, and the abundance of work in the sending country (Ehrenreich & Hochschild, 2008; Parreñas, 2012). The rise in female involvement in the public sector, the growing population of elderly individuals, and the need for extensive healthcare labour are the driving forces behind the demand for labour migration from the receiving countries. Indonesian migrant workers receive higher wages as foreign employees than those in their sending country. In the sending country, Indonesian migrants receive decent wages from the receiving countries, spend the income to cover higher living expenses abroad and send remittances to their families. As a result, the global care structure successfully maintains employer-employee relationships in sending and receiving countries.

Second, even if their employers are entering the public sector, Indonesian female migrant workers remain in the domestic sector as foreign helpers. Women in the receiving country transfer their chore jobs to other women who can replace their home responsibilities. As the patriarchal system systematically shapes the role of the household between men and women, the domestic chores remain on women's shoulders. This role between men and women depicts the vicious circle of women's labour participation, not providing them with a better position regarding the family division of labour. Instead, women's labour participation is trapping them in the patriarchal system of households.

Third, the context of the feminisation of migration directs the possibility of women working in less desirable informal settings. An assumption arises that doing chores with an opaque working system suits them as rural women. Compensation,
contract duration, tax regulations, health insurance arrangements, and organisational structure typically differentiate formal and informal employment. Formal employment refers to well-compensated, permanent agreements or permanent roles subject to tax laws, including medical coverage and adhering to defined organisational protocols. In contrast, informal work lacks these characteristics.

Consequently, informal jobs are ambiguous and have fewer procedures to shape the informal working environment. An informal setting job harms the employer-employee relationship, putting the employee at risk and leading to discrimination or marginalisation in the workplace. The job segmentations are less preferred and more preferred jobs (Sullivan, 2005). Workers are more likely to choose jobs with higher pay. Nonetheless, job seekers realise that accepting less desirable jobs is rational, given their skills and abilities. Similar conditions happen for domestic workers. They tend to take the less preferred job considering their skills. Working in the household sector is demanding and dangerous because of the blurry line between work and private life. This blurry line may lead to informal and less desirable employment. Unfortunately, in the context of global care structures, women always have greater access to these positions than men. While women have greater access to this opportunity, they tend to be placed in employment roles that involve assisting in family care. These positions often require live-in working arrangements, 'closed' working arrangements, and intimate labour, which can blur the boundaries between personal life and work. Consequently, the lack of formal working conditions renders them susceptible to verbal and physical mistreatment and even the possibility of receiving death threats.

Despite precarious employment and migration, there has been an undeniable influx of Indonesian migrant workers for the past three years, increasing by an average of 42% annually (BP2MI, 2023). Understanding the flow of Indonesian migrant workers as they struggle for a better living should be consistent with how stakeholders pay more attention to protecting and establishing safer migration for their citizens abroad.

Furthermore, unequal positions for women in domestic labour and an opaque working system continue to be accepted as solutions for the global care system, whilst still Indonesian migrant labour exploitation persists in Taiwan, Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Saudi Arabia. The working conditions of domestic workers are fraught with verbal, psychological, and physical abuse. The unequal power dynamic between employer and employee exacerbates it. Domestic workers from Indonesia are becoming
subject to physical abuse, extended periods of work without legal protection, prolonged separation from their families, meagre wages, stress and associated disorders, and the absence of a day off in Malaysia (Azmy & Mar’iyah, 2022; Spitzer, Thambiah, Wong, & Kaundan, 2023; Mindarti, Saleh & Maskur, 2021; Arisman & Jaya, 2021).

In a similar vein, exploitative practices and significant racialisation characterise the status of domestic workers in Singapore. As a result, they are subject to low-paying labour, isolation, job contract insecurity, and prohibitions against conceiving or marriages with Singaporean residents or nationals; immediate deportation or the tied-visa system is the consequence (Yeoh, Goh & Wee, 2020; Bortel, Martin, Anjara, & Nellums, 2019; Tan, 2023). According to Tan (2023) and Lai and Fong (2020), the living-in situation in Hong Kong intensifies instances of employer abuse, control, and work-related misconduct. Furthermore, time inflexibility and verbal threats are prevalent forms of domestic migrant exploitation in Hong Kong (Choy, Chang, & Man, 2022).

