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**The Narrative of Unfree Labour: Analysing Labour Dynamics of Production Networks
in the Case of Trafficked Fishermen in Maluku, Indonesia**

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Abstract

This thesis presents a narrative analysis of slavery and human trafficking case in Maluku, Indonesia. It employs the concepts of the Global Production Network (GPN) framework and unfree labour to situate the slave labour dynamic in the Indonesian fishing industry structure. The main argument is that the dynamic of the Indonesian fishing industry's production networks is fundamental in reproducing victims' vulnerable conditions. Firstly, the subjugation of victims' is present in the dynamic of the GPN's value creation and value capture. In this part, the vulnerability of victims' and their conditions are being used by the other actors as an instrument of a political strategy to capture a bigger value in the production networks. Second, the power exercised by other actors to capture the surplus value has also played a significant role in extending such victims' vulnerable conditions. Here, any solutions taken to solve the problem by other involving actors fail to uphold and empower victims' ability to commodify their labour power. As a consequence, vulnerabilities have remained embedded in the victims' life, although the solutions taken rest on claims of performance acting in the name of 'improving life'.

Key Words: Slavery, Human Trafficking, Unfree Labour, Global Production Networks, Indonesia

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Abbreviations

AGO	Attorney General's Office
AICHR	ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights
AP	Associated Press
EJF	Environmental Justice Foundation
GPN	Global Production Networks
ILO	International Labour Organization
INP	Indonesian National Police
IOM-Indonesia	International Organization for Migration Indonesia Mission
IUUF	Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) Fishing
LPSK	Witness and Victim Protection Agency
MAF	Indonesian Ministry of Marine Affairs
PT.PBR	PT. Pusaka Benjina Resources
SSC	Silver Sea Fishery Company
TIP	Trafficking in Person
TJP	The Jakarta Post
UN	United Nations
VOT	Victim of Trafficking
WCPFC	Western and Central Pacific Fisheries Commission

1. Introduction

In 2012, the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2014b, p. 7) estimated that around 20.9 million people – three out of every 1,000 worldwide – are considered victims of forced labour, slavery, or human trafficking, where industries such as agriculture, construction, domestic work, manufacturing, mining, and utilities are taking many economic advantages from the forced labour. Furthermore, the ILO (2014b, p. 14) presented that the total illegal profits obtained from forced labour amount to US\$150.2 billion per year.

Drawing from the data, this thesis plans to understand why the phenomenon of forced labour-slavery-human trafficking is deepening rather than diminishing in today's global industry. Thus, I intend to study the phenomena by connecting the unfree labour concept and global production networks (GPN).

In recent years, the research to connect the unfree labour relations within the contemporary GPN framework have been widely applied with various theoretical approaches (LeBaron, 2015; McGrath, 2013; Phillips & Sakamoto, 2012; Strauss & McGrath, 2016). The trigger of the analyses can be said to come from the failure of the neo-slavery approach (Bales, 2012; Bales, Trodd, & Williamson, 2009; Bowe, 2007) which often overlooks “the systemic relation of power and coercion surrounding unfree labour, conceptualizing it as a series of individual instances of domination rather than a social relationship of insecurity and exploitation” (LeBaron, 2015, p. 2). The consequence of this failure is a tendency to see the market as natural forces with their own rationality and interest, and a specific efficiency in shaping human subjectivity (Read, 2009, p. 27)

1.1. Framing the Case

In March 2015, the Associated Press (AP) released an in-depth investigation report on the enslavement of the trafficked fishermen in Benjina, Maluku, Indonesia. The AP framed the case with so-called “modern day slavery” as they found victims were beaten, forced to work, drink unclean water, work in extreme 20-22 hour shifts, and leave with little or no payment. AP also reported that the slave-made fishery products link with the global supply, as the shipments are distributed all over the

world, including to some of the United States' major grocery stores such as Kroger, Safeway, and Albertsons, and even the largest retailer in the U.S., Wal-Mart (McDowell, Mason, & Mendoza, 2015).

As an immediate response, a task force was made to rescue the victims involving International Organization for Migration Indonesia Mission (IOM-Indonesia), the governments of Indonesia, Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia, and the Indonesian National Police (INP). In Benjina, the task force managed to rescue over 600 victims of trafficking (VOT) and facilitate their repatriation to Myanmar, Cambodia and Laos. Furthermore, IOM-Indonesia and the Indonesia Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries (MAF) have not only revealed the slavery case on Benjina Island. They also identified over 360 Myanmar trafficking-in-person (TIP) victims on Thailand's trawlers which operated in Ambon, Maluku, Indonesia (Dillon, 2015b).

As the case has successfully caught world attention, the strategic approach in resolving the situation need to be addressed by the involved actors. At least four approaches are identified in the media narratives. First, the immediate response to rescue the victims was taken through the identification of the victims and moving them into a temporary shelter. Second, the task force helped the victims for repatriation as well as renegotiating their right to a salary (Dillon, 2015a). Third, law enforcement is implemented by focusing on criminalising the firms who facilitate the slavery and the trawler captains who cruelly treat the slaves (Salim, 2015d). Fourth, controlling the fishery-based product market by restructuring supply and demand in the global fishing market level (Mendoza, 2015; Milman, 2016).

Based on these identified solutions, the thesis is framed in relation power to dynamics surrounding the agents approach in resolving the case. However, although the case involves various types of actors (both state and non-state) on the global scale, the main point of view will be presented from the perspective of the Indonesian actors. This includes the Indonesian government, law enforcement

agencies, international organisations, and fishing companies located within Indonesian jurisdiction, among others.

1.2. Research Purpose and Question

This research presents an analysis of an interplay between the global fishing industry structure and agency in situating the slave labour dynamic in the case of trafficked fishermen in Maluku, Indonesia. By using the GPN concept (Henderson, Dicken, Hess, Coe, & Yeung, 2002) as the main approach, this research is designed to accommodate three primary goals.

The first is to understand the victims' position in the dynamic of value creation and capture within the case's production networks. In this aim, the victims' position will be examined by revealing the Indonesian actors' narrative in ascribing the status of slavery or human trafficking to the victims.

The second goal is to investigate the relationship between the constructed narrative and the Indonesian actors' approach to resolving the case. Here, this research will try to uncover not only the main strategic solutions to normalise the issue, but also the primary intention behind the approaches.

Finally, the third aim is to situate an asymmetrical power relation between the victims and the Indonesian agents in the dynamic of the GPN. In this part, the asymmetrical power will be assessed by exploring the degree in which the offered solutions have been continuously reproducing victims' vulnerable condition in the global fishing industry. The structural factors through which victims remain vulnerable, although they have been rescued and liberated, will be explored.

Accordingly, this research will be guided by the following questions:

1. How can an Indonesian narrative of slavery and human trafficking in the fishing industry be understood with regard to representation of other Indonesian involved actors?
2. Do these narratives influence the actors' approach in resolving the problem, and if so, to what extent?

3. What part, if any, do the solutions play in situating unfree labour in the labour dynamic within the global production network?

1.3. Point of Departure

In a broad sense, this thesis is coming from two points of departure. First, the failure of the neo-slavery approach (Bales et al., 2009, p. 63) to accommodate an analysis in a social-relational setting because it puts too much focus on the economic dimension of profit and loss (Quirk, 2012, p. 3). As a result, slavery and unfree labour tend to be viewed as abnormalities in the concept of the common market, which is characterised by free choice rather than by the inequality of power between labour and market forces (McGrath, 2013, p. 33). Second, human trafficking literature in South East Asia tends to focus on sexual trafficking and domestic worker trafficking (Piper, 2005, p. 209). This point, then, illustrates another type of trafficking underrepresented in most of the analyses, such as human trafficking in the fishing industry.

Thus, this thesis will combine the two points of departure. The case of trafficked fishermen in Maluku, Indonesia, will be analysed by employing the concept of unfree labour (which will be discussed later) to accommodate social and power relation dimensions in the research.

1.4. Key Definition

This thesis would frequently use the terms of slavery, human trafficking and forced labour. There might be confusion in the definitions, since they are conflated in the United Nations (UN) legal instruments.

Trafficking in persons: “shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs” (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, 2000)

“Forced labour refers to situations in which persons are coerced to work through the use of violence or intimidation, or by more subtle means such as

accumulated debt, retention of identity papers or threats of denunciation to immigration authorities.” (International Labour Organization [ILO], 2014a)

Yet, this paper would not problematize this issue as the aim of this thesis was not to contest any key definitions which have been used to address the issue. Accordingly, as this thesis will use narrative method, the research treated the definitions as open terms in this analysis.

2. Theoretical Framework

To answer the research questions above, this thesis will use the concept of Global Production Networks (GPN) in relation to unfree labour dynamics as the main framework. The GPN offers a set of analyses where global market dynamics can be examined in a complex dynamic of the characteristics of value, power and embeddedness. Additionally, to strengthen the GPN framework, the concept of unfree labour will be employed correspondingly with the GPN’s characteristics.

2.1. The Global Production Networks

Since the early 1990s, an analysis of inter-organization competition's role in capturing surplus value of commodities has gained attention of scholars through the discussion of Global Commodity Chains (GCC) and Global Value Chains (GVC). However, the two concepts have been criticised due to their linear logic of commodity production, consumption, and disposal as well as a limited focus toward an inter-firm relationship. In the former form, the linear logic posits a limited range of possible actors in the greater dynamic of production network. For the second concern, both concepts of GCC and GVC are rated in employing more attention to the production process, without capturing the complex dynamic of globalisation (McGrath-Champ, Rainnie, Pickren, & Herod, 2015, p. 625).

Based on the two concepts’ weaknesses, the Global Production Networks (GPN) offers a framework where the various interrelated actors are constitutively acknowledged in relation to the broader structure of global economy (Coe, Dicken, & Hess, 2008, p. 272). The actors’ spatial embeddedness in the networks is central to the analyses, as the fluid networks of power where the actors' contested interests in value creation and capture will determine the outcome of the geographical

structure (Cumbers, Nativel, & Routledge, 2008, p. 371). Thus, the GPN analyses can be understood within Henderson et al.'s (2002, pp. 448-449) explanation of three conceptual categories: value, power, and embeddedness.

The values can be understood in three interconnected forms: value creations, value enhancements, and value capturing. In understanding values, the Marxist concept of surplus value should be assumed to collaborate with the more orthodox concept of economic rent in the process. Value is created through the combination of the labour skills, technologies, and experts in positions of power at organisations that influence network distribution (Henderson et al., 2002, p. 448). According to Dicken, the value should always be surplus over actual cost, in order to perform the transactions in the networks (2011, p. 432). Thus, the value should be continuously enhanced to increase the profit by all means of economic production, such as product innovation, improvement of the workers' skill, more efficient product distribution, and others. Furthermore, the value capturing process can be seen as the main contestation field between the actors in the production network. In this sense, the ability to capture the created values in a particular area will determine the actors' power position in the whole range of the production network (Henderson et al., 2002, p. 449).

The other two categories, power and embeddedness, are basically used to analyse how the actors in GPN influence each other in certain social and spatial arrangements. Power can be divided into three forms: corporate power, institutional power, and collective power. Embeddedness can be further divided into two types: territorial embeddedness and network embeddedness (Henderson et al., 2002, pp. 450-452).

At some point, the three categories of value, power, and embeddedness are valuable as a starting point to situate dynamic relations of the GPN analyses. Nevertheless, the categories offered by Henderson et al. have been criticised in two ways. First, the GPN analysis proposed by Henderson et al. places little attention on the discussions of another type of power such as structural power and productive power. They are excessively focused on the firms' role in the discussion of market

power, neglecting the role of political contestation and discursive relations in which markets are embedded. As a result, the discursive practice of ideologies that legitimate and constitute particular forms of governance receives less attention (Levy, 2008, p. 951). Second, the concepts were criticised for making labour dynamics under-represented in the GPN analyses, despite their recognition of labour's involvement in creating the surplus value in the network. The GPN (as well as GCC) literatures are overly concentrated on the issues of economic governance in sustaining accumulation without reconsidering societal reproduction, where capital power is effectively hegemonic in its relation to society. As a consequence, workers in the network dynamic are no greater than passive victims of value creation (Coe et al., 2008, p. 284; Cumbers et al., 2008, p. 371; Smith et al., 2002, p. 47).

