

# Caring for Children

# The Indonesia Humanitarian Diplomacy to Safeguard Migrants Children Education in Sabah, Malaysia Amid Unfavorable Socio-geographic Realities

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Abstract. In 2019, in Sabah Malaysia, there are about 25.000 children of Indonesian migrant can't access, education facility. This research will examine the Indonesian Humanitarian Diplomacy in dealing issue of education right for Children of Indonesian Migrants in Sabah, Malaysia. This is quantitative research with constructivism approach, which using the content analysis method to find out such of Indonesian Government statements, policy, and action to handle issue of education right for Indonesian Children Migrant in Sabah, Malaysia. The source of research comes from a bevy of academic literature and interview on Migran Children Issues, Indonesian Foreign Policy, ASEAN Ways as well as journalistic paper and articles. This research found that Indonesia already conducts Humanitarian Diplomacy, especially with Malaysian Government, Private Business and NGOs to handle this issue. But, those efforts are still unsuccess cause by unfavorable social realities such as illegal status, less support of parents and small palm oil corporations also their remote position. This Humanitarian Diplomacy has contributed towards applications of The Principle of ASEAN Way about non-intervention and non-military manner to solve such of problem among members. This study will guide other relevant topics to discuss Indonesia conducts soft -power as one of manner of diplomacy.

 $\textbf{Keywords:} \ \ Indonesia \cdot Humanitarian \ Diplomacy \cdot Education \ Right for \ Migrant \ Children$ 

## 1 Introduction

Indonesia and Malaysia, as close and direct border neighbours, have fluctuated relations in the time by time. (Hara, n.d.; Maksum & Bustami, 2014; Pertiwi, 2014; Razak, Harun, Hamzah, & Dali, 2013; Warsito, Maksum, Surwandono, & Herningtyas, 2019). The most sensitive issue among them is existence of 2.7 million of Indonesia Migrant Workers (IMW) in Malaysia. The Indonesian Minister of Law & Human Rights, Yasonna Laoly stated that legal statuses of IMW in Malaysia are 50% legal and 50% illegal (Putra, 2017).

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The Indonesian Consulate General of Kota Kinabalu, Sabah; stated 500.000 IMW in federal state of Sabah, Malaysia; in which 243.090 of them are illegal (Irfan, 2017; Djelani, 2019). Meanwhile, NGO "AMRC" stated 700.000 IMW in which 490.00 (70%) are illegal (Mufakir, 2020). Unfortunately, 25.000 (50%) of total 50.000 of their children, are not receive education rights, yet (Irfan, 2017; Djelani, 2019).

Education rights of IMW Children, are in complicated social dimension of Indonesia dan Malaysia (Tamer, 2014). Increasingly, it needs pro-active of the Indonesian government initiatives (Rachmawati, 2017) to joint with the Malaysian government and palm oil business actors (Pretorius, 2011; Rachmawati, 2017). And that's why this issue to be summit agenda of the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo and PM Malaysia Mahathir Muhammad at Kuala Lumpur, 9 Agustus 2019. However, those efforts not success yet. That's why this paper begin from research question: Why does the Indonesian fail to handling issue of education right for IMW Children at Sabah, Malaysia?

#### 2 Theoretical Framework

## 2.1 Humanitarian Diplomacy, Migration and Education Issues

Humanitarian diplomacy, is persuading decision makers and opinion leaders to act, at all times, in the interests of vulnerable people, and with full respect for fundamental humanitarian principles. The policy refers to these steps as the four signposts for action. They are (1) The responsibility to persuade; (2) Persuading with the appropriate diplomatic tools and actions; (3) Focusing on areas of knowledge and expertise; and (4) Engaging at appropriate times with partners outside the Movement (Minear and Smith 2007), (Pease, 2016), (Regnier, 2011).

Meanwhile, Collin Brack (2011) (Brock, 2011), by article "Education as Humanitarian Response (HER)", among others discuss: A holistic approach to EHR (P. 20); A human rights approach (p. 25); The issue of scale (p. 26); Multilateral and bilateral agencies and NGOs (p. 76); Refugees and asylum seekers & (IDPs) Internally displaced people (p. 90); stated education rights for migrant children by the human rights perspective as statement of UNHCR (the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2006):

"A new vision of quality education is essential and current events around the world have demonstrated that quality is not only about literacy and numeracy. There is a growing consensus that quality education cannot be limited to increasing the material inputs into the school systems or enhancing school effectiveness, important as they are. Quality education has both to be based on a human rights approach, and to address new areas including, but not limited to, cultural diversity, multilingualism in education, peace and non-violence, sustainable development and life skills. (UNHCR, 2006a). This statement, though not in as many words, calls for education as a humanitarian response, and although it emanates from a source dealing with one of the most disadvantaged of human groups, does so in terms that apply equally well to all people and all forms of education.

Collin Brack (2011) classifies migrants and the problems, by Fig. 1:

Figure 1 is, of course, not to scale, as a majority of the world's population is being, will be or has already been subjected to the mainstream experience to some degree.