Domestic workers are subject to both physical and psychological forms of exploitation in both Saudi Arabia and Taiwan. Workers in Taiwan endure deplorable circumstances, including abusive behaviour, social isolation, and live-in working conditions that worsen overtime work (Tan, 2023). Saudi Arabia echoes the same thing: the Kafala system establishes a subordinate position for Indonesian migrants and fosters structural dependence on their employers. Therefore, workers are subject to be obedient with arduous workloads, irregular wages, and the denial of one day off per week, which limits access to food and medical care (Kelly, Restu, & Indriyany, 2020; Blaydes, 2023; Parreñas, Silvey, Hwang, & Choi (2019). The explanation of the type of exploitation is in the column below:

Table 3. Type of exploitation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Destination countries</th>
<th>Type of exploitation</th>
<th>Practises of exploitation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>• Physical abuse/unequal power dynamic&lt;br&gt;• Psychological abuse/ the state of worthlessness</td>
<td>Work-related aggression&lt;br&gt;Long working hours, low wages, familial separation, not protected by labour law, no day off, stress-related disorder.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Singapore
- Physical abuse/unequal power dynamic
  - Live-in working conditions: control, oppression, and violence.
- Psychological abuse/ the state of worthlessness
  - Low visibility, low status, low pay work

3. Hong Kong
- Physical abuse/unequal power dynamic
  - Live-in working condition: control, oppression and violence & abusive behaviour
- Psychological abuse/ the state of worthlessness
  - Excessively long hours of work/time inflexibility
- Verbal abuse/form of intimidation
  - Verbal threat

4. Taiwan
- Physical abuse/unequal power dynamic
  - Live in working conditions: control, oppression, and violence.
- Psychological abuse/ the state of worthlessness
  - Exclusion for overtime pay, social isolation, no privacy, inadequate food, housing, and resting place.

5. Saudi Arabia
- Physical abuse/unequal power dynamic
  - Violence and work-related aggression.
- Psychological abuse/ the state of worthlessness
  - Heavy workload, irregular wage, excessive working hours, late payment, no day off, and limited access to food and medical.

Source: From Author

The practice of political advocacy
Advocacy is carried out in a structured activity, such as lobbying, campaigning, or coalition-building, to change policies to strengthen and protect people's rights. There are two categories of advocacy: grassroots advocacy and standing in decision-making advocacy (Leroux & Goerdel, 2009). Grassroots advocacy arises through the efforts of civil or mass organisations to mobilise their constituents for political actions, while standing in decision-making is when the organisation shapes the outcome of the political process through participation in the policy community, such as bureaucrats, legislators, civil group leaders, or other participants. Based on data and the process of examining 30 journals or publications from 2003 to 2021, advocacy patterns have existed in domestic
worker destination countries, particularly Hong Kong, Malaysia, Taiwan, Singapore, and Saudi Arabia. Some advocacy is grassroots, and there is also standing in decision-making.

Table 4. Who and how? Political Advocacy for Indonesian Domestic Migrant Workers: A Summary of Political Advocacy Practices

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Destination Country</th>
<th>Who</th>
<th>How</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Hong Kong</td>
<td>Hong Kong Indonesian Labour Association, Indonesian Migrant Workers Network in Hong Kong, Asian Migrant Centre, Diasporic Network, Coalition of Indonesia migrant workers organisation, Indonesia Migrant Workers Union (IMWU)</td>
<td>They are organising political education demonstrations and activating social media (Facebook) as a communication channel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>NGOs, governments of both countries, Middle-Class Feminist Activists, Newspapers</td>
<td>They are lobbying the government for migrant rights, linking up transnational funding, and supporting the fulfilment of migrant rights via mass media.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Monitoring cases of violence strengthening migrant capacity through workshops (Migrant rights)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>NGO and migrant workers coalition</td>
<td>The ability of NGOs to lobby the government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>Migrant, NGO, and state</td>
<td>Responding to the economic and legal problems</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: From Author