By employing the GPN analysis, this thesis will be written in regard to the two criticisms toward the three categories defined by Henderson et al. However, considering unfree labour as the main subject of this thesis, the main analyses will be grounded on the investigation of slaves' labour values in the entire GPN. Corresponding to the first critique of the lack of political contestation dynamics in the GPN, the analyses will focus on how other agents in the networks ascribe slavery status to the victims in order to explore ideological and cultural dimensions in situating slaves' subjectivity within the discourse of power relations. Through data analyses, the emerging structures which create opportunities and problems for agents in the dynamic of production network can potentially be explored and explained. These structures, then, will reflect the asymmetrical power relation among the actors, which bring out several possibilities in responding to the abnormal situation caused by the slave's subject position in the network.

In the latter type of critique, the under-represented labour discourse in the GPN will be explored through resolutions made by specific actors involved in this thesis case study. The efforts to combat slavery will certainly change not only the whole landscape of market structure inside the network, but further labour dynamics in the production network. Yet, the real problems come afterwards, as the slave's

subjectivity will be undermined alongside this reproduction of the solution. It is central to understand that most of the efforts made to save the slaves come from the “taken for granted” logic of capitalism's free labour concept (McGrath, 2013, p. 33). Freedom is perceived as the condition where labour can sell their services or labour power to consumers with a full consent of their willingness. This logic, indeed, should not be uncritically consumed as an absolute truth, because it neglects another type of power which reproduces slaves' vulnerability. Slaves, who are trapped in an exploitative working environment, could also be considered "unfree people" on the basis of their lack of economic choices to commodify their labour power. Therefore, discussing the concept of unfree labour rather than free labour will help to understand the degraded condition suffered by the victims during the exploitation and after their “liberation”. Here, it is argued that the slave subjectivity is continuously reproduced in order to normalise the structure in which slaves' abnormality contributes to disrupting power relations inside the GPN.

In operationalising the GPN framework within the abovementioned problems, another concept will be added to strengthen the framework of this thesis. First, to understand the slave subject position in the production network, it is important to investigate how a definite condition is arrived upon in which one certain class of people has the power to exploit the survival needs of the other class. Here, the concept of unfree labour will be used in order to understand the true nature of exploitative conditions suffered by the victims of slavery and the subjectivity reproduction in which the slave's life is controlled by the power dynamic within the capitalist network.

2.2. The Unfree Labour

Bringing the analyses of unfree labour to this thesis would entail a recognition that exploitation is visibly producing and reproducing labour subjectivity in the whole range of capital production. In the GPN analyses, the unfree labour will be analysed parallel with the categories of value, power, and embeddedness. Although the Marxist approach will be very central to the concept's discussion, the discussion will be limited only to situate unfree labour discussion in terms of binary opposition

of free and unfree labour (e.g. Banaji, 2003; Brass, 2011b; Rao, 1999). Thus, it is important to move beyond the binary logic, and view unfree labour concept in both relational and fluid social setting. As Nicola Phillips (2013, p. 117) argues: “it is more useful empirically and theoretically to use the term unfree labour to connote a variety perhaps a continuum of forms and degrees of unfreedom, rather than to invoke rigid binary distinctions”.

Utilising the unfree labour concept, three types of approaches to this theory will be used. First is Marx’s theory of unfree labour; second, unfree labour from the perspective of Foucault’s biopower; and third, Phillips’ approach in using the adverse incorporation concept to analyse unfree labour.

2.2.1. Marx’s Theory of Unfree Labour

The concept of free labour from Marx’s perspective is mostly understood in relation to how the labour can commodify the sole power (the labour power) they have in a world increasingly governed by the rules of capitalism. Thus, unfree labour is the incapacity of workers to control, commodify, or re-commodify their own labour power (Marx, 1976 see Chapter 6: The Sale and Purchase of Labour-Power). As Marx explained in the Capital Volume I (1976, p. 270), labour power or labour capacity is “the aggregate of those mental and physical capabilities existing in the physical form, the living personality, of a human being, capabilities which he sets in motion whenever he produces a use-value of any kind.”

In a world governed by the capitalist, labour power can appear on the market in two steps: the primitive accumulation and the commodification of labour power. According to Marx (Marx, 1976, p. 873), primitive accumulation is a point of departure for capitalist accumulation. It is called primitive because “it forms the pre-history of capital, and of the mode of production corresponding to capital” (1976, p. 875). For Marx, the primitive accumulation is characterised in two ways: the historical conjuncture and the use of force. It appeared at the historical dawn of the capitalist mode of production - where the capitalist should follow this historical step in order to accumulate the capital - (Marx, 1976, p. 741), and was characterized by the forcible separation of worker or labour from their own possession of the

means of production, in which Marx made clear that the separation could only be achieved by significant violence (Brass, 2011b, p. 26; Marx, 1976, pp. 874-875).

Second, the commodification of labour power can be understood in how the worker is given freedom to choose potential buyers of his/her labour power. Labour power appears as the commodity in which the possessor of power has the control to sell it. Ideally, the market relation between the seller of labour power and the buyer should be on an equal footing where both groups have control of their own commodity: labour power for the seller, money for the buyer. In order to achieve full control of labour power, the workers need to sell their labour power for a limited time, and if they sell it in a lump, they will convert themselves into slaves (Marx, 1976, p. 271).

Furthermore, labour power in relation to the unfree labour concept will always be related to a certain degree of labour exploitation. In Marx's term, the rate of labour exploitation occurs when the labourers cannot equally receive the value added created by them in capital production. Labourers only receive the wage paid value, which is equivalent to the socially required labour time for producing commodities. As a result, the surplus values are going to the others, including the capitalists (in the form of profit), renters (interests), landowners (rent), unproductive employees (salaries), governments (taxes and investments), and many others (Zafirovski, 2003, p. 463).

Thus, labour power is always characterized as a partial freedom, structured by compulsion. Freedom in Marx's concept is always served to disguise the compulsion resulting from the forceful separation from the means of production. Accordingly, labour is considered unfree when the compulsion goes beyond separation from the means of production. As a result, the workers' choice will be limited in terms of their economic mobility to commodify their own labour power (McGrath, 2013, p. 33).

McGrath's (2013) argument is in line with Tom Brass' concept of deproletarianization, in which the incapability of the workers to commodify their labour power on a continuous basis is seen as unfree (Brass, 2011a, p. 70). Here, the deproletarianization is crucial to ensure the reproduction of the capitalist system

by restructuring the class struggle. On one hand, Brass argues that restructuring the market with unfree labour, or the conversion from free to unfree labour, enables capital to cheapen the cost of labour power in order to combat or to escape from economic crisis. On the other hand, the deproletarianization process permits the capital to suppress the class or workers' consciousness to prevent the revival of the class struggle (Brass, 2011a, p. 73). As Marx (1973, p. 465) himself points out, "In the slave relation (unfree labour), the worker is nothing but a living labour machine, which therefore has a value for others, or rather is a value."

In relation to the GPN analyses, this theoretical framework can be used in analysing the competition between capitalists in obtaining the surplus value created by labour. In other words, it corresponds to the value creation and value capture in the GPN analyses. Hence, regarding the case study, the anomaly caused by the slavery issue can be defined in two ways. One is as a problem where the surplus value created by labour is originated from the unjustified condition of exploitation in the logic of capitalists. At this point, the entire structure and the agencies inside the GPN should contest this abnormality in order to ethically perform the capital process. The other definition is as an opportunity where the actors (in GPN) who get less benefit from the surplus value created by the slaves can restructure the capital sources in order to take greater advantage in the future.

2.2.2. Biopower and Unfree Labour

Unlike Marx's theory which sees unfree labour as a result of a structural problem in the "free production relations" (the class struggle), biopower is more focused on how power (Foucault, 1983) in production relations produces or reproduces human subjectivity (Neal, 2009, p. 164). There might be confusion in using the terms "biopolitics" and "biopower", since Foucault employs them without precisely differentiating the terms (Lemke, 2011, p. 34; Stapleton & Byers, 2015, p. 1). However, in this part, this differentiation will not be problematized, but rather the word "biopower" will be used to explain the concept, as in the *History of Sexuality Volume 1* (1978), Foucault mentioned biopolitics as a part of biopower.

Foucault explains that biopower is a concept or technique which consists of two main forms, anatomo-politics and biopolitics. The anatomo-politics (deriving from the Greek *anatomiā*, or anatomy, literally meaning to cut apart) refers to the power over individual bodies in their mechanical capacities. He calls this type of power as a form of disciplinary power. The second type, biopolitics, focused on the species-body, where humans are seen not as individual, but as a biological species which fills “the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of biological process” such as propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, and so on (Foucault, 1978, pp. 139-141). In summary, biopower can be defined as:

“the explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugations of bodies and the control of populations, as well as the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy.” (Stapleton & Byers, 2015, p. 1)

According to Lemke (2011, p. 34), biopower/biopolitics can be operationalized in three different ways. First, biopower stands to rearticulate the sovereign power which tends to limit the historical rupture in political thinking. Second, as Foucault argues, biopower plays a central role in the emergence of modern racism. Third, the concept refers to the type of government which historically arises with the development of social regulation in the liberal form and individual self-governance. For the first way, Foucault (2003) made a clear distinction between sovereign power and biopower. Sovereign power, in his view, correlates to the ability to exploit power deductively in order to seize or to exploit the life of the subjugated subject. Sovereign power is characterised by its right to take life or let live. In contrast, biopower promotes the right to make life and to let die by using its disciplinary power and population regulatory control (p. 241). For the second way, modern racism is treated as a biological “threshold of modernity” (Foucault, 1978, p. 143) where racism facilitates the power relation between “the life of one person and the death of another”. The atmosphere of modern racism provides the ideological foundation for powerful actors to take any form of action - even violence - as a means of improving life (Lemke, 2011, p. 42). In the third way, Foucault sees liberalism not as an economic theory or political ideology, but further as “specific

art of governing human beings”. Liberalism comes as a natural order to compel both human beings and the government to follow one exact pattern of economic dependency in the market relation. As a consequence, the new art of government is no longer seeking to maximise the power of states, since power “operates through an ‘economic government’ that analyses governmental action to find out whether it is necessary and useful or superfluous or even harmful.” (Lemke, 2011, pp. 44-46) At this point, Foucault’s biopower can also be read in correlation to the rise of the neoliberal concept, which has an ability to govern social relation as its means of production.

In relation to unfree labour, the analyses will focus on how power relations produce and reproduce the subject position of the slaves. There are two ways to use the Biopower concept in relation to unfree labour. First, labour as a phenomenon needs to be seen as profoundly entangled and shaped by the broader social relation of daily life production. In this part, there is a necessity to not only focus on examining the interplay between states and the market in the political economy, but also to analyse the labour dynamic in relation to the accumulation process in nuanced, territorial based, and historical terms. Second, it is important to treat the unfree labour dynamics as a central process in the market relation. This step is essential to challenging the “normality” in the logic of the neoliberal paradigm in solving the slavery case. Therefore, the effort to combat or eradicate slavery is found essential to follow the logic of freedom in (neo)liberalism. Thus, the analyses will focus on unpacking and understanding how the rationality of the neoliberal government can exercise their power/knowledge in relation to unfree labour.