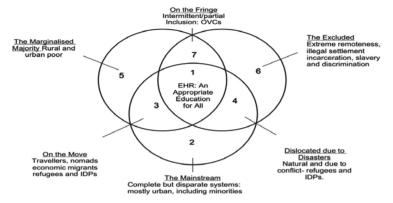


Fig. 1. A holistic view of education as a humanitarian response (Brock, 2011)

Neither is it a systems diagram. Nonetheless, it indicates that EHR is an ideal condition when all three categories, the included, the marginalized and the excluded, overlap. Minority groups such as racial, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups, travelers, refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants may be accommodated in the mainstream, but their particular needs are often not met to any significant degree. There are sometimes minority groups who outperform the mainstream average, Marginalized communities existing on the very fringes of the reach of the normal mainstream provision, usually due to remoteness. Figure 1show that education right for IMW at Sabah, Malaysia as the 3rd category that is "On the Move IDPs."

This topic has correlation with such of previous research, those are: Wahyu Susilo, Anis Hidayah, Mulyadi (2013), discuss to history and process of the Indonesian migration to Malaysia (Hidayah, Susilo, & Mulyadi, 2013). Rakhmi Ratrayu Salmah (Salmah, 2012), discuss to the Indonesian and the Malaysian governments cooperation in handling this issue in 2012, early years of law enforcement of The Malaysian Education Law, in which Malaysia regulated that Malaysia School only for Malaysians. Priya Konings (Konings, 2017) explore 'the US policy in handling this issues which put burdens on the US as recipient country state without involve the countries of origins. Arthur N. Read (Read, 2006), explore to impacts of the US Immigration Law 2006 which facilitate legalization of the US migrants. Mary Tamer (Tamer, 2014), explore the integration education for immigrant children. Michelle Waslin (Waslin, 2016), explore such obstacles of Undocumented Children Face These Challenges in Accessing Public Education in the US.

# 3 Discussion and Analysis

Until 1991, document for migrant worker is not sensitive issue in Malaysia, so IMW in Sabah can work freely and their childen can access education facility without document. Since 1991, education right for IMW children starting become an issue inwhich education is hard obtain for many Indonesian children because since 1991, the Malaysian government has not allowed the children of foreign workers who have salaries under

RM 5000 (approximately IDR 15.000.000) for applying school at Malaysian National School (Sekolah Kebangsaan Malaysia). As the consequences, the children from Indonesian/migrant workers who are mostly working in oil palm plantations and receiving wages not more than RM 1500 cannot go to Malaysian school or worse, not going to school at all''(Nugroho, 2018, p. 14).

This issue to be more complicated after the Malaysian government issuing Act of Worker (2001) and Act of Education (2001) in which document is a compulsory for all foreign workers and students. Education is hard obtain for many Indonesian children, especially caused by undocumented statuses of their parents. This explanation based on two arguments, that Indonesia already conducts Humanitarian Diplomacy, especially with Malaysian Government, Private Business and NGO's to safeguard Migrants Children Education. But, those efforts are still unsuccess cause by unfavourable social realities such as illegal status, less support of parents and small palm oil corporations also their remote position.

# 3.1 Ethical Grounding of the Indonesian Policy on Education Right of Migrant Children

The Indonesian Government, after observing the deteriorating educational conditions of BMI children in Malaysia, then adopted various policies based on several ethical foundations. This was confirmed by the Defense Attache of the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, Colonel Arm Iwan Bambang Setiawan, S.IP (Tribunnews, 2016), during a lecture on National Insights to hundreds of junior high and high school students at the Kota Kinabalu Indonesian School Complex (SIKK), Sabah, Malaysia (6/2/16).

First, Pancasila, the fifth principle of social justice for all Indonesian people. Second, based on the mandate of the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution that the Indonesian Government is obliged to educate the nation's life. As one of the ways to educate the nation's life is to provide education to Indonesian children both who live in the country and who live abroad. CHAPTER XIII Article 31 point (1) states: Every citizen has the right to education; point (2): Every citizen is obliged to attend basic education and the government is obliged to finance it; and point (3): The government shall endeavor and implement a national education system, which enhances faith and piety as well as noble morals in the framework of the intellectual life of the nation as regulated by law.

Third, based on RI Law Number 6 of 2012 concerning the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, it is said that every migrant worker and member of their family has the right to freedom to leave, enter and settle in any country, the right to life, the right free from torture, slavery, and other rights as free human beings who have human rights. In today's development, the state has a duty to improve the welfare (including education) of its citizens wherever they are. Therefore, the homeland has an interest in its citizens everywhere to provide educational services (Tribunnews, 2016).

Fourth, Law number 18/2017 on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (Sekretariat Migrant Care, 2017). Fifth, the realization of the promise of President Joko Widodo Nawacita's Campaign Program. The coordinator of the Indonesian Consulate General for the Protection of Indonesian Citizens in Kota Kinabalu, Hadi Syarifuddin, stated that the Indonesian government is active in collaborating with various parties

both domestically and in the country of Sabah itself to assist and provide support for the advancement of the education of children of migrant workers in Sabah (Effendi, 2016).

Sixth, the implementation of the principles of the ASEAN Ways. Cooperation in the education sector between Indonesia and Malaysia is carried out through several channels such as the international route, namely through ASEAN, UNESCO, NAM (Non Alignment Mevement), and bilateral.