Hong Kong, followed by Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, and Malaysia, has the highest frequency of advocacy and activism activities. This pattern of advocacy has two modes: grassroots advocacy and decision-making. The grassroots pattern is a type of advocacy that allows people to form groups to advocate for policies, but the right to decide is not acknowledged. Labour or civil organisations are often to conduct this type of advocacy. Several actions are examples of situations involving grassroots advocacy, as expressed by Constable and Pai (2009), who revealed that Indonesian migrant domestic workers
organise themselves to resist the employer and recruiting agency exploitation and the Indonesian government. Moreover, according to Rother (2017), Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong engaged in networking and gathering to undertake information campaigns and advocacy education.

In a campaign to improve the conditions of migrants, Lan (2003) also provided an example of grassroots advocacy through a network for Indonesian domestic workers in Taiwan. Similarly, Silvey (2006) NGOs, newspapers, and news magazines in Indonesia were often reporting documented instances of overwork, abuse, and wage underpayment in Saudi Arabia. NGOs also facilitate the coordination of international financing resources to empower domestic workers. Killias (2010) investigated whether specific non-governmental organisations pressured the Malaysian government to increase its engagement with Indonesian transnational labour migration. In several instances, non-government organisations play active roles in grassroots lobbying, and this finding was agreed upon by Silvey's view about NGOs' support for Indonesian foreign helpers (Silvey, 2004).

Standing in the decision-making process is reflected in advocacy practices carried out by decision-makers. In Saudi Arabia, such practices demonstrate the policymakers' control through bilateral agreements (Silvey, 2004). The global labour market structure and governments are significant stakeholders in determining migrants' strategies and struggle for decent work (Hastuti et al., 2018). To summarise, grassroots efforts and decision-making processes are how to implement political advocacy strategies for Indonesian female migrant workers in receiving countries. These efforts and processes could influence policies aimed at ensuring the protection of migrants.

**The pathways of advocacy: between grassroots and decision-makers**

Stachowiak (2013) argues that advocacy, a practical concept in social change, can be summed up in two broad categories: the power of elites, which includes power politics, and grassroots advocacy, which provides for grassroots or community organising theory. The power of elites asserts that the people have more ability than others so that they can use it as direct, indirect, or implicit influence. In contrast, grassroots advocacy recognises that power is dynamic, so individuals or communities can gain strength through collective actions such as community mobilisation, social protest, or whistleblowing.
From 2003 to 2021, many scholars have produced literature and models for advocacy and its practices. However, they paid less attention to identifying other modes of political advocacy and the actors' patterns and practices over the past two decades. Additionally, it is possible to comprehend the alternative way of political engagement of Indonesian migrant domestic workers by applying the concepts of citizenship, political advocacy, grassroots, elite, and grassroots to migrant political actors, organisations, and patterns. Throughout the year, the advocacy actors have changed. The state is not the only actor able to implement political advocacy for migrant workers.

Two types of actors could contribute to the political advocacy of Indonesian migrants: the power elite and the community. The power elite comprises states, NGOs, the private sector, and the community, including migrant organisations. In this instance, most political advocacy was conducted by grassroots actors rather than those in positions of authority. The grassroots for political change implies that society can be the agent to accomplish social change. Grassroots political advocacy increased the capacity to engage and encourage public participation as well as its influence and power to raise issues among decision-makers and to increase political activity, ultimately resulting in improved policy (Stachowiak, 2013).

Figure 3. Graphical Abstract of Actor-Driven Action of Political Advocacy of Indonesia Female Migrant Domestic Workers

Source: From Author
However, the power of the community is not ample to improve the migrant condition because of the strategic coordination in terms of increased power and capacity to cooperate between bodies. Piper (2006) provided an example: trade unions and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) failed to collaborate and lacked trust in their efforts to advocate for Indonesian migrant workers. Furthermore, the political will was also unable to strengthen the advocacy because the limitation of the feminist activism movement in Asia restricted the political space given to NGOs (Elias, 2010; Piper, 2006). Hence, there is no change in the policies – there was an absence of international labour standards regulation for domestic workers, Convention No. 189 Recommendation No. 201 in 2011 from International Labour (Anggia & Teuku, 2018).