2.2.3. The Adverse Incorporation and Unfree Labour

The adverse incorporation offers a range of conceptual frameworks to understand the labour's level of vulnerability in relation to the production networks. In the GPN frameworks, this concept will be useful to generate the embeddedness characteristic, where the outcome of the global economic process subjugates labour subjectivity in distinctive social, economic, and spatial contexts. Phillips (2013) explains the concept as follows:

“The concept of adverse incorporation instead constructs an explanation based on the terms on which people are incorporated into particular economic and social processes and structures. These terms can be such that workers’ possibilities for accumulation and the achievement of longer-term security are significantly impeded, perpetuating their chronic poverty and vulnerability.” (Phillips, 2013, p. 175)

In unfree labour relations, chronic poverty and vulnerability are frequently categorised as a push factor for the workers’ emigration (Aronowitz, 2009, pp. 11-12). Yet, as Phillips and Sakamoto (2012) argue, chronic poverty and vulnerability are also repeatedly seen as forms of social exclusion and exclusion from labour markets. As a consequence, the poor are believed to be those who have failed to incorporate their economic relation with the global economic activity (p. 296). For that reason, the adverse incorporation tries to tackle the residual logic of social exclusion by treating the phenomenon as a relational setting where the unequal power relation can underpin any contemporary forms of development (Phillips, 2013, p. 175). Geof Wood further offers one important understanding of adverse incorporation:

“They (the poor people) are obliged to manage this vulnerability through investing in and maintaining forms of social capital which produce desirable short-term, immediate outcomes and practical needs while postponing and putting at permanent risk more desirable forms of social capital which offer the strategic prospect of supporting needs and maintaining rights in the longer term.” (Wood, 2000 in Hickey & Toit du, 2007, p. 4)

Thus, the poor people in these relations are victims of the unequal power structure where they cannot accumulate their labour power through work or employment (Phillips & Sakamoto, 2012, p. 297). The adverse incorporation, in this particular context, is characterised with labour exploitation as its key mechanism (Phillips, 2013, p. 175), where Tilly defines here as operating “when powerful, connected people command resources from which they draw significantly increased returns by coordinating the effort of outsiders whom they exclude from the full value added by that effort” (1998, p. 10).

In short, in relation to the unfree labour, the adverse incorporation can be very useful to reveal the key attribute of vulnerable workers in terms of social, economic,

and spatial context. In this thesis case study, for instance, the vulnerable condition should not only be seen in relation to the degrading conditions suffered by the victims during their enslavement, but also should be seen in terms of how the vulnerable conditions (including chronic poverty) have already been incorporated or embedded to the victims long before their emigration. Therefore, this logic can be used to analyse the context when the other involved agents have liberated the victims from the exploitative nature of slavery. Here, the level of unfreedom will be a central question in analysing the victims' subjectivity, because the solution offered by the other agents cannot alone determine whether the victims are free after the liberation.

3. Method

This thesis is written by employing interpretivism as its methodology. In the most common approach, interpretivism understood in two basic premises. First, people act on their beliefs and preferences, and thus, second, it cannot be read objectively (Welch, 2013, p. 39). This approach is based on constructionist ontology, where social phenomena and meanings are not pre-given in society, but rather continually accomplished (Bryman, 2012, p. 33).

Furthermore, based on the above philosophical foundation, the occurrence of unfree labour within the production networks is examined in this thesis with a case study approach. A mixed-methods approach was used in a technical version (Bryman, 2012, p. 631), with the qualitative analysis given priority in the overall research design. For the quantitative part, the media content analysis would be presented to collect the preliminary data, including the victims' label or status in the text, the involving agents, the theme produced in the text and the solutions offered to the victims. For the qualitative part, the narrative method would be applied to answer the power relation dynamic of the unfree labour in the production network. In brief, the data analyses were conducted in two stages. The first stage was conducted through media content analyses and the second stage was conducted through the narrative and interview method.

3.1. The Case Study Approach

The case study approach was chosen to get a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. Yin has defined a case study as “an empirical enquiry that: investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2003, p. 13). It can also be understood as the intensive study of a phenomenon (a unit) where the main goal of the study is to reveal on a larger class of cases (a population), in which multiple sources of evidence are used (Gerring, 2007, p. 20).

In choosing the case, there are four types of designs to follow: the holistic single case design, the embedded single case design, the holistic multiple-case design, and the embedded multiple-case design (Yin, 2003, pp. 39-53). For the purpose of this thesis, the embedded single case design would be used, where the researcher can apply multiple subunits' analyses to one single observed phenomena (Yin, 2003, p. 42). In short, the design can be visualised as follows:

Table 1: Human Trafficking and Slavery Case's Study Design

The Case	
The Enslaved or Trafficked (Unfree Labour) Fishermen in Maluku, Indonesia	
Unit of Analyses	
The political-economy dimension of Global Production Networks:	The unfree labour dimension of the Global Production Networks:
The fishery market dynamic: the interconnection between Indonesia and Thailand's fishery market to the global demand	The conditions faced by workers considered vulnerable to unfree labour, including their conditions in the home country
The law enforcement: to what extent do the involved agents cooperate to solve the problem	The workers' evaluation of the labour migration experiences
The proposed solutions: how the other involved agents evaluate their own proposed solutions	The other involved agents' perspective or interpretation toward the conditions of "unfree labour"
The Indonesian government's interest in the global fishery market contestation	The workers' evaluation on the proposed options given by the other involved agents in situating or solving the problem

This embedded single case design would entail seeking different perspectives on the case through the triangulation process. As Stake (Stake, 2005, p. 444) implies,

the case study approach “concentrates on experiential knowledge of the case and close attention to the influence of its social, political and another context.”

3.2. Media Content Analysis

I intended to use the media content analyses for this study, because this method was appropriate to capture media portrayal (e.g. C. Patterson, Hilton, & Weishaar, 2016) of a particular case study. The content analysis in this thesis would be used as a preliminary finding before getting in-depth within the narrative method. In short, media content analysis is a particular subunit of the content analysis, which can be used to examine a broad range of media texts from magazine or newspaper to television programmes (Macnamara, 2005, p. 1). As “the primary message-centred methodology” (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 9), content analysis is considered as a quantitative method due to its nature of systematically examining textual materials through valid measurements and relationship analysis (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2014, p. 19).

To operationalise the method, Hansen et al. (1998, pp. 98-99) offer six steps in sequential order to follow: (1) definition of the research problem, (2) selection of media and sample, (3) defining analytical categories, (4) constructing coding schedule, (5) piloting the coding schedule and checking reliability, and (6) data-preparation and analysis. As this thesis did not put the quantitative analysis within the main frame of the mixed methods approach, media content analyses would be used to give a good foundation in constructing the narrative and interview methods. Thus, the definition of the research problem would be limited to uncover the bigger picture (or the categories) of the case such as the label used to describe the victim, the involvement of the other agents, the theme produced by the other involved agents, and the solutions offered by the agents. The news samples were taken from the Indonesian newspapers. This selection was chosen as the research focus would be centralised to the other agents who operated in the Indonesian jurisdiction.

Furthermore, the next step was to divide the categories and sub-categories into a coding schedule. A coding schedule is a form containing the possible categories of the variables that need to be coded and measured (Bryman, 2012, p. 298; Hansen et

al., 1998, p. 116; Neuendorf, 2002, p. 132). I will follow the following questions to create a coding schedule:

- When did the news item on this topic first begin to appear in the Indonesian newspaper?
- Which Indonesian newspaper was fastest in generating interest on the issue?
- Which Indonesian newspaper has shown the greatest interest in the topic?
- What labels are used to portray the victims?
- Who are the other involved actors in responding to the issue?
- In what capacity do the actors make the statements being reported?
- What kind of themes do the actors produce in their statement?
- What solutions are offered by the other involved agents?

When the codebook and coding schedule were ready, I employed the pilot testing with a few texts. The result of the pilot testing was used to evaluate the questions and the sub-categories for the codebook. The full coding was conducted either manually or using the online survey's application, and was measured by using SPSS.

3.2.1. Media Content Analysis Sample Design

This study used the news sample from two Indonesian prints, Kompas Daily (Kompas) and The Jakarta Post (TJP). There are two reasons I used these newspaper prints. First, Kompas and TJP are the highest ranked among Indonesian prints in terms of circulation. In 2010, it was recorded that Kompas was ranked as the most circulated newspaper with 600,000 copies per edition. TJP was at the 11th position with 34,000 copies per edition (Tulung, 2013). Second, I selected Kompas individually because this newspaper is widely known for its reputability in delivering the news (Manzella, 2000, p. 306), whereas TJP is known for its English-language coverage. Overall, during the time span of March 2015 to April 2016, there were 42 relevant articles found in total.

3.3. Narrative Method

Narrative is broadly understood as a method to construct how we are “making-sense” of the world or the reality of our current lives (Andrews, Kinnvall, & Monroe, 2015, p. 141; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 641; Hansen et al., 1998, p. 142; M. Patterson & Monroe, 1998, p. 315). People are storytellers by nature, and their

stories have a main role in connecting people's experiences through daily communications (Lieblich, Tuval-Maschiach, & Zilber, 1998, p. 8). It has an ontological and epistemological dimension, as Margaret Somers (Somers, 1994, p. 606) (1994, p. 606) explained that through narrative "we came to know, understand, and make sense of the social world and it is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities." Narrative, in Somers' view, cannot be examined as an independent phenomenon, as they are a part of the so-called "conceptual networks" (Somers, 1995a, p. 232). These networks mean that one concept in the people's narratives is ascribed its meaning only "in terms of its 'place' in relation to the other concepts in its web." (Somers, 1995a, p. 232; 1995b, p. 136). To sum, Somers' definition of the narrative method is very useful in situating the concept.

"Narratives are constellations of relationships (connected parts) embedded in time and space, constituted by causal emplotment [...] the chief characteristic of narrative is that it renders understanding only by connecting (however unstable) parts to a constructed configuration or a social network of relationships (however incoherent or unrealizable) composed of symbolic, institutional, and material practices." (Somers, 1994, p. 616)

Furthermore, according to Scuzarello (2010, p. 17), people are using the narrative of their stories in order to gain a certain level of legitimacy for the story they are telling to the audience. She further argued that not all narratives can gain visibility and resonance, as the process of narration is always filtered by the speaking subject regarding the inclusion and exclusion of certain elements in the narrative. Therefore, the narratives should be legitimated to their audiences in order to make them visible and resonant (Scuzarello, 2010, p. 18).

It can be argued that the narratives entail a great power relation between the speaking subjects, as they always need to negotiate their narrativity to achieve a certain level of legitimacy. In the narratives, we can always find the ideological dimension, values, beliefs, and rationalisation of a certain subject or agent in making sense of their motive for actions. Thus, in this thesis, the intention is to investigate the type of dimensions that can be extracted from the agents' narrative in the case study.

In utilising the narrative method, the semi-structured interview was used to get more stories. According to Bryman, the researcher needs to have a list of questions or fairly specific topics before doing the interview. In the semi-structured interview, the researcher has the freedom or flexibility to control the structure of the questions during the process. The researcher does not need to follow the exact order of the interview guide as the process is considered fluid by nature (2012, p. 471). In choosing the respondents of the interview, the media content analysis result was used to guide the researcher. Finally, Nvivo software was used to help in organising the interview results before making an analysis.

3.3.1. Interview Respondent

For this thesis, the findings presented in the content analysis were followed as a basis for choosing the interviewees. In section 5.2, the media content analysis managed to identify a group of actors who actively produce statements regarding the case study. Thus, based on the groupings, nine respondents were interviewed, including two respondents from MAF, one from the Attorney General's Office (AGO), one from the immigration office, one from IOM-Indonesia, and four victims.

3.4. Ethical Consideration

According to Bryman (2012, p. 135) there are four ethical principles in social research that need to be addressed in the research: (1) whether there is harm to participants; (2) whether there is a lack of informed consent; (3) whether there is an invasion of privacy; (4) whether deception involved. For the first principles, I designed the research by paying careful attention to potential harms that might be experienced by the interview respondents, whether mentally or physically. Therefore, I highly respected the request to remain anonymous for any purposes. As the research involves an interview with VOTs, it was fully aware of the need to protect their safety as a need to be ascertained before the actual process. At that point, making contact with a public official in charge of the VOT's daily life was performed as an effort to make sure of their safety circumstance. Then, being sensitive to their vulnerable conditions was paramount, to prevent any traumatic

experiences which could be recalled by VOTs. Moreover, this research also pays attention not only to VOTs safety during the research process but further after the research process. By paying attention to a spectrum of traceability, this thesis will not mention any names, interview locations and nationalities of the VOTs.

For the second principles, to avoid future misunderstanding, informed consents were always addressed regarding to the research aims and interviewees' willingness to share information. Then the third and fourth principles were automatically included when the interviewer introduced informed consent.