#### 3.2 G to G Coordination Between the Government of Indonesia and Malaysia

On February 8, 2016, Assistant Athan RI in Kuala Lumpur, Major Chb Sandy Maulana Prakasa, S.IKom (Embassy of The Republic of Indonesia, in Kuala Lumpur, nd) explained that the cooperation agreement on mutual understanding in the education sector was signed on August 10 1998. The cooperation provided for in this agreement consists of:

- 1. Exchange of staff between the Minister of Education and Culture of the Republic of Indonesia and the Minister of Education of Malaysia,
- 2. Student exchange,
- 3. Scholarship program,
- 4. Exchange of experts,
- 5. Make it easy to exchange publications,
- 6. Exchange programs between representative bodies and training institutions,
- 7. Mutual support in vocational and technical fields,
- 8. Review the transfer of credits or courses between educational institutions,
- Facilitate the exchange of educational materials, discovery of research materials, teaching aids, documentation, and teaching aids related to education, conferences, symposia and seminars.

However, the agreement mentioned above does not specifically regulate educational services for Indonesian children, especially those in Sabah. Finally, more specific agreement was made, namely MINIT DELIVERY OF INDONESIAN TEACHERS TO SABAH. Prior to 2001, Indonesian children were allowed to attend schools in Malaysia, including Sabah such as the People's School, the National School and the Middle School. As a result, many Indonesian children do not receive education.

At the 2004 Annual Consultation meeting between President Megawati and PM Abdullah Ahmad Badawi it was agreed that Indonesia would send teachers to Sabah to help educate Indonesian children. This agreement cannot yet be implemented.

"At the Annual Consultation between President Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono and PM Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (2006), the formation of Kota Kinabalu Indonesian School was discussed. In the Joint Statement between the two leaders it was stated that, "Prime Minister Abdullah Haji Ahmad Badawi was informed that the Government of Malaysia welcomed the intention of the Indonesian Government to establish the Kota Kinabalu Indonesian School and would facilitate its realization." As a result, the Indonesian government obtained permission from the Malaysian government to establish an Indonesian School in Kota Kinabalu (SIKK)."

The agreement between the two leaders was then followed up by a meeting between the Indonesian side consisting of the Education and Culture Attaché, the Indonesian Consulate General and PTF Tawau, and the Malaysian side consisting of the Malaysian Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commodities, the Position of Chief Minister of Sabah, the Sabah Study Position, the Position Sabah Immigration, Sabah Plantation Association, farming companies, and the NGO Humana Child Aid Society. The meeting resulted in an agreement outlined in the form of Minit. In the Minit it is agreed:

- 1. The NGO Humana Child Aid Society carries out education for Indonesian children in the fields,
- 2. Indonesia sends teachers to teach at Humana schools,
- 3. Indonesia pays teacher salaries and delivery costs to the school/tutoring,
- 4. For starters Indonesia will send 51 teachers,
- 5. The Plantation Company will provide housing for teachers,
- 6. The Malaysian government makes it easy for education, and
- 7. The curriculum used is the National Curriculum (Malaysia).

Until now, the Minit has become a guideline for the Malaysian side in dealing with the education of Indonesian children in the fields. The number of teachers who were sent for the first time was 109 with a term of two years. The teachers have completed their assignments and have returned to Indonesia. In exchange, Indonesia has sent 76 teachers and around 39 teachers will be sent again.

Given the recent developments, the MINIT in 2010 is deemed necessary to be renewed due to several problems, including:

- 1. The number of Indonesian children in Sabah has grown to 43,000,
- 2. Up to that time (as of 1 February 2010) the NGO Humana Child Aid Society could only accommodate 7,095 children so it was necessary to add at least five (5) more NGOs in order to provide services to all Indonesian children in Sabah.
- 3. In order to be granted permission to establish a PKBM (Community Learning Activity Center),
- 4. There must be a regulation on the use of donations requested by NGOs to the Plantation Company,
- 5. There is no collection of money from students/women/parents of students,
- 6. Syarikat are required to establish schools, for those with Indonesian children or send them to the nearest Indonesian school without being asked for payment, as part of the implementation of CSR (Corporate Social Responsibility).

Increase the weight of the Indonesian curriculum to provide opportunities for children to continue their education in Indonesia. (Embassy of The Republic of Indonesia, in Kuala Lumpur, n.d.) Authentication: Siaga Indonesia.com. February 8th, 2016. Assistant Athan RI in Kuala Lumpur, Major Chb Sandy Maulana Prakasa, S.ikom.

# 3.3 Coordination Between the Jakarta Central Government and Indonesian Representatives in Sabah

The Jakarta Central Government and the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia Kota Kinabalu conducted a feasibility survey for the establishment of Community Learning Centers (CLC, an Indonesian school that was officially established by the Indonesian Government) and conducted coaching for Indonesian (Non-Government) Schools in Sabah, Malaysia. Based on a survey conducted by the Indonesian Consulate General in Kota Kinabalu in 2006, there were 24,199 children and only 7,000 children who received education. Starting from this situation, there is a need for schools that can provide adequate education so that it is necessary to establish formal schools that use the Indonesian curriculum (Makrib, 2017).

