

## **Media Coverage of a Shelter for Abandoned Children in Indonesia: A Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Female Migrant Workers**

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### **ABSTRACT**

Amidst the research and public discourse on the problems of female migrant workers (especially domestic workers), the phenomenon of unwanted children born as a result of rape or unplanned pregnancies has received little attention. In Indonesia, many such babies have been found abandoned at the Soekarno Hatta International Airport. In response to this need in January 2009, two charitable organizations Yayasan Putri Cikeas and Gerakan Nasional Kepedulian Sosial (GNKS) and a government agency The National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia, or BNP2TKI) cooperatively established a temporary shelter named Rumah Peduli Anak TKI (RPA TKI) for these newborns. Indonesian television stations have devoted considerable news coverage to this shelter, and some videos on its activities can be found on YouTube, resulting in donations and offers to adopt the abandoned babies. However, its representation of the mothers is problematic.

This study aims to understand how RPA TKI is represented in the media to suggest that the representation fails to provide a comprehensive understanding of unwanted children and their migrant mothers. Applying feminist critical discourse analysis, I found that some aspects of the coverage reinforce undesirable stereotypes and even re-victimize the female migrant workers who became the unwilling mothers of these children. Findings indicate that Indonesian media often lacks gender perspective when covering female migration and its uninvited

### ARTICLE INFO

*Article history:*

Received: 22 June 2019

Accepted: 10 April 2019

Published: 18 December 2019

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outcomes. This research will serve as a base for future studies on the representation of female migrant workers in Indonesian media.

*Keywords:* Feminist critical discourse analysis (CDA), female migrant workers, media coverage, RPA TKI, unwanted children

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## INTRODUCTION

United Nations (2008):

Although both men and women migrate, it is not a gender-neutral phenomenon. The position of female migrants is different from that of male migrants in terms of the legal migration channels, sectors in which they migrate, the forms of abuse they suffer, and the consequences thereof. (p. 17).

This quotation aptly describes the distinctive and often harrowing experience of female migrant workers around the world, including many from Indonesia who work in other Asian countries or in the Middle East.

The National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan TKI, or BNP2TKI) reported that the total number of female migrant workers from Indonesia as of 30 November 2015 was 152,099-far greater than the 100,985 male migrant workers. Domestic sector is the sector where 90% of these female migrant workers are employed (International Labor Organization, 2013). Working in isolation in a domestic setting with very little if any security protection,

migrant domestic workers are highly vulnerable to sexual abuse, which frequently results in unwanted pregnancies. In some cases, the sexual relationship may be consensual, but often, it is the result of rape or coercion. Once a pregnancy occurs, these women are usually dumped on the streets by their employers, who refuse to give them their passports after discovering that the women are pregnant. The women are then arrested by police and placed in jail. Sometimes they are deported before the child is born (Schliebs, 2009).

Even when the sexual relationship is consensual perhaps with a fellow migrant rather than an employer, an unplanned pregnancies often result from migrants having little sexual knowledge or access to contraceptives. Tang et al. (2011), in their study of unmarried female migrant workers in China, found low levels of sexual knowledge among their 5,534 respondents. Tang et al. (2011) explained:

Unmarried migrant youths are even more vulnerable to having premarital sexual intercourse. Most of them lack knowledge and skills to avoid risky behaviors, such as unprotected sex, and are unable to access or are restricted from receiving affordable and appropriate reproductive health information and services. Premarital sexual activity is more likely to put the unmarried youth at risk of unwanted pregnancy [and] unsafe abortion. (p. 2).

Ullah (2010) discovered that premarital sex was very common among 336 Filipino, Indonesian, and Thai female migrants

working in Hong Kong who became his respondents. More than a third of them became pregnant, and more than a half of them had 'unwanted' pregnancy. Frequently, the female migrant is abandoned by her sexual partner once he discovers that she is pregnant. Just like rape victims, these women have nowhere to turn, since policies in the countries where they work also tend to victimize them. In labor migration policies and practices, women's sexuality is disciplined and controlled (Lan as cited in Ham, 2017). Female migrant workers are not allowed to get pregnant, and they are deported if found to be pregnant (KavLaOdev as cited in Ham, 2017). Moreover, abortion is illegal in most Asian countries where Indonesian migrants work, as well as in their home country.