This research was inspired by feminist ethical consideration. One of feminist commitments offers the way to inquire understanding by being alert to unequal levels of power, including power of knowledge and epistemology (Ackerly & True, 2008, p. 695; Robinson, 2011, p. 842). I designed the research in a full awareness that I might be part of a knowledge production that I was trying to challenge in this thesis. I reflected on this consideration by looking back to the days of my internship at IOM-Indonesia. During that time, I had the chance to become involved in a research process conducted by the organisation in regard to the trafficking case. As an insider, I admitted the way I perceived knowledge was very much reshaped by surrounding colleagues and knowledge structures around embedded in the locations. Therefore, I treated this research as a moment of reflection, when I destabilise previous epistemological standpoints to get a better understanding on the unobservable spectrums.

Moreover, an ethic of care in feminist research was used to guide the research with a set of values (attentiveness; responsibility; competence; and responsiveness) that can offer the psychological and structural dynamics understanding of people's identity dimension (Scuzarello, 2010, pp. 4-5). For instance, I incorporated a small amount of narrative that coming from the victims' interview, because it was necessary to care about not only their traumatic experience but also to the responsiveness toward a potential pitfall of an unconscious reproduction of victims' vulnerable conditions in the overarching research process.

4. Limitation

Given a wide possibility of narrativity, there are at least two reasons why this study focuses on the Indonesian narrative. First, as this thesis is bounded with limited time and resources, it is quite difficult to conduct field research in more than one country. Second, researcher knowledge of the field research locations and access to interview respondents was concentrated in Indonesia.

Another potential pitfall is a tendency to generalise the interview respondents. Given the wide range of actors involved (see section 5.2) in the Indonesian jurisdiction, only a small representation of each group of actors that appeared in the content analysis were able to be interviewed. The main reason for focusing on the selected respondents is motivated by the greater power relation they have in reshaping the overall narratives of the case's study. Additionally, due to the small sample size of content available for analysis, the findings may be more generalised than the ideal.

Finally, the research focuses on unfree labour as an umbrella concept to situate three different terms of slavery or slave, human trafficking and forced labour. Therefore, the study would frequently use the terms as an empty signifier or as a general definition to address the issue. One may object to this consideration on the basis that the three terms are subject to a different definition in national or international legal foundation.

5. The Political-Economy of Trafficked Fishermen Case in Maluku: A Content Analysis Result

In this chapter, the result of the media content analysis will be presented to map the case before going in depth with the narrative method. In correspondence with content analysis, there will be four sections discussed in this chapter. The first section will describe the themes that were produced to construct the news. Second, the content analysis results will show location, labelling of victims, and the actors that are involved in the case. The third section will discuss the solution proposed

by involved actors other than victims. Finally, the fourth section will discuss the insights received from the content analysis.

5.1. The Trafficked Fishermen Case: How the Indonesian Media Constructs the News

As mentioned above, the case caught global attention after the Associated Press reported a series of in-depth investigations of modern-day slavery in Benjina. (Associated Press, 2016). In Indonesia, the same interest to communicate the story was reflected in some of the major print media agencies. Content analysis of 42 articles from two Indonesian newspaper agencies (Kompas Daily and The Jakarta Post), showed that the news was first written by Kompas on 28 March 2015, or three days after the AP broke the story. The story reached its peak in April and May 2015, where in total 28 articles were produced from both Kompas and TJP. From then through April 2016, the frequency of articles produced regarding the issue was significantly decreased.

Table 2: The Slavery-Human Trafficking Case's News Coverage Frequency by Month and Source

		Source		Total
		Kompas Daily	The Jakarta Post	
Month	March 2015	2	0	2
	April 2015	12	6	18
	May 2015	4	6	10
	June 2015	0	1	1
	August 2015	1	3	4
	November 2015	0	2	2
	December 2015	1	1	2
	March 2016	1	1	2
	April 2016	0	1	1
Total		21	21	42



During the timespan of March 2015 to April 2016, four different themes were identified that were produced correspondingly to construct the story of human trafficking and/or slavery in Maluku: (1) Indonesia's fishery market dynamic, (2) the case's investigation and law enforcement, (3) immediate response to rescue victims and repatriation, and (4) international and regional cooperation.

Mentions of Indonesia's fishery market were the most common, at 44 percent of the measured themes. In this theme, the news was constructed in connection with how the case could have a direct impact on the entire structure of Indonesia's fishery market and industry. Therefore, the case was found to be consistently built parallel to the Indonesian government's effort in combating Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated Fishing (IUUF). For instance, on 28 March, 2015, Minister Susi expressed her worry that the case would damage the image of Indonesia's fishing industry, as the world might think that enslavement was performed by Indonesian fishing trawlers. She believed that the enslavement was mainly done by Thai owners, albeit with Indonesian paperwork, reflecting a common practice of illegal fishing in Indonesian waters (Kompas, 2015l).

In connection with this first theme, several steps were taken by the government, showcasing their seriousness in cracking down on the case. On 13 April 2015, TJP reported that the government was extending the moratorium on permits granted to foreign fishing vessels by six months. The moratorium, which was stipulated in Marine and Fisheries Minister Regulation No. 56/2014, was planned to end on April

30. However, the decision was made to show the government's commitment in combating IUUF, including the forced labour on Benjina (Salim, 2015c). Moreover, the government adopted a firm attitude toward the company that was allegedly carrying out illegal fishing and practising slavery. They did this by evaluating PT. Pusaka Benjina Resources' (PT. PBR) foreign direct investment license and revoking its permit to operate in Indonesian waters (Kompas, 2015o; Salim, 2015a)

Another step taken in relation to Indonesia's fishery market dynamic in combating IUUF and slavery was to promote a human rights-based approach. Minister Susi, in this sense, issued Minister Regulation No. 35/2015 on human rights certification in the fishery industry, in order to prevent any human rights violations at sea, such as the slavery case in Benjina (Kompas, 2015j). The importance of a human rights-based approach in the fishery industry was also discussed by the participants at the 12th annual meeting of the Western and Central Pacific Fisheries Commission (WCPFC) in Bali.

"During the 12th annual meeting of the Western and Central Pacific Fisheries Commission (WCPFC) in Bali, businesspeople from all over the world sat together and discussed the quantities of fish each country could catch per year. We talked about how fresh tuna worth thousands of dollars is being served in five star hotels while, at the same time, on fishing vessels, hundreds of thousands of crew members have to live with rationed water due to the lack of drinkable water made available at sea," Susi said (Jong, 2015).

The head of the Task Force for the Prevention and Eradication of Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated Fishing, Mas Achmad, added that the regulation will consist of a human rights-based system for fishery and human rights certification. This regulation, then, will force all companies to issue a declaration of commitment to uphold human rights, including identifying any potential slavery practices on their fishing vessels (Jong, 2015; Kompas, 2015j).

The second-most-recorded theme in Kompas and TJP is the case's investigation and law enforcement, with 38 percent of all mentions. In this theme, the human trafficking-slavery stories are solely constructed to follow the other involved agents' efforts in investigating the case and enforcing the law. For example, there

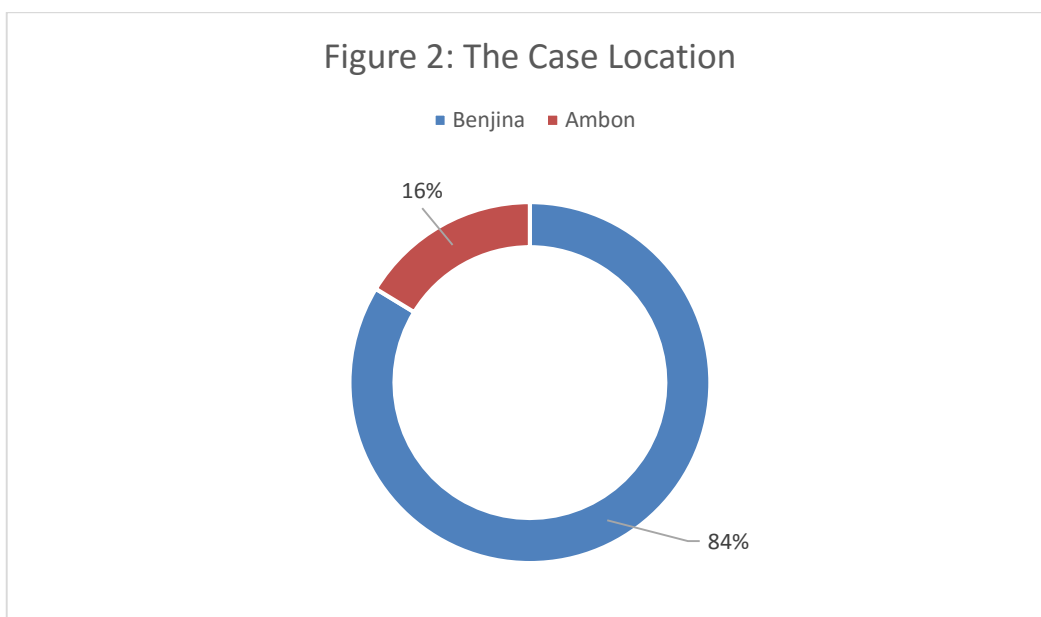
were several news articles constructed to frame PT. PBR, a joint venture of Thai and Indonesian companies, as the main antagonist after the government released an investigation on their involvement in Benjina's slavery practice (Kompas, 2015d, 2015e, 2015m). An investigation conducted by Indonesian police brought at least 20 people as potential suspects, most of them from PT. PBR (Sundaryani, 2015). Furthermore, in this theme, it was found that some articles were constructed on an investigation of a connection between the case and corrupt public officials. The corruption included extortion of PT. PBR and bribery received by government officials from PT. PBR (Antara, 2015; Kompas, 2015g, 2015n).

The last two themes that appeared in the content analysis were the immediate response to rescue victims and repatriation, as well as international and regional cooperation. Both of the themes shared a less-significant number of occurrences, with 9 percent for each theme. With the immediate response to rescue victims and repatriation, the case was made to tell the audiences about the victims' rescue process and repatriation as conducted by other involved agents. For instance, on 18 May 2015, Kompas Daily delivered news of 659 rescued victims who were asked to be repatriated home (Kompas, 2015f). Then, on 22 May 2015, 284 victims were transported to nearest hub island before being repatriated to their home country (Grahadyarini, 2015).

For the last theme, the international and regional cooperation merely framed the case in relation to the government's effort to both promote regional collaboration and to call attention to the international community's responsibility to prevent similar cases from happening in the future. The first news identified to construct this theme was when Indonesia's representative stressed the importance of a transnational partnership in fighting the human trafficking issue (the Benjina case being an example), at the 21st ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) conference (Lubis, 2015). Moreover, in the sixth Bali Process, the Benjina case was in the spotlight as the international forum negotiated an emergency response mechanism for dealing with migration and to pay more attention to trans-boundary crimes in South East Asia (Lubis, 2016).