# 3.4 Send Teachers from Indonesia to Sabah on a Contract Work System

In 2006, the Indonesian government officially sent 51 teachers to Sabah, Malaysia for starters (Effendi, 2016). Until 2015, the Ministry of Education has deployed 381 assisting teachers to meet the needs of teaching staff in these schools. Apart from this number, there are also 167 educators from the local community, of whom 30 are Malaysian citizens. Since then, this number has become a guideline for the Ministry of National Education for the official sending of teachers to Sabah Malaysia (Makrib, 2017).

## 3.5 Launch of the Distance Education Program

Sekolah Indonesia Kota Kinabalu (SIKK) on 23 July 2016 launched the Distance Education (PJJ) program, with the aim of expanding and facilitating access to education for the children of Indonesian migrant workers (PMI) in Sabah. This program offers ease of learning by utilizing Information and Communication Technology (ICT). SIKK acts as the main school for the group of PJJ program participants known as the Learning Activity Place (TKB). This PJJ program targets PMI children who are constrained and cannot receive education through SIKK, CLC, or Equality Education (Package Examinations). With the presence of PJJ, there are new alternatives and opportunities for PMI children to attend education which is also officially recognized by the Government of Indonesia. In 2019, there were around 400 PMI children who participated in the PJJ SIKK program for Elementary School (SD). On 23 July 2019, the Indonesian Consulate General in Kota Kinabalu launched the School Management Information System (SIMS +). (Konsulat Jenderal Republik Indonesia di Kota Kinabalu Sabah, 2019).

# 3.6 Collaboration Between the Indonesian Government and Various Campuses in Indonesia

The government to provide opportunities for various campuses in Indonesia to send students to do Community Service as assistant teachers at various CLCs (Effendi, 2016) and providing scholarships for BMI Sabah children to continue their studies in Indonesia. On April 4–6 2016 various Kota Kinabalu Indonesian Schools (SIKK) and the Community Learning Center (CLC) which had high school students held their first National

Examination (UN) for the first time. Head of the Secretariat of the Indonesian Consulate General (KJRI) Kinabalu, Sabah, Malaysia Wasito Achmad (Ismail, 2016). The Head of SIKK Istiqlal Makrip said that all the paper based exams had not yet held a computer based exam. After graduating, 22 children of BMI in Sabah received scholarships to continue studying in Indonesia (Mashita, 2015).

# 3.7 Cooperation Between the Government of Indonesia and the Local Government of the State of Sabah

This must be done especially in the handling of 38 schools of children of Indonesian citizens (WNI) or migrant workers in Malaysia who are not registered as foreign schools because they do not comply with the provisions of the Malaysian Government which do not justify the existence of overseas schools outside of farms or plantations. These various schools or community learning centers (CLC) were established on the initiative of Indonesian citizens or parents of Indonesian children who live in urban areas that are far from Kota Kinabalu. This CLC is not recognized as an overseas school by the Government of Malaysia because of the regulations issued by the section dealing with education issues in the country. The Indonesian Consul General for Kota Kinabalu, Krishna Djelani said, even though these schools violated Malaysian regulations, they were given the policy to continue operating or carry out a teaching and learning process (PBM) with consideration, for the sake of the continuity of the education of Indonesian children in the vicinity as a form of cooperation between the Indonesian Government. Through the KJRI Kota KInabalu and the Malaysian Government. However, he said, the Malaysian government warned against adding more schools in urban areas. Meanwhile, oil palm fields and plantations are still given the area of establishing schools with the consent of their employers.

The agreement with the education department of Sabah was that the 38 unregistered schools were allowed to continue operating as long as they did not establish new ones in urban areas (Djelani, 2017). However, the Indonesian Consulate General in Kota Kinabalu, as the representative of the Government of Indonesia, still pays attention to these 38 schools by monitoring and providing guidance and assistance such as procurement of advice on book infrastructure, furniture and other needs outside of building or classroom repairs (Rusman, 2019).

## 3.8 Indonesian Cooperation with Malaysian Entrepreneurs

The cooperation includes building schools for BMI children in Sabah (Republika, 2017). For example, the Indonesian Consul General for Kota Kinabalu Akhmad DH. Irfan on 16 January 2016 inaugurated the completion of the Smart CLC learning facility in Penampang, Kota Kinabalu. The building, which consists of 8 aluminum rooms, is an aid from a joint venture between Indonesian BUMN and Malaysian BUMN, Rekaya Industri (Rekind) Sdn Bhd.

In 2019, in Sabah there are around 50,000 school-age children who need educational services from the Indonesian Representative, Consul General Ahmad DH. Irfan appreciated the assistance and participation of Rekind and the NHY construction company in providing learning facilities for Indonesian children at CLC Cerdas, Penampang. Welly

Abizar from Rekind and Sholy from NHY stated that the assistance for learning facilities to Smart CLC is a form of corporate social responsibility and concern, especially for the education of children of TKI in Sabah.

#### 3.9 Cooperation Between Indonesia and NGOs in Malaysia

Most of the activists are from Indonesia and apply the Indonesian Education curriculum and Malaysian 'origin' NGOs which apply the Malaysian curriculum (Rusman, 2019).