These women are left with two options: seeking an unsafe abortion (since medical abortion is unavailable) or carrying the baby to term without any support. In many instances, confused and traumatized by their experience of abuse, abandonment, and pregnancy, they desire to discard their babies, even if they return to Indonesia. As a result, the phenomenon of abandoned babies at Indonesia's Soekarno Hatta International Airport has become common (Sumandoyo & Aprillatu, 2013). The fear of social disapprobation and public humiliation for having a child out of wedlock is the primary reason these migrant workers choose to leave their babies in public places such as the airport.

In response to this tragic situation, two charitable institutions namely Yayasan Putri

Cikeas and Gerakan Nasional Kepedulian Sosial (GNKS), in cooperation with BNP2TKI, established the Shelter for Indonesian Migrant Worker Children (Rumah Peduli Anak Tenaga Kerja Indonesia or RPA TKI) in January 2009. RPA TKI functions as a temporary shelter similar to an orphanage. Migrant workers can place their babies at RPA TKI for a certain period of time (between 6 and 12 months) or give them up for adoption.

Leaving their babies at RPA TKI is a way for these troubled women either to forget the sexual abuse they experienced or to hide these babies from their husbands and/or families in their hometown. Unfortunately, due to its limited funds, RPA TKI can operate only one shelter. This was initially located in a small rental house near the Soekarno Hatta Airport in Tangerang but has since moved to a larger building owned by the institution in Cikeas, Bogor, allowing it to care for more children and employ more babysitters and administrative staff.

RPA TKI has received considerable media coverage since its establishment, resulting in donations and offers to adopt the unwanted children. The media coverage has represented the shelter positively. However, it has not explored in-depth the complexities of the problem of unwanted children. Therefore, this study seeks to rigorously analyze the problematic representation of female migrant workers in the coverage.

## **MATERIALS AND METHODS**

Fairclough and Wodak (as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2001) stated that in CDA, language

is seen as social practice. Moreover, the context in which the language is used is important, and CDA pays special attention to the relation between language and power (Wodak & Meyer, 2001) and has been widely used to analyze the representation of certain actors by the media. Fairclough (2003) claimed that:

Just as there are choices in the representation of processes, so also there are choices in the representation of social actors. Social actors are usually Participants in clauses, though they may not be (they may be within Circumstances instead), and not all Participants are social actors - they may be physical objects for instance (compare 'the car hit Mary', 'the car hit a rock' - both 'Mary' and 'a rock' are objects of the verb, i.e. Participants, but only 'Mary' is a social actor). (p. 145).

In analyzing social actors using Fairclough's CDA, there are variables to be considered such as inclusion/ exclusion, vocabulary, and grammatical metaphors. In a CDA research, according to Lazar (2007), language should be analyzed critically with other semiotic modalities such as visual images, layouts, gestures, and sounds. Feminist CDA can be considered a subcategory of CDA. Its basic principles are the same, but it features the view of gender from a political perspective. Gender, power, and ideology in discourse which are interrelated are investigated. This method, similar to CDA, can be applied in the study of texts and talk. Gender ideology is so hegemonic that it rarely

appears as domination. Instead it is often considered consensual and acceptable in the society. Through discourse, there is a constant recreation and circulation of ideological assumptions as commonsensical and natural (Lazar, 2007). The focus of feminist CDA is on the reproduction, negotiation, and contestation of gender ideology and gendered power relations in social practices' representations, people's social relationships, and the texts and talk which show people's social and personal identities (Lazar, 2007). CDA has been applied by researchers to investigate gender aspects of different issues covered in media. Some researchers do not label their approach feminist CDA, but they include gender perspective when applying CDA. Study by Heywood (2013) on Canadian newspaper articles discussing ethnic identities of young female victims of sexual exploitation and perpetrators found that word choices in the articles revealed the ethnic identity of the victims but made the identity of the perpetrators of exploiters of abuse invisible. She suggested that this supports white privilege concept. Few others directly identify their approach as feminist CDA. Barer (2013) investigated sexual assaults covered in media, police reports, and grassroots poster campaigns to find how social actors accountable for sexual assault prevention were represented. No research applying feminist CDA has been conducted on female migrant workers.

In the discussion of female migrant workers and media, Hennebray et al. (2017) suggested that:

Depictions of women migrant workers are shaped by discourses pertaining to gender, race, nationality and immigration status... [They] are represented by an array of terms and categorizations: care worker; mother; sister; supporter; criminal; sex worker; victim; hero, etc. [In the case of human trafficking, for example, female migrant workers'] representation often relies on the State, NGOs and other actors defining and identifying 'victims', ignoring the[ir] voices and experiences. (p. 4).