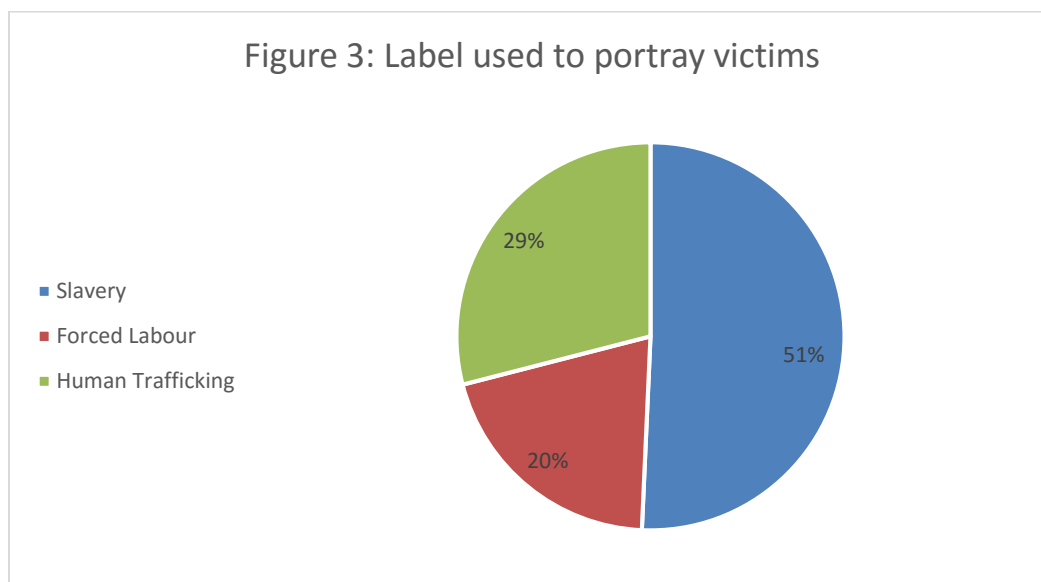
5.2. The Trafficked Fishermen Case: Location, Labelling and Actor

According to IOM-Indonesia's report, the number of victims identified are 1,128 in total, at two primary locations found as case sites, Benjina and Ambon (International Organization for Migration, 2016 Personal Communication, 2016). However, based on the content analysis, the dominant stories were mostly located in Benjina, with 84 percent. This number showed that the Indonesian media narrative was still following the main constructed case location written about by the Associated Press.



In terms of labelling, “slave” is the most common label (50%) used to portray victims, followed by “human trafficking” (28.6%) and “forced labour” (20%). There is a clear pattern of how each label is associated with any particular narrative. For example, in some articles, it is clearly shown that the label “slave” or “slavery” is frequently used in accordance with an abnormal situation received by victims during their labour, such as excessive working hours, torture, and unpaid labour (Jong, 2015; Kompas, 2015d, 2015i). The “forced labour” label was mainly similar to the slavery label, where inhumane conditions appeared as an associated narrative. However, in some articles, the forced labour label was associated with the ILO 1957 Convention on the Abolition of Forced Labour, which has long been ratified by Indonesia (Parlina & Salim, 2015; The Jakarta Post, Mason, & McDowell, 2015).

With “human trafficking”, a pattern was found similar to forced labour, yet the legal instrument spotted in association with the label was Indonesian Law No. 21/2007 on human trafficking (Kompas, 2015e; Salim, 2015d).



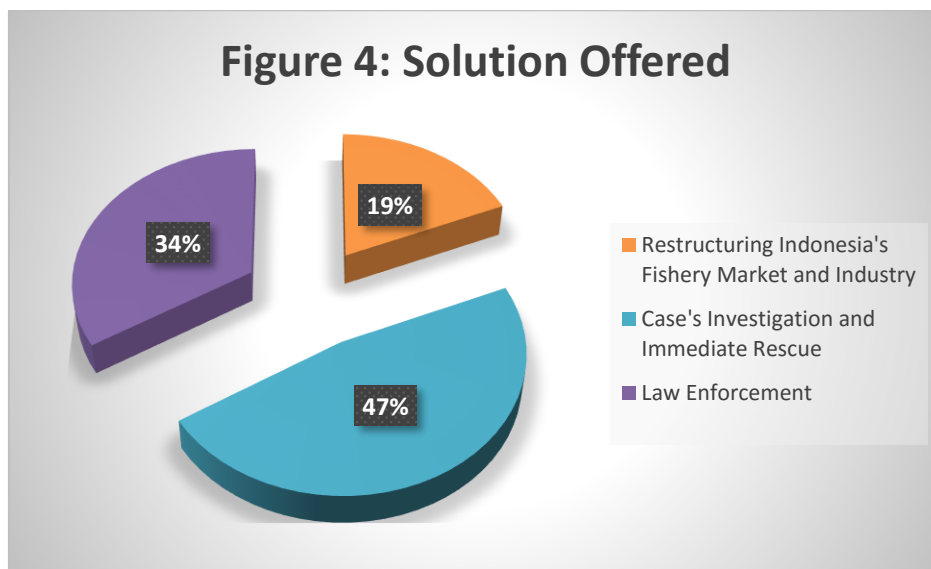
In this case, the most dominant actor revealed in the media content analysis was the Indonesian government, with 49.2 percent of references. The Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Ministry was the most significant actor within the government making statements in Kompas and TJP, representing 56.8 percent of all government statements, trailed by local governments and the Indonesian president. The second-most-recorded actor making statements in Kompas and TJP was the Indonesian Law Enforcement Agency (21.3%). In this part, Indonesian police appeared to be the leading actor frequently producing statements regarding the case. After the Indonesian Law Enforcement Agency, it is noted that the international organisation, civil society organisation, and fishing company categories shared the same portion with 8.2 percent each. Then, the last recorded actors are state-owned enterprises, victims, and academics, with a less significant percentage than other actors.

Table 3: Actor in Indonesia's Narrative

Actor	Total	%
Indonesian Government	30	49.2
Indonesian President	3	6.8
Coordinating Political, Legal and Security Affairs Ministry	1	2.3
Coordinating Maritime Affairs Ministry	2	4.5
Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Ministry	25	56.8
Local Government	5	11.4
Investment Coordination Board (BKPM)	4	9.1
National Commission of Human Rights	1	2.3
Immigration	1	2.3
Foreign Ministry	2	4.5
Indonesian Law Enforcement Agency	13	21.3
Prosecutor	2	15.4
Indonesian Police	7	53.8
Witness and Victim Protection Agency	2	15.4
Maritime Security Board	2	15.4
International Organization	5	8.2
International Organization for Migration - Indonesia	1	20
Thailand	2	40
Association of South East Asian Nations	1	20
Myanmar	1	20
Civil Society Organization	5	8.2
Indonesian Tuna Association	1	16.7
Indonesian Fishery Processing and Marketing Association	2	33.3
Indonesian Traditional Fishermen's Association	2	33.3
Public Coalition for Fishery Justice	1	16.7
Fishing Company	5	8.2
State-owned Enterprise	1	1.6
Academic	1	1.6
Victim	1	1.6
Total	209	100

5.3. The Trafficked Fishermen Case: Solution

The solution in this content analysis can be understood through two approaches: direct and indirect. The direct approach considers actions taken by actors other than victims to normalise immediately the situation, such as conducting an in-depth investigation, immediate rescue, and law enforcement. For the indirect approach, the solutions offered by other involved actors indirectly impacted victims. This solution was frequently produced with acts to prevent similar cases from happening in the future, through means such as restructuring Indonesia's fishery market and industry.



Thus, according to the content analysis, the explicit approach shared the biggest percentage, where the case's investigation and immediate rescue received 47 percent, and the law enforcement got 34 percent. In the highest-percentage solution, the steps taken by actors included forming a special task force to investigate the case (Kompas, 2015k; Parlina & Salim, 2015; Salim, 2015c), victim identification (See Grahadyarini, 2015; Kompas, 2015b; Mason & McDowell, 2015; Salim, 2015) (Grahadyarini, 2015; Kompas, 2015j; Salim, 2015d; The Jakarta Post et al., 2015), evacuation of victims (Salim & Sundaryani, 2015; The Jakarta Post et al., 2015), establishing temporary shelters (Kompas, 2015a, 2015m, 2015o; The Jakarta Post, 2015), providing health care to the victims (Grahadyarini, 2015; The Jakarta Post et al., 2015), and repatriation (Kompas, 2015f, 2015k; The Jakarta Post, 2015).

For the law enforcement, there are at least seven solutions identified: First, the government revoked the business license of the suspected fishing company. In this particular slavery case, BKPM in tandem with the Maritime Affairs and Fishery Ministry stripped the rights of PT. PBR to conduct business in Indonesia (Kompas, 2015o; Salim, 2015a). Second, the government also put their effort in capturing and seizing the case-related foreign trawlers or vessels. This move included swift action to capture the Silver Sea 2, a cargo vessel which was believed to be loaded with slave-caught fish (Mason, 2015; Salim & Sundaryani, 2015).

Third, naming and arresting the suspect of the Benjina case. As reported by TJP in May 2015, Indonesian Police released 20 names of potential suspects and later arrested five Thai boat captains and two Indonesian employees at PT. PBR (Sundaryani, 2015; The Jakarta Post & Associated Press, 2015b). Fourth is the open trials of the Benjina case. In November 2015, TJP reported on open trials of three Indonesian and five Thai boat captains who were employed at PT. PBR. According to the report, the defendants would be sentenced to up to 15 years and fines up to a maximum of US\$46,000 (The Jakarta Post & Associated Press, 2015a).

Fifth, the Indonesian government also investigated corrupt public officials for bribery and extortion in the Benjina case (Antara, 2015; Kompas, 2015g, 2015n) (Antara, 2015; Kompas, 2015a; Kompas, 2015c). Sixth, a witness and victim protection program was used. Since one of the key witnesses in the Benjina case, Yosep Sair Lela, died in Jakarta, the MAF asked for witness and victim protection to the Witness and Victim Protection Agency (LPSK) as a part of law enforcement (Kompas, 2015h). The last solution used is international cooperation. Regarding law enforcement, there was some promotion of international cooperation, such as an agreement between MAF and PNG missions to share information and conduct joint operations to capture the suspected vessels (Salim, 2015b).

As shown in the chart, among solutions reported, only 19 percent utilised the indirect approach. In this context, the government's effort to solve the slavery case needs to be followed hand-in-hand with restructuring Indonesia's fishery market. Reproducing the IUUF policy narrative is one of the examples to showcase the

seriousness of Indonesian government in both solving the slavery case and at the same time restructuring its market.

"What we are doing about the Benjina situation will become an international benchmark, [showcasing] the seriousness of Indonesia in addressing illegal fishing and slavery," said Minister Susi Pudjiastuti as she believed Indonesian fisheries product were at risk being boycotted by international community if there was no strategic approach taken (Parlina & Salim, 2015).

"Let us make it clear of our perception and strategic step in combating Illegal fishing and exterminating slavery practice in fishing industry. I don't want Indonesia to be seen as a country who is approving the slavery practice. If we don't anticipate it, Indonesia's fishing industry will definitely collapse," said Minister Susi (Kompas, 2015a, My Translation).

Furthermore, in relation to the IUUF narrative, the Indonesian government issued a minister regulation of human rights protection in the fishing industry. It is believed that the regulation completes the government's effort in fighting illegal fishing, as well as making sure the slavery practice would never emerge again in the future (Jong, 2015; Kompas, 2015j).

5.4. The Trafficked Fishermen Case: Reflection

In general, the media content analysis is used to map all important information such as themes, actors, and solutions. The information, then, will be used as a pre-finding before getting in depth with narrative analysis. Therefore, from the result above, three key points can provide a groundwork for the core analysis.

First, the reproduction of Indonesia's fishery market and business narrative, as reflected from theme and solution, indicates that the Indonesian government is predominantly situating the issue not only to bring in the slavery-human trafficking narrative, but further to accommodate their political and economic interests. The Indonesian government, in this sense, uses the case as an opportunity to take control of the fishery market that was previously dominated by Thailand. As explained by the Maritime Affairs and Fishery Ministry's director general, Saut Hutagalung, Indonesia has a chance to gain increased access to broader fishery export markets, as the international community has given a harsh warning to Thailand regarding its slavery-based industry (Kompas, 2015b). At Brussels' Global Seafood Expo 2015,

Saut informed the global market that Indonesia's fishery industry has fulfilled all fishery export requirements, like ensuring product safety, promoting environmentally friendly and sustainable products, and guaranteeing fishery industry employment rights (Kompas, 2015c). On another occasion, the Coordinating Maritime Affairs and Resources Ministry promised to expand the Indonesian seafood market to England and Northern Ireland, and in July 2015, Indonesia signed the memorandum of understanding for maritime cooperation between the countries. Deputy Minister for Maritime Sovereignty Arif Oegroseno said that the opportunity to expand the market can be a good way to promote Indonesian seafood products, which are free from any illegal practices, including slavery (Antara, 2016).