#### 3.10 Various Factors of Policy Failure (the Failure of the Policy)

#### The Issue of Legality of Immigrant Children

Migrant-Care NGO activists, namely Anis Hidayah, Wahyu Susilo, Mulyadi (2013) Line of Policy (Minus) Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, Migrant Care Indonesia, in CHAPTER III Mobilization, Placement, Minus Protection (p. 44–65), among others identify ISSUES ON FOREIGN WORKERS IN MALAYSIA, namely:

"Number of FW is growing-1.6 million in 2005 to 1.8 million in 2010. Why is this happening? Attitude of local workers-High turnover, 3D type of job: Malaysia is more towards labour intensive rather than mechanisation due to lack of technology innovation and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) policies. Recruitment of FW is a source of income for outsourcing company. Education in Malaysia is towards academic not skill- Our society still consider vocational student is a secondclass worker. Wages not attractive in the source countries. Mindset of employers-FW is a cheap labour." (Hidayah et al., 2013).

Anis Hidayah et al. (2013) also identified Indonesian Migrant Workers (BMI) in Malaysia, as follows:

"Indonesian migrants in Malaysia. Malaysia is second highest recipient of Indonesian migrant workers after Saudi Arabia and the number is increasing 17% of Malaysia's workforce are from overseas: more than 60% of these are from Indonesia. Approximately 1.3 million documented and 700,000 undocumented Indonesian migrants worked in Malaysia in 2006 60% of documented Indonesian migrants in Malaysia are women. Undocumented workers travel without visas, overstay visa/work permit, change jobs without necessary procedures. They have no legal protection and are often exploited by Malaysian employers due to their illegal immigration status." (Hidayah et al., 2013).

The Immigration Technical Staff of the Indonesian Consulate in Tawau Malaysia, Ujo Sujoto, explained that there are still high numbers of illegal TKI employed by companies in Malaysia, stating that of the many BMIs, 500,000 of them are in the state of Sabah, East Malaysia, of which around 300,000 are illegal (Sukoco, 2017a). NGO AMRC explained that BMIs in Sabah mostly work in the palm oil sector. In Sabah, in 2018, there was a referee palm area of 1.5 million hectares which is 26.5 percent of the

total area of oil palm plantations in Malaysia. In Sabah there are about 1 million workers with a composition of 90 percent of migrant workers, the majority of whom come from Indonesia (Sulawesi and NTT). The rest (10 percent) came from the Philippines, Suluk and Bajau (Mufakir, 2020).

In reality, 70 percent of the status is undocumented. This happens because the border character is porous, meaning that there are many gaps that are easy to pass through the mouse path. Traditional migration has also been going on for a long time. The nature of work in oil palm for workers' families includes: Father as a harvester, mother spraying or fertilizing, child as collector of oil palm fruit seeds. The recruitment quota system for plantation workers is limited by the immigration institution as part of population control, namely: 1 worker for 8–10 hectares. In fact, in fact, it is only a portion of the labor for harvesters, not including fertilizers and pest sprayers. The increase in the number of illegal workers is also caused by the process of 'illegalizing', caused by: (1) changing employers. (2) documents cannot be renewed because the work permit period cannot be renewed anymore, (3) documents are lost, and so on (Mufakir, 2020).

The poor condition of BMIs in Sabah, Malaysia, is reflected in the fact that in 4 months January-April 2017, 28 TKI from East Nusa Tenggara (NTT) died in Malaysia (Bere, 2017). Head of the Protection and Empowerment Section of BP3TKI Kupang, Siwa said, of the 28 TKIs who died, 27 were illegal workers or did not have official documents when they entered and worked in Malaysia. Most of the migrant workers who died in Malaysia, continued Siwa, were male and came from South Central Timor (TTS). Meanwhile, the others were from North Central Timor (TTU), Malacca, Belu and Ende districts. According to Shiva, these migrant workers died from disease, work accidents, and drowned in the sea and ponds. They work as household assistants and workers in oil palm plantations. Of the 28 TKI who died, 25 TKI had already returned to their hometowns in NTT. Meanwhile, three people were buried in Malaysia, because they did not have complete addresses in NTT (Bere, 2017).

The Indonesian Consulate General in Tawau, Sabah Krishna Djelani, Wednesday (26/04/2017) said that the Indonesian Consulate in Tawau had 4 times asked TKI companies and agencies in the State of Sabah Malaysia to stop hiring workers illegally. The Indonesian Consulate in Tawau Malaysia, Krishna Djelani, Wednesday (26/04/2017) (Sukoco, 2017a). The high number of illegal TKIs in Malaysia is due to the fact that many rogue oil palm plantation companies employ illegal TKIs. With the awareness of companies and plantations in Malaysia not to accept illegal workers, the number of illegal TKI in Malaysia is certain to decrease accordingly. Or in other terms. If companies in Sabah do not employ illegal migrant workers, they will automatically not dare to go to Malaysia. Krisna added that companies and agencies in Malaysia are welcome to take advantage of the Malaysian government's re-hiring program. This program makes it easy for illegal TKIs whose documents have expired to update their documents. Malaysian companies can also take advantage of the LTSP Border Center Integrated Services program to process worker documents.