In analyzing the representation of Indonesian female migrant workers in media, CDA, although not specifically feminist CDA, has been applied by some researchers. Widyawati (2008) found that although Malaysia and Indonesia share racial and cultural traits, Indonesian migrant workers were represented more negatively than migrant workers from other Asian countries in two of the three Malaysian newspapers studied. Widyawati (2008) also analyzed the news production's ideological context in these three newspapers. Similarly, Razzaq (2012) focused on the representation of migrant workers in one Malaysian

newspaper along with its argumentation strategies employed to justify and legitimize that representation. The present study builds on those two works though its focus is on the representation of female migrant workers in Indonesian media.

It appears from the aforementioned investigations that numerous investigations have been conducted on representation of women, including female migrant workers, in media. However, no attempt has been made to investigate the plight of Indonesian female migrant workers with unwanted children represented on TV coverage. Applying feminist CDA, it aims to understand how RPA TKI is represented in the media to suggest that the representation fails to provide a comprehensive understanding of unwanted children and their migrant mothers.

Among the various instances of Indonesian television coverage of RPA TKI were three videos once aired by national TV stations and uploaded to YouTube. Keywords such as RPA TKI and Rumah Peduli Anak TKI [TKI Child Care Home] were used to browse the videos on YouTube. Table 1 below outlines the research data.

Table 1  
*Indonesian television coverage of RPA TKI*

No.	Title	Type of broadcast and TV Station	URL
1	<i>Bayi-Bayi TKI di Rumah Peduli Anak TKI (RPA TKI) [TKI babies at Child Care Home]</i>	TVRI (Indonesia's only state-owned station)	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=16ePO8Eeq0Q">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=16ePO8Eeq0Q</a>

Table 1 (Continued)

No.	Title	Type of broadcast and TV Station	URL
2	<i>NET12 - Rumah peduli anak TKI berdiri untuk menampung anak-anak TKI yang terlantar</i> [NET12- TKI child care home stands to accommodate neglected children of migrant workers]	A feature of a news program (NET TV, a new private station)	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2UCKedYbh30">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2UCKedYbh30</a>
3	<i>Ummat Trans TV 24 Juni 2016: RPA TKI</i> [Ummat Trans TV, June 24, 2016: RPA TKI]	An Islamic program (Trans TV, a private station)	The video was uploaded by "Komunitas Video Indonesia" YouTube account, but it can no longer be accessed on YouTube.

Three videos combine depictions of the children at RPA TKI with narration and interviews; they range in length from 2:57 to 7:37. In this study, content of the three videos were transcribed to be used as primary data source, which were supplemented by a personal interview with the head of RPA TKI.

In CDA, a translated discourse is considered different from the original one. The discourse analyzed in this paper was originally spoken in Bahasa Indonesia. However, English translations are provided to help non-native speakers understand the discourse. According to Fairclough, analysis of textual samples in discourse analysis papers should include the samples in their original language although they might be difficult for readers (Harrington et al., 2008). Quotations from the supplementary interview, which serves as the secondary data source, will be presented only in English since this interview is not part of the primary discourse analyzed in this research.

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

### Re-victimization of Female Migrant Workers through the Representation of Unwanted Children

Since RPA TKI is a shelter for the unwanted children of migrant workers, its foremost concern is to meet these children's needs. Similarly, the media coverage of the shelter has focused primarily on the children residing there. However, the children's mother generally female migrant domestic workers are also mentioned. In most media coverage, a lack of gender sensitivity in representations of the mothers was found. Metaphors which have connotative meanings are used by the coverage to gain people's sympathy.

Female migrants who return to Indonesia while pregnant or with a young child usually do not feel ready to raise their child alone, having been victims of rape or deserted by their partner during an unplanned pregnancy. No victims-turned-survivors are interviewed in the coverage because a contact with any

of them is difficult to obtain as RPA TKI appreciates their wish to keep their identity a secret. Therefore, their voice is missing from all coverage. However, other actors or narration represent these mothers there. When describing these mothers, the media coverage focuses on their act of leaving the children. For example, the coverage by TVRI contains this narration:

*“Menurut Suratno, sebagian besar bayi yang di RPA TKI diselamatkan dari ibu kandungnya yang hendak membuang atau menggugurkan bayinya karena tidak sanggup menahan rasa malu memiliki anak dari hubungan gelap atau perkosaan. Tak jarang TKI yang kembali ke Indonesia memilih menelantarkan atau membuang anak mereka di bandara sehingga lebih dikenal sebagai airport babies [According to Suratno, most of the babies at RPA TKI have been saved from their birth mothers, who want to discard or abort the babies because they cannot bear the shame of having children out of wedlock or of rape. It is not uncommon for these migrant workers who return to Indonesia to choose to abandon or discard their children at the airport, so these babies are known as airport babies]” (Goeritman, 2013).*

Although the first clause in the first sentence contains a passive structure, which usually focuses more on the action than on the people involved, it then mentions the object from whom the children have been saved and thereby shifts its focus from the action of *diselamatkan* (saved) to the

object *ibu kandung* (birth mothers) who then becomes active subjects who do the action ‘discard or abort’ in the second and third clauses. Armstrong (2016) suggested that:

Active voice means that the agent, or “doer” of the action appears in the subject position... Passive voice, in contrast, puts the agent in a later position in the clause... Use of passive voice has the potential to eliminate mention of agency altogether. (p. 44).

However, vocabulary used in these active clauses and sentences does not have positive meaning when the mothers get their agency. The agency here is used only to emphasize the action of abandoning or discarding their children, which society considers bad or immoral behavior. These two active verbs are even repeated in the next sentence to emphasize that these birth mothers do not act like ‘ideal’ women who are expected to do anything necessary to protect their babies in a patriarchal society; therefore, the babies must be saved from them.

The reason provided to support the action of these women is that they cannot bear the shame. This phrase, as suggested by Fairclough (2003), shows that a usual word-based concept of metaphor is extended to grammar. The fact that they do not want their babies is put in the context of shame. The word ‘shame’ itself shows a victim-blaming culture: the victims are not supported in their time of great distress but are left to feel ashamed about what they have experienced. Even if they are not victims of rape, they are victims of society’s tendency to maintain a

much higher standard of morality for women than for men. When children are born out of wedlock in Indonesia, the women are often if not always, deemed immoral, whereas the fathers usually escape such moral judgment.

There is implication that all these women have had the same experience and are deliberately choosing to discard or abandon their babies, and this is an overgeneralization. The narration does not even consider the possibility of the mothers' painful experience of being sexually abused or going through an unwanted pregnancy to deliver their babies. Trauma or post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which women in this situation, especially rape victims, is not acknowledged in the coverage. In their study, Frank and Stewart (as cited in Herrera et al., 2006) reported more than 50% of rape survivors suffered from depressive symptoms a month after being raped, and around 40% showed major depression. In another study, Kilpatrick et al. (as cited in Herrera et al., 2006) documented that more than 30% rape survivors experienced PTSD, and the chance of experiencing PTSD was 6.2 times higher among rape survivors than among women who were never raped.

In the video prepared by NET TV, the mothers were represented in a slightly more neutral way. The following excerpt comes not from the narrator but from an interview with Soerya Poertranto (personal communication, September 1, 2016), the shelter head/director. In describing the mothers, he explains:

*“Pada dasarnya mereka membawa pulang tidak berani. Waktu dia pergi,*

*dia masih gadis atau sudah menikah, tapi kan bukan anaknya. Sesuatu terjadi di tempat kerjanya. Entah dia harus terpaksa hamil atau karena ketidaksengajaan. Anak ini bukan anak siapa-siapa, tetapi anak dia sendiri yang tidak berdosa. Lalu siapa yang mau mengurus? [Basically, they are afraid to bring their babies home. When she [a female migrant worker] left [her home], she was still a virgin or was married, but the baby is not [her child with her spouse]. Something happened in her workplace, because of either an unwanted pregnancy or an unintentional one. This is nobody's child but her own, and the child does not have a sin. Who will take care of this child?]” (Official NET News, 2014).*

Instead of using the term *malu* [shame], Poertranto uses *tidak berani* [afraid]. These women's fear originates from society's tendency to blame the victim. However, Poertranto does not focus on the act of leaving the babies at the shelter. Instead, he highlights the unwanted nature of the pregnancy and the women's confusion. Accordingly, this interview excerpt paints the women in a much more positive light. Unfortunately, the word *rape* does not appear in the excerpt; this omission could belittle the painful experience of women who are pregnant because of rape.