Furthermore, from the GPN framework perspective, the abovementioned narrative can be seen as a contestation between Indonesia and Thailand to capture the value of fishery industry, including its production and export markets. As Henderson et al. (2002, p. 449) explain, the ability to capture the created values will determine the actors' power position in the whole range of production networks. Indonesia, in this regard, succeeded in using the case strategically in two ways. First, the Indonesian government started to problematize the slavery issue so that the global community became aware of inhumane conditions aboard Thailand-owned fishing vessels. As the slavery issue is considered to be abnormal in today's market logic, the reproduction of the slavery narrative is important to keep Thailand's fishing industry in jeopardy. Victims are already considered as unfree labour in Marx's terminology, as they are seen as no greater than a living labour machine or a tool of a political-economy contestation (Marx, 1973, p. 465).

Second, the media content analysis showed that law enforcement seems to be weak as a tool of justice. The case exposure is more likely one-sided, as it too heavily focused on the Benjina story. As a consequence, the law enforcement in Ambon was not heard at all and are potentially neglected when the case is considered "normalised" by the other actors. In the Benjina case, the law enforcement was also weak to criminalise the related companies, as the only suspects were the individuals

(The Jakarta Post & Associated Press, 2015a), despite their connection to PT. PBR. The trials also failed to show that the traffickers can be punished severely, since the prosecutors merely demanded low prison sentences for the defendants and the defendants were sentenced to only three years in jail for human trafficking and slavery practice (Leonard, 2016). As for information, according to the Indonesian Human Trafficking Act 21/2007, the defendants would be sentenced for up to 15 years and fines of a maximum of 600,000,000 Indonesian rupiah (IDR) or US\$46,000 (Indonesian Government, 2007). Furthermore, as a party to the Palermo Protocol (United Nations Treaty Collection, 2000), there is no narrative shown from either the Indonesia or Thailand governments to establish a strategic bilateral agreement to enforce the law regarding the case. The only time Thailand got involved deeply was when they needed to identify and repatriate their own citizen (Kompas, 2015a). Therefore, weak law enforcement might indicate that the current legal instruments at both the local and international levels are irresponsible enough to facilitate severe punishment and accordingly, to prevent such cases from happening in the future. Moreover, a weak law enforcement might also indicate that the other Indonesian actors are not completely serious to push for better justice, as the main agenda is not saving the slave but securing the market.

Third, the content analysis showed less voice from victims' perspective. As revealed above, the appearance of the victims' voices is less than two percent of all the actors who made reported statements. This tendency will limit the narrative only to communicate the severe conditions of slavery suffered by the victims or, in other words, their victimhood. As a result, the process of "othering" happened afterwards, as victims were only seen as a group of ill people or damaged persons for whom the rescuers claim to be the only ones who know what is best for them. Thus, it will be no wonder that the public will never understand the true condition of the victims, including their needs and how strong-willed victims can commodify their labour power after the other actors celebrate their liberation. This condition is related to Foucault's concept of biopower (Foucault, 1978), where humans are seen not in their level of subjectivity, but only in their mechanical or biological bodies.

These bodies, then, can be downgraded and used as a subject of political strategy (Stapleton & Byers, 2015, p. 1).

In summary, the reflections above need to be answered more in the core analysis section of this research, since the narrativity to prove that assumption appeared very low in the content analysis. Hence, to strengthen the abovementioned statement, the main part of this thesis will expand the discussion with more resources, comprising interviews with some actors, other media in both international and local online news platforms, public seminar presentations, and other supporting reports. The interviews will be the primary material used for analysis in the next section. As already mentioned in the method section, nine respondents were interviewed, all of whom appeared in content analysis' group of actors, including the two respondents from MAF, one from the Attorney General's Office (AGO), one from the immigration office, one from IOM-Indonesia, and victims who were situated in Ambon.

6. The Narrative of Unfree Labour

The core analysis of this thesis will be discussed in this chapter by employing the narrative method. This chapter will be divided into three sections. The first section will talk about an Indonesian narrative in ascribing the status of human trafficking and slavery onto victims, as well as examining the production networks' value creation and capturing in the case study. The second section will mostly discuss the solutions made by the actors corresponding to their understanding of the victims' position in the situation. Finally, the third section will situate an asymmetrical power relation between the victims and the Indonesian actors that suppress victims' subjectivity in a greater relation of global production networks.

The narrativity will be studied by following themes which have been identified through content analysis and examining the power relations in the case study. In the first section, the only theme that will be discussed is that of Indonesia's fishery market and industry dynamics, since assessing value creation and capturing are the main goals of this section. In the second and third sections, all four themes identified in the content analysis will guide the analysis. However, in these two sections, the power relation approach will be used to strengthen the analysis.

6.1. Inside the Voice of Other Involved Actors: Analysing Victims' Position in GPN's Value Creation and Capture

This section discusses an analysis of GPN's value creation and value capture in the case of trafficked fishermen. The analysis is presented in two ways. The first is by deliberating upon the narrative of victimhood as constructed by the other involving actors. In this part, the narratives collected from the personal interview section will be used to see the connection between narratives about victims and Indonesia fishery market and industry narratives. Second, both narratives will be used as a basis to analyse the GPN's value creation and value capture in the case

6.1.1. Inside Voice: The Narrative of Victimhood and Indonesia's Fishing Industry

In the content analysis, slavery appeared as the most frequent word to label the victims, followed by human trafficking and forced labour. There is a pattern found

in the appearance of each label, as all labels are closely related to how the victims are being portrayed as vulnerable people in the case. The only difference found is that the human trafficking and forced labour labels are constructed with more references to legal instruments, whereas slavery is constructed with a narrative of inhumane practices suffered by victims. Thus, during the interview session, the first question asked regarding the case was of the interviewees' definition or understanding of the status of victims.

“There is forced labour there. They (victims) have been forced to work without their consent ... Human trafficking is also there because they were transported from their home country for unknown purposes. Yes, that was human trafficking. Even more, the court's verdict showed this is human trafficking. And slavery. If we want to say this is slavery, of course we can. There (in Benjina), we found the victims were imprisoned if the victims were being uncooperative or lazy... strangely something like that (the cell) exist in front of government office,” said Yunus, the Deputy Chief of the Task Force for the Prevention and Eradication of Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) Fishing (Husein, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

“I agree this is a slavery. Like in Benjina, their freedom was very limited. If we take an example of our old day (Dutch colonialism) where people were being chained for forced labour, that's modern day slavery in Benjina. But, only Benjina we can say slavery because there we found a cell, a detention centre. In Ambon it's most likely human trafficking, not slavery, because of its exploitation nature. Like their salary. Salary is (a) victim's right that should be paid by companies. But in reality, the companies broke the deal by holding victims' salary and even trying to cut the deal when they had a negotiation (back wages negotiation),” said A.A Choliek Syahid, Head of Ambon Fishery Port (Syahid, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

“IOM follow Palermo Protocol (human trafficking protocol). Yes, all the elements of coercion, and exploitations, and forced labour can be a part of it. Yes, we follow Palermo. It's a basis for IOM.” Ms. X, IOM-Indonesia High-level Officer (X, Personal Interview, 2016).

“It's very clear our reference is Human Trafficking Law No. 21/2007. Easy, every action can be categorized as a human trafficking if it is fulfilling three elements of action: method and objective, as well as intention ... the exploitations should not be really happening, as long as the perpetrators have an objective and intention that can be classified as (a) human trafficking criminal act,” said Nana Riana, prosecutor and also a member of

AGO's Terrorism and Transnational Crime Task Force (Riana, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

The above statements present a very clear picture that the actors can deliberately define their view of either slavery, forced labour, or human trafficking, albeit only two interviewees mentioned firmly any legal references. The statements, hence, confirmed that the interviewees were ascribing the victims' position in regard to their vulnerable position in the case. The definition is always important in the construction of narrativity in this case study because it determines all strategic steps taken to overcome the issue, including to connect the definition with the narrative of Indonesia's fishery market and industry dynamics.

As explained above, Indonesian fishing industry counted as the most frequent theme (44%) that appeared in the media content analysis. In other words, reflecting the actors who made statements, this case's media narrative has been owned by the Indonesian government, or in this particular case by MAF (whose active involvement is due to the fact the case happened in the fishing industry) since the very beginning. As Yunus answered, "We are responsive as simply as the case happened in the fishing industry and the perpetrators are fishing companies... Yes, all the permits (are) coming from here and one of our function(s) is controlling them. But then, there is violation. We found violation," (Husein, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

Yet, the dominant involvement of MAF in connecting the case within their effort of combating IUUF should not be read in linear logic. In fact, the effort to combat IUUF has been a part of Minister Susi's main agenda as a newly appointed minister. She said Indonesia has suffered a significant loss due to illegal fishing activity (Fardah, 2014). The effort is also a part of a greater agenda of President Jokowi to increase Indonesia's world maritime influence. As reported by The Jakarta Post, one of the five pillars of Jokowi's maritime axis doctrine is that Indonesia must end the sources of conflict at sea, including illegal fishing that caused a great economic loss (Witular, 2014). There were various strategic policies taken to support this effort, such as issuing a moratorium on permits granted to foreign fishing vessels, a moratorium on transshipment, forming a Task Force on the Prevention and

Eradication of Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) Fishing, and blowing up the illegal foreign fishing vessels to create a deterrence effect (Moss, 2016; Salim, 2015c, 2015e). Therefore, the connection between the trafficked or enslavement case and the IUUF narrative can also be read as being part of Indonesia's power contestation in capturing surplus value in the global fishing industry.

6.1.2. The Value Creation and Capture

Henderson et al. (2002, p. 448) explained that to understand the value capturing process, it is necessary to investigate the value creation process where labour power is converted into actual labour and value or surplus value. Moreover, in Marx's terms, labour power is closely related to a certain degree of exploitation, as labour will never receive the amount of surplus value created by workers in the mode of production (Zafirovski, 2003, p. 463). Workers then become unfree labour when exploitations repeatedly reproduce and limit workers' mobility in commodifying their own labour power (Marx, 1976, p. 271; McGrath, 2013, p. 33). In the case of trafficked fishermen, the degree of exploitations is obviously seen in the narrative. For instance, the victims' narratives from Al Jazeera's documentary below reflect the exploitation that occurs in the case.

“All of us were beaten. When we were sorting fish, the captain yelled at us for working so slowly. He shot us with a lead ball tied with a rope. The captain sat above and shot us with that, then pulled it back and shot again.” (Al Jazeera, 2016).

“The way they forced us to work is worse than slaves. Slaves would have their own time and we didn't have any. We didn't have time to sleep. We didn't have time to eat. We only had time to work.” (Al Jazeera, 2016).

From the narratives above, it is clear that the degree of exploitation plays an important role in the value creation process. However, the AP's investigative report reflected on how the exploitative conditions were connected with the global market. In their report, the slave-caught fish were not only sent to Thailand but also linked to U.S. supermarket chains like Wal-Mart and Kroger (McDowell et al., 2015; Mendoza, McDowell, Mason, & Htusan, 2016). Moreover, below is the story told by AP reporter Martha Mendoza on how she investigated the connection between the slave-caught fish and the U.S. supermarket chains.

“It was relatively easy to determine that cans of cat food labelled Fancy Feast, Meow Mix and Iams came out of Thai processors that bought fish off the boat from Benjina. But the U.S. distributors were more complicated because they are not required to disclose where they sell fish... I pulled into another Wal-Mart, sending out an army of fifth-graders to examine bags of frozen fish and filling my iPhone with photos of labels. On weekends, Mason and I swapped snapshots as we grocery shopped, a continent away from one another. Eventually, the puzzle came together. With weeks of database tracking, we found seafood from Benjina in the supply chains of supermarkets, distribution centres and restaurants in every state at thousands of outlets,” Martha Mendoza, AP reporter (Mendoza et al., 2016).

Mendoza’s story tells us that the slave-exploitative conditions led to a creation of value which was not only consumed by the Thailand market, but was further linked to the global fishery market or industry. In the GPN’s framework, this condition is sufficient to prove that the victims contributed to the value accumulation process in the entire network. Therefore, the next step is to investigate which parties captured a dominant share of the value produced through the practice of slavery, because the real political-economy contestation starts in this phase.