**Grassroots, the idea of sovereignty and normativity of territorial border**

Apart from the political advocacy actor and pattern, the objective of the analysis emphasises the number of advocacy practices that occurred in the destination countries, such as Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Malaysia. These receiving countries have different policies and regulations in which Indonesian migrant domestic workers could join community and labour organisations as a form of political participation or activism. The political advocacy strategies were in the form of grassroots, decision-makers, and combinations between them. The most prevalent political advocacy occurs in Hong Kong, with the grassroots model. Hong Kong is the destination country where Indonesian female workers successfully formed the Association of Indonesian Migrant Workers. They gather to socialise and participate in picket lines and campaigns, as the freedom to organise gatherings and march in public is not restricted (Constable & Pai, 2009; Ford, 2004; Hsia, 2009; Lai, 2011; Rother, 2017).
Moreover, Hong Kong's leaders have a strong interest in projecting the postcolonial neoliberalism of Hong Kong's brand as a well-governed, democratic, and prosperous global metropolis which can tolerate peaceful protest as long as it does not endanger their sovereignty (Constable, 2009). In contrast, in Malaysia and Singapore, the political space for responding to the economic and legal problems of Indonesian migrant workers was limited (Piper, 2006). On the other hand, Saudi Arabia and the context of ASEAN tend to show the decision-makers' advocacy (Silvey, 2004; Uluwiyah, 2021; Xiang & Lindquist, 2014) where the state conducts the practices of political advocacy, transnational funding, and brokerage.
The idea of sovereignty of the receiving country toward Indonesian migrant workers is shown by how different policies can be a deal to political participation by people who are not citizens of those countries. The destination country tries to protect its residents by imposing strict regulations on foreign workers to ensure no disruption threatens their territory. The receiving society maintains the foreign workers as non-citizens, recognising them only as economic migrants. The idea of a sovereign nation-state developed in liberal tradition combines the concepts of historical and ethical community, democratic theory, cultural nationalism, and national identity into self-determination, defining the political and territorial border (Achiume, 2019). Thus, receiving countries have a right to exclude foreigners, which the combination of liberal theory and international law has made the norm of national territorial boundaries (Achiume, 2019).

Despite having lived in the receiving country for more than ten years, Indonesian migrant workers continue to face obstacles in becoming political members who can participate in domestic politics in the receiving country. The receiving country could still improve their policies for foreign workers. The obstacles are also because the normativity of the territorial border is restricting their participation. As a result, the pattern of political advocacy, whether by grassroots or decision-makers, might place them in the category of
political strangers. The concept of a stranger is widely known in the sociology of migration by George Simmel, who discussed territorial relation, symbol, social order, and the migrant figure as the stranger who arrives today; they are considered strangers (Amelina & Horvath, 2017). The political stranger of the Indonesian migrant domestic workers is an accumulative effect of the normativity of the territorial border, which treats them as non-citizens even though they can assimilate ethically and culturally by adopting their culture, language, and habits. According to Constable (2021), the local protesters in Hong Kong displaced the Indonesian domestic workers. They lost their rights in certain places where they usually congregated in Victoria Park when Hong Kong people took massive protests for local political reasons - the government's regulation in the Extradition Bill in June 2019. In these circumstances, local political issues in Hong Kong did not include foreign migrants. It shows that foreign migrants are political strangers, someone who is not necessarily involved or does not have the right to respond to this issue, even though they are a part of the receiving country's society.