The illegal status of migrant workers ultimately has implications for the rights of their children. The Indonesian Consul in Tawau, Malaysia, Krishna Djelani indicated that 50,000 BMI children who work in the State of Sabah, Malaysia, do not have identity (Sukoco, 2017b). Thousands of unidentified Indonesian migrant workers are the result

of the marriage of migrant workers at their place of work because the Malaysian government has prohibited TKI who want to work in their country to bring their families with them. Both immigration and Malaysian labor regulations do not allow unskilled foreign workers to bring their families. Initially they came alone, met their soul mate and continued to marry and have children in Sabah.

The Indonesian Consulate noted that out of 50,000 child migrant workers who did not have documents, 23,396 of them are currently studying at CLC. Krishna Djelani said that the parents of thousands of unidentified children were mostly reluctant to take documents at the consulate in Tawau City. The consulate admits that it is difficult to provide documents for unidentified children of migrant workers because their parents are not only reluctant to report, but also reluctant to process documents for their children. Most of their parents are illegal TKI. "Many don't report. This has to do with the passport. To provide valid documents there are conditions, we verify the parents whether they are true Indonesian citizens, there is a certificate (letter) of birth, there is a witness to the marriage of their parents and a certificate from the company" (Sukoco, 2017b).

#### Migrant Worker Poverty Has Implications for CHILdren's Education

Apart from the difficulty in obtaining an identity card, the majority of TKI children do not receive education. For example what happened to Petrus Blawa's family (Sukoco, 2017b), one TKI from Flores who works on an oil palm plantation in Tawau, Malaysia, said that out of their 6 children born in Malaysia, only 1 can read. The difficulty of getting education makes TKI children choose to work to help their parents in the oil palm plantation to become operators of lorries (oil palm trucks). This happened because there were no schools in the fields.

Why did that happen? The Malaysian government, indeed, has provided educational services to all residents living within Malaysia's territory, including Sabah. As a means of providing educational services, the Malaysian Government has established People's Schools, Middle Schools, Colleges, and Universities. Every resident is allowed to attend/get education services in schools. As a host country, Malaysia prioritizes providing services to its own citizens.

Prior to 2002, Indonesian Migrant Workers or Indonesian Migrant Workers (TKI) were still free to work and send their children to school without documents. But after the issuance of the 2001 Labor Act and the 2001 Education Act, their activities were limited. All foreign workers must have complete documents and all foreign students must also have complete documents. In principle, the Malaysian Government can accept foreign students who will study in Malaysian schools both Royal schools (Public Schools) and private schools as long as they meet the requirements stipulated under the laws and regulations in the field of education. Some problems that are sometimes difficult for Indonesian citizens to meet in order to obtain educational services, including personal documents of children, immigration status of parents, residence and availability of places (Salmah, 2012; Umar & Suniarti, 2011).

In general, children of Indonesian citizens living in oil palm plantations, tea plantations and factories do not have valid travel documents such as passports, entry visas, and residence permits. The immigration status of the parents are mostly unskilled workers. Their places of residence vary and do not have a fixed address. In addition, their

residence is far from the school; it takes two or three hours from residence to school; public transport is very rare; and unable to pay for transportation costs. The availability of school places is also a problem for Indonesian citizens (Nugroho, 2018).

General requirements for obtaining educational services in Malaysian schools include Malaysian citizenship, legal foreign nationals, of legal age, and availability of places. Bearing in mind that the interest of the Malaysian Government in establishing schools is to provide educational services for its citizens, the capacity of the schools established is in accordance with the number of Malaysian citizens who need educational services. Meanwhile, foreign citizens who wish to obtain educational services wait until the availability of school places. School buildings established by the Malaysian Government are generally located close to Malaysian citizens' settlements, to make it easier for children/students to go to and from school to/from their homes. The first problem is about school fees for children - non-Malaysian children who are difficult to reach by Indonesian Migrant Workers whose income is indeed low, as noted by UMY International KKN students in Tawau Malaysia.

Small Plantation Companies,.

The availability of school places is also a problem for Indonesian citizen students.

Geographical Factors Where They Live Deep in the Interior.

In addition, their residence is far from the school; it takes two or three hours from residence to school; public transport is very rare; and unable to pay for transport costs.

Low Parental Support.

In addition, the attitude of parents who do not realize the importance and benefits of education for their children also often becomes an obstacle. The low attendance of students in class is also a serious problem. During the oil palm harvest season, many students do not attend school because they help their parents collect the oil palm harvest.

These problems cannot be resolved by the students and their parents. This is what causes the children of Indonesian citizens not to receive educational services. As a result, in 2019, of the 50,000 children, 25,000 of them are threatened with illiteracy.