In the Indonesian narrative, Thailand is framed as the highest-value “catcher” at the regional level. The narrative delivered by MAF, for instance, is constructed to compare the difference between Indonesia and Thailand’s fishery resources and export values.

“In terms of production, we (Indonesia) produce a huge amount of fish as we have many deep seas. In terms of resources, we have plenty of fish, and it attracts many countries - especially our neighbour countries - to utilize the resources in both legal and illegal ways... we have many resources, but it (is) also stolen by others. As result, Thailand, who doesn’t have many fish resources, can maybe become the third-largest exporter in the world by now. Imagine, how come they (are) becoming the third-largest exporter? They only have Andaman Sea. So, where (does) it (fish) come from? From here (Indonesia),” Yunus, MAF (Husein, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

“95 percent of fish (Ambon fish) goes to Thailand. Five percent goes to Ambon and Java... And I am sure it cost a lot for us. The fish (has) its own value added. In Thailand, the fish are being processed first to be in the food can or whatever. Why? Because they have money, they can do everything they want,” Choliek,

Head of Ambon Fishery Port (Syahid, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

According to Food and Agriculture Organizations (FAO) (2014), it is true that Thailand is the third-largest fish and fishery products exporter, with an export value totalling US\$8,079 million in 2012 (p. 50). In the report, Indonesia is not even sitting in the top ten largest exporters, even though in 2012 Indonesia's food fish production (3,067,660 tonnes) was recorded to outnumber Thailand's production (1,233,877 tonnes) (p. 22). Moreover, according to the Environmental Justice Foundation (EJF), Thailand's fisheries resources have been in crisis for a decade because of overfishing. EJF found that since the late 1960s, Thailand's catches of marine fish in the Gulf of Thailand and the Andaman Sea have plummeted by 86 percent, making it one of the most over-fished countries in the world. This crisis is getting worse, as the Thai fishing industry employs more than 800,000 people, with an export value of US\$6 billion worldwide in 2013 (Environmental Justice Foundation [EJF], 2015b, p. 4; Thailand Department of Fisheries 2014). The allegation of illegal fishing made by the Indonesian government is confirmed through slaves' statements in the EJF report.

“We used Malaysian and Indonesian flags occasionally. We didn't change flags when we were fishing in Thai waters, where we'd only use a Thai flag. The Indonesian flag was used when we were fishing in Indonesian waters. Then we'd remove the Indonesian flag on return to Thai waters and replace it with the Thai one.” Tun Thet Soe, escaped victim of trafficking (EJF, 2015b, p. 27).

“When the (Indonesian) Navy came to catch us, we just moved to fishing zone five (in Thailand) or went to Malaysian waters to steal fish.” Aung Kyaw, escaped victims of trafficking (EJF, 2015b, p. 26).

Although the above slaves' statements do not have any connection with the trafficking and slavery case in Maluku, it does not diminish the fact that the practice of slavery forms the backbone of Thailand's fishing industry, not only in their own territory but other countries as well. The EJF report simply confirms that the accumulative value received by Thailand industry is based on unfree labour practices, where the inability of labour to recombine labour power has been

being exploited over time. Therefore, in Thailand, slaves are no greater than their physical value to produce profits for the Thai fishing industry.

In the case of trafficked fishermen in Maluku, the value of victims is also used by the Indonesian government to enter a political-economy contestation of the value capturing process. It can be argued that by linking the narrative of human trafficking and/or slavery with Indonesia's fishing industry and market dynamics, the government has expanded the issue beyond being a human rights problem. The Indonesian government built the narrativity in two strategic steps: First, by claiming that the construction of victimhood appeared as a disruption in the civilised global world, which should pay attention to and refuse to tolerate the cruel activities occurring in the fishing industry. Second, the Indonesian government used the narrative of human trafficking and slavery as a tool to take over surplus values from Thailand's industry. Some examples of these steps were mentioned in the content analysis section above (See section 5.1 and 5.2). However, the statements below can offer us a glimpse of these strategic steps.

“Thailand is quite shaky (fishing industry) by now. In Europe, Thailand has received a ‘yellow card’ and they’re trying to clean their own mess (in Europe market). Once we had a conference in Bangkok, and there, Thailand said the world could learn about good labour practice in Thailand. Of course, I protested their statement. There was no good labour practice in Thailand! They were a butcher, they used slave(s), they committed human trafficking ... In Europe, they are trying to lift the ‘yellow card’ and preventing to get the ‘red card’. So, I think the issue has caused a terrible distraction for Thailand (the fishing industry),” (Husein, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

In relation to the theoretical framework used in this thesis, it is argued that the steps taken were an example of how the slaves' inability to commodify their labour power (Marx, 1976, p. 271) has been used by the other involved actors as an instrument for a political-economy interest in the entire GPN. The Indonesian government, who in this case own the overall narrative, symbolically used the bodies of the victims to challenge the global fishery market structure, which has been dominated by Thailand. This is an example of Marx's statement that, “In the slave relation

(unfree labour), the worker is nothing but a living labour machine, which therefore has a value for others, or rather is a value.” (1973, p. 465).

6.2. Saving the Unfree Labour: The Solution

This section builds on the constructed narratives presented in the previous section. As explained above, the narrative of value creation and capture explained that the case has moved beyond a human rights issue. In the Indonesian narrative, the slave’s value will never be separated from the narrative of the Indonesian fishery market and industry. Therefore, the constructed solutions were made to support the overarching narratives of Indonesia’s fishing industry. Moreover, in line with the content analysis findings, there are three solutions that will be discussed in this section: (1) the immediate response to rescue victims, (2) law enforcement, and (3) restructuring Indonesia’s fishery market and industry.

6.2.1. Saving the Unfree Labour: A Quick Response

As developed in the content analysis, the strategic steps found to undertake a quick response are forming a special task force to investigate the case, identification of victims, evacuation of victims, establishing a temporary shelter, providing healthcare, and return and repatriation (see Section 5.3). In an immediate-response approach, the Indonesian government (MAF) along with IOM-Indonesia were found as the most responsive actors to take quick action (Grahadyarini, 2015; Salim, 2015d). During an interview, an IOM-Indonesia official confirmed that the steps outlined above were indeed taken.

“So the immediate response, first step: screen everyone, see if there (are) any vulnerable cases, and get those vulnerable cases away from the perpetrators, the ones who are doing the abuse. So, basically the immediate response to get away (from) the large population of people from Benjina and bring them to Tual (the nearest accessible island). Get them away from those who doing the abuses. And protect them, and then get them home.” X, IOM-Indonesia High Level Officer (X, Personal Interview, 2016).

X added that IOM-Indonesia follows their own screening checklists as an identification guideline. This guideline was constructed by using the Palermo Protocol and Indonesia Human Trafficking Law No. 21/2007 as its basis. (X, Personal Interview, 2016). X further explained that the most difficult part in

identification was to determine the members of the captain's inner circle in the trawlers' organisation structure and separating the victims from the abusers.

“The only difficulty was determining some of the higher-level enforcers on the boat. Because we have the Thai captains, we have the Thai captain’s inner-circle crew, and you also may have had Myanmar’s high level who was there to be able to communicate with the slave fishermen and the Thai. He might have paid a little more money, he might have done an abuse, so trying to be, we did not count them (as) victim(s) of trafficking because they were a part of the traffickers, basically part of the abusers.” (X, Personal Interview, 2016).

Overall, IOM-Indonesia managed to identify in total 1,128 fishermen, of which 658 were identified in Tual as victims from Benjina and 470 were identified in Ambon. The most-identified victims were Myanmar (893), followed by Thai (122), Cambodian (99), and Laotian (14). IOM-Indonesia also managed to provide 781 fishermen with return assistance. Among those who received the return assistance were 682 Myanmar and 99 Cambodians. According to IOM-Indonesia, some of the return assistance was also provided by their own governments. Moreover, besides return assistance, IOM-Indonesia provided reintegration assistance to 84 Cambodians (International Organization for Migration, Personal Communication, 2016). At first sight, it seems that there is nothing flawed with the process. During the research process, a problem was found regarding repatriation and the victims’ right to retrieve salary. This was deemed important, as this issue would later become a source of victims' insecurity after repatriation. This will also prove the other actors’ incapability of providing a clear way to solve this issue in either a legal or illegal approach.

As mentioned earlier, there were two locations found in this case, Benjina and Ambon. In Benjina, although the swift action was taken to evacuate and repatriate victims after the AP’s story broke worldwide, there was almost no narrative found in any media about their rights to receive salary or any narrative regarding back-salary negotiation. In the AP report, it was written that about 50 Myanmar refused to leave Benjina, as they did not want to leave without being paid (McDowell & Mason, 2015). However, there was an unclear follow-up as to what happened next with these 50 Myanmar who decided to stay in Benjina. In

another report, IOM-Indonesia (Dillon, 2015b) mentioned that during Benjina's evacuation there were at first some Cambodians who had also refused to leave unpaid, but they finally opted to leave as they felt the salary would never be in their hands. When attempting to confirm this salary matter with IOM-Indonesia's high-level officer during the interview session, X stated that all Benjina victims basically got nothing upon their return.

“Well, Benjina, they don't get anything. Unfortunately, those 600 to 700 people who left Benjina in the first group... That was such a rush to make sure that they got home quickly. And the fact that the company that had perpetrated this on them... One single company claimed bankruptcy and they said, 'We can't pay them'. And everyone who left from Benjina basically got nothing... on any back salary,” (X, Personal Interview, 2016).

The stark conditions appeared with the Ambon case, where the issue about salary issue was more visible in various materials. For instance, IOM-Indonesia mentioned that the back salary was one of the main issues which postponed the victims' repatriation (Dillon, 2015a; Rogers, 2015). During the interview, X also confirmed the different situation in Ambon.

“Now, restitution (back-salary) got changed with Ambon because the government of Indonesia then maybe had nine companies to deal with and they could probably put little pressure on the countries on the companies to pay some of the back wages. Because each one of these fishermen knew the day they started working, they knew the boat name that they worked on, and they knew exactly what (had) been promised, like 9000 baht or 12000 baht per month. So they knew exactly, they can do the math and figure out this is how much I haven't been paid. And this is how the negotiation went in Ambon.” (X, Personal Interview, 2016).

Generally, I argue that both Benjina and Ambon present a clear impression that victims were, again, very weak in commodifying their labour power (unfree labour) (Marx, 1976, p. 271) to fight for their rights. For instance, during my internship period with IOM-Indonesia, I had a chance to sit at the same table with the victims for the back-salary negotiations. As presented in public (Dillon, 2015a), IOM's role was supposedly performed as an observer and a neutral party during the negotiations. Yet, I experienced that we overstepped these boundaries as victims' representatives in the negotiation process. This happened because first there was an

inadequate accompaniment of the victims by either the Indonesian governments or law enforcement agencies. Second, the victims were threatened to suffer from re-victimisation as the companies were trying to exploit their vulnerabilities to cut a deal. When asked to confirm this practice during the interview section, X did not deny the above assumptions.

“Yes, sometime maybe we stretch a little bit on behalf of the fishermen. So we were acting almost on behalf of protection fishermen’s interest so that they don’t get cheated. But not, it’s very clear math was clear. ‘I work this many months, they promise me this much per month, they owe me this much’. That was clear in the minds of the fishermen. So all we were doing was putting an effort to the fishing company to say this what he knows he’s owed, and you want to try to put that less and you’re trying to cheat him for what you have promised to pay him, you’re trying to cheat him... Yes, we should not have been negotiating into any great extent; we should have really been there as observer. And it should have been MAF and there should be investigatory people who were there to put some pressure. I think toward the end, it was more like that.” (X, Personal Interview, 2016).

In Benjina, the situation was quite different since I did not have any real experience. Yet, X’s narrative (X, Personal Interview, 2016) said, “That was such a rush to make sure that they got home quickly,” which implied a huge consequence of a constructed emergency situation triggered by AP’s stories. The victimisation in combination with media exposure forced the actors to take immediate action in sending victims home, without having a clear strategy to protect the victims’ right of having restitution. This argument will be discussed in the next section, as the aftermath of other actors’ immediate response to return victims was weak law enforcement and failure to defend victims’ right to have restitution.