Whereas these two videos mention the mothers of unwanted children explicitly, others use the story of a child at RPA TKI to represent the mothers. Three of the four videos feature Khaleed, a child with a



physical deformity, in this way. NET TV explained that “*ibunya meminum pil KB saat 7 bulan karena tidak menginginkan*” [his mother took contraceptive pills when she was seven months pregnant because she did not want him] (Official NET News, 2014). The video by Trans TV details his story further:

“*Sejak dalam kandungan, sang bunda, yang TKI, tidak menghendaki kehadirannya dan Khaleed kecil sengaja hendak digugurkan. Berbagai upaya dilakukan sehingga dia terlahir dengan cacat fisik. Belum genap 2 minggu kala itu waktu itu usianya, Khaleed akhirnya ditinggalkan. Pengaruh obat-obatan sejak dalam kandungan membuatnya sulit berkembang sehingga hingga kini harus menjalani terapi motorik dan verbal* [Ever since he was still in his mother’s womb, his mother, a migrant worker, did not want him to exist, and little Khaleed was meant to be aborted. Many things were done, so he was born with physical deformities. He was not even two weeks old when he was put here and left. The influence of the pills since he was in his mother’s womb made him unable to develop, so now he still has to participate in physical and speech therapy]” (Komunitas Video Indonesia, 2016).

In these excerpts above, the mother is represented as an irresponsible, heartless woman who caused the deformities. It is true that the pills she consumed severely affected Khaleed, but it was unknown why the mother

did not want to give birth. Khaleed’s story is different from other children’s stories, but his story is frequently chosen for media coverage because of its potential to evoke great sympathy. According to Poertranto, the amount of money donated specifically for Khaleed’s care has been enormous, totaling almost 500 million rupiahs, enough to pay for his costly therapies. Using the variable inclusion/ exclusion by Fairclough (2003), it can be concluded that the mothers are put in the background for some reasons. In Khaleed’s case, the purpose is to put him at the center of the coverage to gain people’s sympathy. This, unfortunately, comes at the expense of the negative representation of the mothers of the unwanted children at RPA TKI.

Interestingly, the four videos contain no discussion of any child conceived through rape. Meanwhile, according to Poertranto, the comparison between the babies born out of rape and those born out of a consensual sex is in fact 50-50. Only one of the reports featuring Khaleed took a more neutral tone in discussing his mother as a representative of the mothers of these unwanted children in general. The coverage by TVRI described Khaleed simply as one of the babies who could be saved by RPA TKI. Although this coverage seems more neutral in that it includes no description of Khaleed’s mother, it also passes judgment on the mothers in other portions of the video, as discussed earlier.

The coverage by Trans 7 draws a comparison between the children’s birth mothers and their caretakers at RPA TKI.

The narrator states:

*“Sejumlah perawat yang sepenuh hati merawat juga sangat mencintai bocah-bocah tak berdosa ini. Karena bocah-bocah ini tak punya siapa-siapa. Tak ada juga pelukan hangat dari sang bunda [A number of caretakers willingly take care of the innocent children and really love them. Because these children do not have anybody. No warm hug from their mothers]”* (Komunitas Video Indonesia, 2016).

The mothers and caretakers are compared directly in this excerpt, which sets up a clear good-bad dichotomy. The caretakers are described as having an emotional attachment to the children, which the birth mothers presumably lacked. The narration added, “Ya Allah, sungguh luar biasa ketulusan dari para pengasuh” [God, how amazing is the caretakers’ sincerity]. The coverage does not condemn the birth mothers explicitly, but the dichotomy clearly places them in a negative light without considering their painful experience and/or stories.

The media outlets’ discussion of these unwanted children also fails to display gender sensitivity. Instead, of emphasizing the need to provide psychological support for the mothers, who have endured an extremely painful and difficult experience, the media coverage re-victimizes these women and sustains a victim-blaming culture. Although the media coverage overlooks the women’s psychological needs, Poertranto stated that RPA TKI did provide psychological assessments for the

mothers, with the help of a psychology team from Universitas Indonesia and Universitas Al-Azhar Indonesia. However, he did not describe in detail the type of psychological assessments administered or how many of the mothers participate in them.

Even more disturbing in the media coverage is that the fathers are entirely omitted from the discussion, despite the fact that they have abandoned both the female migrant workers, the mothers and their babies. In fact, while the mothers are represented negatively, Trans TV implicitly depicts the fathers in a positive tone as the narrator explains:

*“Anak-anak RPA TKI juga menonjol. Tercatat ada yang matanya biru seperti bule. Ada pula yang berhidung mancung dari belahan bumi timur tak diketahui asal negaranya. Atau rambut ikal, keriting, serta berkulit putih. Ini karena orang tua atau sang ayah dari bocah-bocah ini tidak diketahui [The children at RPA TKI stand out. Some have blue eyes like foreigners. Some have pointed noses from the Middle East. Or wavy hair, curly hair, light complexion. This is because the country where the parents or the fathers of these children are from is unknown]”* (Komunitas Video Indonesia, 2016).