Receiving countries build their sovereignty by utilising social contracts between citizen-states and historical-ethical communities, which do not give space for foreigners who do not have the same national self-determination. Thus, foreigners are assumed to be non-nationals whose rights and political involvement are subject to their countries of origin. In addition, the normativity of territorial borders and international law also helps define the nation's territory. A foreigner or a national from another country should respect and acknowledge the other country's sovereignty and its aspects, including local politics. This respect establishes a "do" and "don't" code of conduct for foreign migrants. Hence, Indonesian migrants have political participation driven by their engagement in transnationalism matters, such as advocating for migrant rights and protection through non-electoral political means. Furthermore, they also engage in homeland electoral politics, demonstrating their strong connection to their nation and highlighting the importance of exploring this form of political involvement.

The political advocacy pattern and the struggle for Indonesian migrant domestic workers vary depending on the receiving country's regulations: grassroots advocacy, decision-makers advocacy, and combinations of these. Regardless of the differences in political advocacy patterns among destination countries, migrants as foreign workers are non-citizens in political engagement. The term "non-citizen" generates the right of the receiving country to exclude freedom of movement in practice. The migration of foreign labour in the context of Southeast Asian and East Asian countries, for instance, still
maintains the obvious segmentation between citizen and non-citizen political engagement. This segmentation suggests that in the case of foreign workers, non-citizen political participation can be conducted formally only by participating in transnational to homeland political participation. In addition, Chung and Abbas (2018) claim that non-citizen participation in politics can be a method to influence public opinion. However, their impacts on public policies and institutions may not be affecting directly. The receiving country's society might put them back on track with their political participation in transnational issues and homeland political orientation.

**The absence of inquiry into non-citizen political participation in electoral politics rather than extra-electoral politics**

Political advocacy has emerged as a critical political engagement or participation of the receiving country's Indonesian migrant domestic workers. In identifying the actor, the involvement of migrants in activism has two categories regarding political involvement domains: electoral politics and extra-electoral politics. Electoral politics is a way to run elections by getting votes, and in the case of voters abroad, being able to vote depends on their citizenship status and policies. Extra-electoral politics refers to the different ways that non-citizens can participate in the politics of the receiving country without being official members of the political community, such as through migrant associations, migrant labour activism, and NGO involvement (Chung & Abbas, 2018). Identifying migrant political domains in migrant political advocacy might produce a pattern of non-citizen political engagement.

A growing body of scholarship on migrant political engagement focuses on the extra-electoral participation through which migrants can do political incorporation via nonprofit organisations, migrant communities, migrant unions, civil society organisations, and migrant religious organisations. The chosen journal articles extensively investigate the role of actors and their activities in advocating for Indonesian migrant domestic workers' rights abroad. The previous findings shed light on the political engagement in extra-electoral politics, which is more interesting and far beyond their citizenship status. However, the electoral participation inquiry got less attention. Participation in electoral politics is a subject of investigation because it provides a counted way in a democratic system to shape public policy and relates to extra-electoral politics participation practices. Furthermore, their legal status as Indonesian citizens, which is firmly embedded, enables them to develop diaspora channels and homeland ties.
Homeland electoral participation, such as voting, political campaigning, political rallies, political remittance, and involvement in political debate, are the channels to participate based on citizenship.

Homeland electoral participation is not limited to involvement in their sending country. It involves making political decisions in which the policy will affect their lives in sending and receiving countries. Due to legal documentation that forbids foreigners from engaging in political activities in receiving countries, domestic foreign workers are considered political strangers in the receiving country. The normative nature of territorial borders and the sovereignty of nation-states emphasised the domestic foreign workers' identity as political strangers. Domestic foreign workers are political strangers in the receiving country due to the legal documentation prohibiting foreigners from participating in politics in receiving countries – which is also due to the normativity of territorial borders and the sovereignty of nation-states.

Nonetheless, they want to shape social inclusion for foreign migrants in the receiving country because the receiving country's immigrant policy, including regulation and protection such as working hours and fundamental worker rights, will affect them. Channelling their aspiration into homeland electoral politics might contribute to a better shift in migrants' lives. They may participate informally by voting in their home country, hoping the elected leader from Indonesia will pay attention to the conditions of migrant domestic workers and develop better policies with the destination countries.