Education of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Sabah During the Covid-19 Pandemic Since March 18, 2020, his government has implemented a lockdown policy to prevent the spread of COVID-19. On March 22, 2020, for example, the Malaysian government reported 1,306 positive COVID-19 cases in Malaysia, and 158 cases in Sabah (Narudin, 2020). The NGO "AMRC" noted that the Covid-19 Pandemic had a bad impact on BMIs in Sabah. After the Malaysian government implemented a lockdown in early March 2020, there was the closure of oil palm plantation operations in six districts with a production value of 60 percent of Sabah's total palm production. Most of the field workers (permanent, sprayer, fertilizer department) did not get paid during the closure of oil palm plantation operations. In fact, most of them do not have access to labor unions and legal aid agencies. As a result, most of the BMIs began to run out of food as a result of traders who usually went to the fields, could not enter the fields (Mufakir, 2020).

The Covid-19 pandemic has also impacted the education world of BMIs in Sabah after the Royal Malaysia Administration gave instructions that all schools in Malaysia,

both with Malaysian curriculum and Indonesian schools in Malaysia, began implementing home learning since March 16, 2020. Ferry Sulistiyono as a guidance teacher at the School Indonesia Overseas (SILN) CLC 4 Sapidua located in Sabah, Malaysia explained that teaching students online, in almost all subjects for students in grades 7,8 and 9 SMP. He admitted that he did not encounter significant difficulties when he had to teach via online media by making videos and then uploading them to YouTube, some also gave discussions via WhatsApp, Google Classroom and Zoom (Farida, 2020). When implementing online learning in the midst of the current pandemic, teachers are also required to provide education related to the COVID-19 outbreak to their students. Ferry is well aware of this, who also has to rack his brains to explain the reasons why schools should be closed to his students.

As much as possible Ferry did not want to make his students feel overwhelmed by learning which only emphasized the cognitive aspects. Because according to him, it would be impossible if students were able to comprehend the material comprehensively with learning activities carried out without face to face. After all, online learning technically has its own challenges, including the internet network. However, he is also realistic about the fact that the learning process is not optimal. Regarding the internet network which is very reliable in online learning, it also has an impact on students' enthusiasm for learning. Ferry tells about some of his students who were very enthusiastic at the beginning of the application of home learning, but in the middle of the journey the enthusiasm faded due to low quota problems and stagnant signals because most of them live in oil palm areas where there is no internet network at all times. Even if there is a signal, they have had difficulty leaving the house to buy internet quotas since the government implemented a lockdown.

Even though according to Ferry there are several providers that provide free quota of 1 GB, their use is only limited to 8:00 p.m. local time. The duration is not 24 h, so they often experience problems when students play with Google Classroom, the data package needed is not enough for only 1 GB. To work around this, Ferry inevitably had to start leaving online games and quizzes. He then switched to using the WhatsApp (WA) group. In Malaysia, said Ferry, almost all providers give WA services free of charge so students don't have to worry about running out of internet quota.

However, the use of the WA group in online learning often has problems. Because Indonesian citizens (WNI) who live in Sabah partly use the Bugis regional language or the Malay language. Submission of written material through WA is sometimes captured by different perceptions by each student. For example, the teacher instructs students to make product advertisements using Indonesian, but there are students who still use Malay. Even though Ferry admits that the children really enjoy learning activities online, he does not cover up that there are times when students feel very bored. Not infrequently he heard complaints like that from some of his students. In general, students miss classrooms and learning activities at school. Quizzes or online games that are deliberately designed to overcome students' boredom are sometimes not effective enough to get rid of boredom for those who immediately want to hang out with friends (Farida, 2020).

## 4 Discussion

#### 4.1 Various Advances

Until 2019, some of the progress of the SIKK, CLC and NGO Humana schools were as follows:

		1	I	I	I
NO	ASPECT	2010	2012	2017	2019
1	Number of BMIs in Sabah	400.000	450.000	470.000	500.000
2	Number of BMI school-age children up to 15 years of age	47.000	48.000	50.000	53.000
3	The number of BMI children who attend school	15.000	20.000	23.000	27.000
	CLC/Place of Learning Activities			12.000	13.000
	PKBM Teaching and Learning Activity Center/Pursuing Package Program			12.000	14.000
4	Number of BMI Schools	50	150	200	340
5	Number of BMI Teachers	40	50	300	700
	Assistant teacher (seconded from Indonesia)				GB: 300
	Pamong teacher (Indonesian in Malaysia)				GP 400
6	Number of Students who graduated from Junior High School	5.000	6.000	7.000	8.000
7	The number of students who graduate to continue their senior high school studies to Indonesia	-	-	15	620
	Independent				120
	Got a scholarship				500
8	Children of BMI Sabah who joined PT				286
	Independent				120
	Bidik Misi				148

<sup>\*</sup>Note: Children of BMI in Sabah who enter PTAngka/The amount of data above is an estimate, due to the complexity of the data collection process for the number of BMIs and children of BMIs in Sabah Malaysia. The 2019 data comes from the Education and Cultural Attache of the Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur, quoted by Antara News Agency November 17 2019.