In this positive regard for the babies’ attractive physical features, the fathers are presumed to be the ones responsible for passing these features on to the children. The fact that they have raped or left the mothers is not mentioned at all, let alone the legal advocacy needed by the many

women who would like to seek redress for the sexual abuse they have experienced. No crime should be unpunished. The perpetrators, the fathers of the babies, should be brought to justice. However, those who come home with unresolved problems often have difficulty in finding resolution, and there is no discussion of how these women could file a legal complaint or of what court should take up the case, an Indonesian court or one in the country where the abuse happened. Instead of making any reference to seeking justice for the mothers, the coverage represents the fathers positively.

The video, moreover, participates in endorsing a popular misconception in Indonesia called "*memperbaiki keturunan*" [improve heredity] or the belief that foreigner's genes can make their children have better physical features. As suggested by Nas et al. (2009):

The image of beauty prevalent in contemporary Indonesia is influenced by these colonial racial distinctions, in which the white dominant class and its associated physiognomic characteristics were valued. Skin, nose, shape of the eyes and tallness constitute the beauty standard: the whiter the skin, the better; the nose should be less at; the eyes should not be slanted; and the body should be taller than average. (p. 95).

When interviewed, Poertranto pointed out that there is a high demand for adoptions of these babies; people from different islands and religions are waiting in line, even for years. Their 'above-average physical features' might have been one of the main

reasons of the adoptions. While highlighting the positive features of these babies, which successfully draws people's attention, the video sacrifices their mothers, Indonesian female migrant workers, who face a painful reality of not wanting the babies.

## CONCLUSIONS

Since the focus of this media coverage is on the shelter and the unwanted children living there, it is understandable that the mothers, female migrant workers, get limited attention. However, this research has shown that the coverage is problematic since it displays victim-blaming and gender bias in the terms chosen. The phenomenon of unwanted children is only the tip of the iceberg in the discussion of Indonesian female migrant domestic workers. In the media coverage reviewed here, the women's complex problems, especially in relation to the limited protection they receive in their workplace and their lack of sexual knowledge, are swept under the rug. What appears in the coverage depicts what happens in the society. Women often do not have agency; they are continuously represented by different parties instead. In the coverage, the mothers do not get to represent themselves in the coverage, and most narrations represent them negatively. When this kind of representation is maintained, meanings of gender that are naturalized and normative are created and reproduced by the media especially scripted entertainment TV programs (Soza, 2014). Although media coverage is intended primarily to promote RPA TKI as a philanthropic institution, it

should still exhibit greater gender sensitivity to help the general public understand the complexities and stresses involved as Indonesian female migrant domestic workers struggle to deal with unwanted pregnancies. The media have the power to control much of the public discourse on this phenomenon. When the available discourse is not gender-sensitive, the voices of female migrant domestic workers are not appropriately considered. This tendency to rule out or ignore the legitimacy of migrant domestic workers' experience is quite common and not limited to female migrants who become pregnant. In the coverage, RPA TKI as an institution, through the interviews conducted with its head, acknowledges unwanted and unplanned pregnancies as the main reason why mothers leave their babies there. However, the coverage has not made any efforts to combat the victim-blaming culture that holds female migrant domestic workers responsible for their plight. Its admirable focus on the babies should also be supported with a gender-sensitive psychological program for their mothers. However, as an independent charitable organization that has not received any funding from the Indonesian government or from institutions concerned for migrant workers' rights, it lacks both human and financial resources to deal with the complexities of the problem of unwanted children. It is hoped that the government and workers' rights organizations will offer a helping hand so that the existence of this shelter will not become a shortcut solution that discourages efforts to achieve a more

systemic change. Since this situation calls out for government action, further studies of how the Indonesian government is represented perhaps even in the same set of videos would be a valuable project for future research. Moreover, this research has shown that feminist CDA could be utilized further to unravel gender bias in the media representation of marginalized people or groups in other phenomena.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to acknowledge the financial support provided by the Directorate of Research and Community Engagement through the International Publication for Final Assignments Research Grant (PITTA Research Grant No: 497/UN2.R3.1/HKP.05.00/2017) funded by Universitas Indonesia.

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