In April 2019, Indonesian migrant domestic workers queued enthusiastically at the Kaifong Welfare Association polling station in Tsim Sa Tsui, Hong Kong (Asano, 2019). Some found it difficult to cast the ballot for the Indonesia presidential election. They rallied at the entrance of the polling station. This activity indicates nationalism in the distance when the migrants show their homeland's political participation by casting the ballot abroad. They mobilised voluntarily outside their homeland and voted for the candidate. Even though the domestic workers realised that they still had their goals as migrant workers in progress, they still participated in the politics of their sending country. Their sense of belonging toward their homeland and participation mark the mode of non-citizen political engagement besides their involvement in transnational issues. Peer groups and networks in kinship contribute to diaspora engagement in domestic political participation (Batista, Seither, & Vicente, 2019; Fafchamps, Vaz, & Vicente, 2020).
Electoral politics can be defined as a strategy for holding free and fair elections, considering the number of votes each candidate receives in the contest. In the case of Indonesian migrant domestic workers as far-away voters, they can choose their representative while abroad. Considering the present approach, which examines the connection between migrants, gender, the consequences of migration, and national identity, research on the political engagement of migrants in homeland politics introduces fresh and developing themes in migration research. A study on migrant and electoral participation, according to Østergaard-Nielsen (2003), is promising because it will reveal the practice of immigrant politics that can explore the magnitude of migrant political activities opposing or supporting the current homeland political regime. Additionally, it can shed light on migrant political agency. The involvement of migrants with their sending countries highlights their political participation challenges and their efforts to connect with their communities back home. Then, it will address the following questions: Do Indonesian migrants engage in homeland electoral politics?
In brief, this narrative synthesis yields four fundamental variables: electoral politics, extra-electoral politics, required citizenship status, and not needed citizenship status. This conclusion produces two distinct political advocacy practices, resulting in Indonesian migrant political engagement. The electoral politics of a nation-state necessitate citizenship status and entail a structured election process. Conversely, extra-electoral politics, which do not mandate citizenship status, may not be directly connected to electoral activities. Nevertheless, the convergence and intersection of these two forms of political participation by individuals who are not citizens may serve to engage in political activities in foreign contexts effectively. This discovery further reinforces and presents a counterpoint to the assertion made by Chung and Abbas (2018) that migrant participation has the potential to move beyond official legal status. The finding emphasises that involvement beyond formal legal status can only exist in extra-electoral political activities in transnational fields. The participation of Indonesian migrants in electoral politics in destination nations is limited to their formal legal position, as domestic migrant citizenship status remains tied to their origin country. Therefore, the actualisation of migrant electoral politics is limited to the country of origin. However, the numerous studies of Indonesian female domestic workers engaged in migrant political advocacy overlooked the issues of electoral politics rather than extra-electoral politics. This results from the characteristic of extra-electoral politics that offers a broader range of participation than can be encompassed by legal or citizen status. On the other hand, electoral politics in this debate can enrich the understanding of migrants' sense of belonging to a nation and the concept of nationhood, entanglement with diaspora organisation, engagement, or disengagement regarding support for or opposition to the current domestic political regime that is crucial to define Indonesia nation-building process that is always facing hurdles (Suryadinata, 2000).

This study offers valuable information into the political participation of Indonesian domestic migrant workers in their destination countries. However, it is crucial to identify and address several limitations related to this research. A somewhat lower level of rigour characterises the narrative literature methodology, as it heavily relies on the researcher's implicit subjectivity and tends to limit the inferential conclusions drawn from the findings. Furthermore, the narrative synthesis focuses on constructing a comprehensive overview, conducting comparative analyses, and critically interpreting the literature based on the researcher's experiential insights within a cyclical framework. One potential avenue for future investigation could involve the implementation of systematic
reviews that demonstrate greater objectivity, balance, and lack of bias. This possible avenue is coming through the utilisation of structured and protocol-driven methodologies and the incorporation of meta-analysis techniques. By statistically computing the findings of each study and generating quantitative results, researchers can conduct a thorough search for all relevant studies, thereby enhancing the rigour and comprehensiveness of their research.