#### Various Limitations and Recommendations

The Indonesian government has made various efforts to address the issue of the education of children of Indonesian migrant workers (BMI) in Sabah, Malaysia. However, in reality, various problems are still encountered, including:

- 1. Their low knowledge of history, geography and Indonesian language
- 2. The low motivation to learn and support from parents of students
- 3. Limited number of schools and teachers

This was recorded in the UMY International KKN student activity report in Tawau, 2017, as follows:

"...(1)The lack of identity awareness from Indonesian Workers...many Indonesian migrant who used illegal procedure to enter tawau, obviously did not aware to the importance of acquiring passport and visa for worker...the worst part is when this problem grows into a bigger problem when they make a family and have children...(2) Complicated Procedures from Government....from our direct interview with the local people about illegal identity isu, we found out that most of them argued processing passport, visa or birth certificate are difficult.. Unpredictable Future for the Children...The scholarship offers also do not effectively run as the government's wish because only few children pass the qualification for the scholarship and most of them are not permitted by their parent to pursue a higher study ain afar place (the home land Indonesia)" (Nugroho, 2018).

Based on the author's interview with the SIKK Principal, that schools in the fields are usually provided by relatively large entrepreneurs (more than 100 workers), they have sufficient funds and the number of children to teach, limited CSR funds. This means that for children whose parents work in small fields, they have the potential not to receive educational services.

Another problem that is no less complicated is the low level of coordination between Indonesian government agencies, particularly between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of National Education. For example, in terms of the slow issuance of diplomas for SIKK students who have passed the exam. For example, in 2012 the Indonesian Consulate General (KJRI) in Sabah repeatedly asked the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) in Jakarta to issue diplomas for children of Indonesian Migrant Workers (TKI) in Sabah, Malaysia. This is because hundreds of students have waited up to a year. In fact, there are elements in the Ministry of Education and Culture in Jakarta who ask for money from Rp. 1 million for a certificate. Though this diploma is needed to continue school back to the junior high school level (detikNews, 2012).

#### 5 Recommendation

- 1. The need for increased coordination between Indonesian Ministries
- 2. The need to solve the problems of children who have parents who work in small fields and far from cities, so that they are able to get educational services.
- 3. Increased awareness of Indonesian citizens and politicians that the problem of fulfilling educational facilities for children of Indonesian descent abroad is an important political issue that must be addressed
- 4. The need for increased coordination between ministries in Indonesia, especially between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of National Education and the Ministry of Law and Human Rights.
- Increased cooperation between the Government of Indonesia and several parties in Malaysia, including: the Malaysian government, private sector management of fields and NGOs.

6. Suitable institutions for implementing equality education are PKBM, Tuisyen, and NGOs engaged in education. At this time the legality of PKBM was only limited by the Government of Indonesia. In order to be recognized by the Malaysian Government, a cooperation agreement between Indonesia and Malaysia is required. Meanwhile, Tuisyen and NGOs already have arrangements. However, until now there has been no text that specifically uses the Indonesian curriculum and for Indonesian children. So that PKBM can be established and can be developed, it needs support from the company where the parents of the students work. To expand the reach of educational services to Indonesian children in Sabah, it is necessary to increase the number of PKBM, Tuisyen and NGOs engaged in education.

## 6 Conclusion

The Indonesian government considers the issue of fulfilling the right to education for BMI's children due to domestic factors in the form of the ethical basis of the Pancasila Principle 2 of Just and Civilized Humanity and the 5th principle of Social Justice for All Indonesians; mandate of the Preamble and the body of the 1945 Constitution The Indonesian government is obliged to educate the nation's life, including providing educational services for children. Based on human rights, children regardless of ethnicity or nationality have the right to obtain education. The Indonesian state has an obligation to provide educational service facilities for children living outside the territory of the Indonesian state. Indonesian children must attend the compulsory nine years of education. The cost for implementing compulsory education is provided by the Government of Indonesia.

Equality education is a suitable education model for Indonesian children in Sabah, especially for children who cannot attend formal education at Kota Kinabalu Indonesian School. Besides being a formal education provider, SIKK also needs to function as a supervisor of the quality of equality education, a supervisory institution for institutions that carry out equality education services. In order for educational services to reach all children in Sabah, institutions implementing equality education must be developed.

The fulfillment of the rights of Indonesian migrant workers to education in Sabah, Malaysia is also based on considerations of the international context by collaborating with the Malaysian government based on the ASEAN Ways Principle, namely respecting the sovereignty of other countries and prioritizing solving problems in a peaceful manner.

## 7 Research Contribution

- 1. Ontological contribution, enriching studies on the ethical foundation of Indonesian foreign decision-making and international relations between Indonesia and Malaysia; particularly in protecting the rights of migrant workers.
- 2. Epistemological contribution, enriching the study of international relations, especially with regard to the importance of a constructivist approach in understanding relations between countries.

 Axiological contribution. The application of the constructivist approach to solving various problems that arise with the cooperation mechanism, not the conflict approach, which so far seems to be more dominant to describe the dynamics of the relationship between Indonesia and Malaysia.

# 8 Limitation and Study Forward

- Study on solving problems of access to education for children who have parents with jobs in small fields and far away in urban areas.
- 2. Studies on further education schools for children of migrant workers after graduating from high school and their employment and welfare.
- Study the effectiveness of the KJRI KK's Digital Diplomacy for the protection of BMIs in Sabah

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- 3. Consulate General of the Indonesian Consulate General in Tawau, Sabah (Consul Krishna Djelani and staff) who later changed his duties to serve as Consul General of the Indonesian Consulate General in Kota Kinabalu, Sabah.
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