CONCLUSION

There were numerous findings of Indonesian migrant domestic workers' activism in the receiving society, with Hong Kong being the most prominent destination country, giving them greater freedom to engage in labour and civic organisation. Political transnationalism activities arise because of migration, where temporary Indonesian migrant workers can engage in politics in various ways beyond their legal status and citizenship. These activities include involvement in ethical and religious organisations, migrant unions, and non-governmental organisations. However, their activism remains reasonable, indicating a safe and peaceful movement that the receiving society has identified as not threatening the nation-state's sovereignty. Consequently, Indonesian migrant domestic workers who are temporary residents express their political participation and engagement through various activities, such as participating in local and transnational activism, celebrating religious events, attending community gatherings, and addressing global labour issues. These actions serve as a means for them to articulate their desire for political participation in their sending country, hoping that the sending state will acknowledge their efforts in advocating for labour rights.

Non-citizenship political engagement has transformed into various forms of political participation. Chung and Abbas (2018) reveal that migrants do not need formal legal status to participate in politics. Temporary Indonesian migrant workers can engage in myriad ways, like signing a petition, joining demonstrations or rallies, participating in public debate, or writing news articles or books about local, national, or transnational issues in the receiving country. Their political activism might extend from participation in extra-electoral politics, showing their movement, existence and presence, articulation, and goals to achieve decent domestic work as domestic foreign workers. The most prevalent activism of Indonesian domestic workers was in Hong Kong because Hong
Kong was a potentially well-governed and democratic-liberal territory in the postcolonial era.

On the other hand, as a sovereign nation-state, the receiving society has the right to protect its citizens from any economic, social, and political threat, including the presence of foreign workers who add diversity to the social structure of the receiving society. Because they have similar historical and ethical communities, the receiving state's sovereignty will result in control over the national border to protect their native citizens' entitlements. Migrant domestic workers do not have a social contract between people and the receiving states. Domestic workers are excluded from political matters because migrants have different national identities and national self-determination, even though some of the destination countries have relatively similar ethical and religious backgrounds. State sovereignty combined with international law becomes a rudimentary law to protect the receiving society's territorial and political integrity from foreigners, maintaining them as outsiders or political strangers. A migrant worker identifies themselves as a home country representation in the receiving society.

Nevertheless, they would not compromise the sovereignty of the receiving society. They would uphold a peaceful approach, suggesting that foreign workers can participate in different activism types, albeit with certain restrictions. This approach leads them to redirect their efforts towards engaging in the political society of their home country to express and advocate for their objectives. Thus, the political transnational activity of Indonesian migrant workers, in conjunction with their citizenship status and host land sovereignty, forces their participation to channel back to homeland political participation. Migrant scholars have not given much attention to homeland political involvement, specifically in electoral politics, compared to non-electoral politics. However, engaging in electoral politics could provide a structured channel for Indonesian migrant workers to actively participate in and influence the policy-making process, addressing the challenges migrants encounter.

Indonesian migrant domestic workers take part in homeland political participation through political advocacy. This political advocacy includes organising labour organisations, monitoring instances of violence, and lobbying the receiving country's government. These migrants can expand their activism beyond their citizenship status.

The sending country and the basic principle of sovereignty in the receiving country restrict their ability to engage in political activities. Although Indonesian female
migrant labour contributes to migrant policy in the receiving countries, their political participation primarily focuses on stimulating political change in their sending country through transnational extra-electoral actions and electoral activities within their homeland. In addition, the discussion of homeland electoral politics among female domestic migrants is promising because it has not been discussed much in the literature. This result suggests an alternative form of political transnationalism among Indonesian domestic migrant workers, specifically their engagement in homeland electoral politics. It reveals that the number of female voters residing abroad in 2014 and 2019 exceeded that of male voters. Therefore, female migrants have played an essential part in determining the decisive factor in the sending country's electoral political competition.

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