6.2.2. Saving the Unfree Labour: Law Enforcement and Benjina’s Trial

In the content analysis, there are seven identified law enforcement steps taken by other actors to normalise the situation (see section 5.3). However, this section will focus on discussing the Benjina case trials, as the main intention is to determine whether the legal instruments and process to uphold justice were responsive and effective in this case study.

As reported by TJP, in November 2015, the open trials began with eight defendants, including three Indonesian and five Thai boat captains who are employed at PT. PBR (The Jakarta Post & Associated Press, 2015a). In summary, all defendants were prosecuted for violations of Human Trafficking Law No. 21/2007, with imprisonment up to 15 years and fines of a maximum of 600,000,000 IDR (US\$46,000) (Indonesian Government, 2007). The prosecutors demanded six defendants to be sentenced for four years and six months' imprisonment, and three years and six months for the other two, as well as fines of 240,000,000 IDR (US\$18,032) for all defendants and restitution to be paid by Thai boat captains to victims working on their boats. Overall, there were 11 victims that would receive restitutions from Thai captains. At the final verdict, all defendants were sentenced to three years' imprisonment and obliged to pay 160,000,000 IDR (US\$12,022) in fines to the court with two months' subsidiary imprisonment if they refuse to pay. The Thai captains also were sentenced to pay restitutions, with one year's subsidiary imprisonment if they are unable to pay (See appendix 1 for full detail).

It is clear that the prosecutors' demand and the final verdict demonstrate a real weakness in law enforcement. First, the prosecutions and the verdicts for imprisonment and fines did not reflect the inhumane practices suffered by victims. Both prosecutions and verdicts were at the minimum level of sentences provided for by law. Second, the number of victims who received restitutions did not reflect the number of victims rescued in Benjina. Lastly, no companies were brought to trial as defendants.

Regarding this matter, I went to AGO's office in Jakarta and asked them to clarify these problems. For the first problem, prosecutor Nana Riana said that the prosecutors need to be fair in evaluating the case from both sides.

“So here was the problem. The fishermen might prosecute based (on) the years of the enslavement to charge the defendants. But, in the trials, there were captains who were not even working in the trawlers for that long. For example, Boonsom (defendant) worked only for four months in that trawler. But then, the slavery case happened and the police arrested him... so this was the fact that we tried to fairly calculate. Even though the victims have been working with the trawlers for three years, their captains

were changing. Then, how could we prosecute him?” (Riana, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

Nana added that his statement above also answered why the amount of prosecuted restitutions was small. In his opinion, the prosecutors could only charge the restitutions by counting the captains’ working period in their trawlers (Riana, 2016). So basically, the reason for the minimum sentence prosecution is solely because the prosecutors could not locate the previous trawler captains who did the same trafficking and practice of slavery of victims.

For the second problem, Nana mentioned the unrepresented victims in restitution or even in the trials, was because they had trouble identifying victims who were already home. During the case construction, the prosecutors were helped by the Witness and Victim Protection Agency (LPSK) to identify more victims who wanted to press charges, but it was quite difficult because LPSK could not locate the victims. This problem was not only perceived by prosecutors and LPSK, but also by Myanmar’s government.

“Regarding to the number of victims, when we had a meeting with Witness and Victim Protection Agency (LPSK), they said, ‘They were too many victims repatriated from Benjina.’ But LPSK said that they would do their best to represent the victims’ right of having restitutions. They were ready to coordinate (with the) Myanmar government for such matter. They have expressed their willingness to (the) Myanmar government if any other victims would like to press charges. But, (the) Myanmar government itself has had difficulty in locating their victims.” (Riana, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

For the third problem, Nana Riana agreed that to prosecute the fishing company would be the best answer to the first and the second problems. But, he felt that there was a missing link, because they could not prosecute Silver Sea Fishery Company (SSC), a Thai-based fishing company who made a venture with PT. PBR, as the main perpetrator in this case. In his legal opinion, PT. PBR could prove that they employed foreign fishermen outsourced from SSC with an obligation to pay the fishermen's salaries to SSC. PT. PBR, in this case, were able to prove that they have fulfilled the obligation to pay victims’ salaries directly to SSC.

“So, Silver Sea came with Foreign Direct Investment in Indonesia and made a joint venture with Benjina (PT. PBR).

Silver Sea(s) obligation was to provide PT. PBR with fishing boat's crews. Then, PT. PBR(s) obligation was to directly pay Silver Sea for these expenses (outsourced labour) ... The slavery happened in Benjina. However, PT. PBR, in their financial record, was able to show their obligation in paying victims' salaries to Silver Sea. Thus, this was exactly the real problem. Where (did) victims' salary go? Why Silver Sea did not fulfil their obligations to pay salaries? This was our missing link," (Riana, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

Therefore, in order to prosecute PT. PBR with Indonesian Human Trafficking Law, Nana said the prosecutors need to prove that PT. PBR as a company did not fulfil their obligation to victims and PT. PBR received benefit from this negligence. Although the prosecutors have evidence of their trafficking actions and trafficking means through their employees, Nana added that the main problem was to prove the company's intention to exploit victims.

"The problem is I have to prove their intention to exploit victims... Now, how can we prove the exploitations? We asked victim(s), who employ(ed) you? Then he said, 'Silver Sea'... It's complicated to prove the exploitations... Then, based on this fact, who is wrong? Silver Sea, right? By now, we do not know what happened there with Silver Sea in Thailand. Therefore, we need not only investigation here, but also there in Thailand," (Riana, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

Overall, the narrative of unfree labour appeared in the Benjina trials process in two ways. First, victims' powerlessness to commodify their labour power (Marx, 1976) was manifested through an incapability of the other actors to defend victims' rights. For instance, the failure to bring the real perpetrators (individuals or companies) happened because there were no strategic steps taken to promote a comprehensive law enforcement institutional partnership. This claim was approved by Nana Riana during the interview session.

"Nationally our institutional partnership was good. But the problem was exactly the international cooperation. Because honestly, there were many unrevealed facts from this case. We could not bring that to the table because the facts (were) not in our jurisdiction," (Riana, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

From Marx's unfree labour perspective, victims remain helpless to negotiate their labour power even after the intervention of law enforcement normalised the

situation. In this case, victims' bodies are perceived as nothing more than a value producer. As law enforcement has failed to empower the victims, the unfreedom will never be separated from them.

Second, the unfree labour narrative appeared when the victims' bodies are no more than a subject of political strategy, or biopower in the Foucauldian perspective (Stapleton & Byers, 2015, p. 1). This claim refers to the second problem in Benjina's trials. As mentioned in the previous section, an emergency situation which was triggered by media exposure has forced other actors to take an immediate response to rescue victims, including repatriation. This political strategy might be needed in order to protect victims from unwanted events. Yet, as Lemke (2011, p. 42) said that biopower can legitimate powerful actors to take any form of actions in the name of improving life. In this case study, it is argued that the victims' emergency situation can be seen as a tool used by the actors to legitimate their political strategy in the name of improving life. Hence, without any comprehensive plan to act based on victims' needs and interests, the other actors are contributing in extending victims' vulnerable conditions in this case study. At this point, it does not mean that liberating a slave from their victimhood is equal to reviving their labour power to compete in a world increasingly governed by neoliberalism.

The next section will strengthen the Foucauldian biopower and unfree labour concepts, by analysing Indonesian actors' solution in restructuring its fishing industry and market structure. This solution is often claimed to be an act of prevention. However, as already explained above in the value creation and value capture section, the Indonesian government uses the solution as a political-economy strategy to obtain the value of Thailand fishing industry. Thus, rather than independently seeing the solution as the manifestation of structural contestation, the reproduction of victims' vulnerable conditions in this solution can be investigated.

6.2.3. Saving the Unfree Labour: Restructuring the Indonesian Fishing Market

In the content analysis section, reproducing the IUUF was the strategic step taken by the Indonesian government both to showcase their seriousness to solve the case

and to restructure their fishing industry as a preventative act. However, as discussed in the value creation and capture section, restructuring the market was done not only to prevent the cycle of trafficking, but also to capture the surplus value of the fishery industry from Thailand. Therefore, in this section, the aim is to investigate the use of slaves for the government's political-economy strategy.

As human rights abuses are inexcusable in today's era, the AP's narrative of slavery and human trafficking have placed one significant disadvantage for Thailand's fishing industry. For instance, below are narratives for a severe warning echoed by the U.S. market that will threaten Thailand's market.

“All of us may find ourselves eating a slave-made product without knowing it, but once we know it, we all have a moral obligation, I believe, to make a personal decision to boycott it,” said New Jersey Republican Congressman Chris Smith, a member of the House Foreign Relations Committee (Mendoza, 2015).

“This isn't a matter of low pay or crummy working conditions. This isn't a matter of saving lots of money to choose the product that is made by cutting corners. This is the flagrant abuse of fellow human beings... Americans won't stand for that,” said Mark Lagon, president of the group Freedom House (Mendoza, 2015).

In addition, as a stern warning, U.S. President Barack Obama signed House Resolution 644 banning U.S. imports of goods produced by forced labour (Mendoza, 2016). The narratives and resolution, then, posit a substantial threat to Thailand, as U.S. is recorded to be the largest importers of Thailand's fisheries products in 2014 (EJF, 2015a, p. 18). Overall, by market disapproval, Thailand's fishing industry is facing the risk of collateral damage.

Moreover, as an opportunity, Indonesia built a strategy to take advantage of Thailand's situation. The strategy includes extending the moratorium on foreign fishing vessels (Salim, 2015c) and issuing a ministerial regulation to protect human rights in the fishery industry (Jong, 2015). Initially, the reason MAF issued Marine and Fisheries Minister Regulation No. 56/2014 on moratorium for ex-foreign fishing vessels was to combat the illegal fishing that mostly conducted by the ex-foreign vessels (Santosa, n.d). According to Minister Susi, this regulation was not

only to show the Indonesia's sovereign power in the sea, but further to eradicate the IUUF practice that caused a tremendous economic loss for Indonesia (Rahman, 2014). Susi's statement was also confirmed by the MAFs representative during the interview session.

"I agree with that moratorium (for) two reasons. First, to combat IUU fishing. Second, to uphold our sovereignty. As Minister Susi's programmes of sovereignty, sustainability, and prosperity. So, in the name of sovereignty, I absolutely agree in order to make the neighbouring countries aware of our fishing industry's existence," (Syahid, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

"If you ask me, yes, the moratorium will stop the illegal fishing conducted by foreign vessels. Like in Benjina and Ambon, the fish there was mostly transferred to Thailand. So, this moratorium will move the resources for our prosperity," (Husein, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

Thus, since the very beginning, this regulation was aimed at contesting the fishery market leader, which uses IUUF as the basis of their industry. Implied in Yunus' statement as well as the discussion in section 6.1.2, Thailand is framed as the closest neighbour country that needs to be contested in this industry.

Furthermore, when the slavery case happened, I would argue that the Indonesian government received another "weapon" to attack Thailand's fishing industry. Issuing a minister regulation to protect human rights in fishing industry was one of the strategic steps taken. According to MAF (Santosa, n.d), the regulation will be based on the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights and ILO Work in Fishing Convention 2007. Thus, this regulation will help Indonesia promote their new business approach, which can be ethically accepted in the global market. For example, Kompas (2015c) reported that during the 2015 Global Seafood Expo in Brussels, Indonesia's government used the moment to tell the world that their fish and fish products have fulfilled the main aspects of market requirements, including good labour practices. During the interview section, Yunus also confirmed this claim.

"We are heading there, to United States and Europe. The European market has agreed to promote traceability, where the fish and fish products should not come from any practice that violates human rights value. Or otherwise, Europe market will

not buy our product.” (Husein, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

Generally, in Marx’s unfree labour perspective, the above narrative can strengthen the claim that slaves are used strategically by the Indonesian government to contest Thailand’s fishery market structure. However, in the Foucauldian perspective, the IUUF narrative with its moratorium and human rights-based regulation, can be seen as a manifestation of biopower to reproduce victims’ subjectivity in the dynamic of production networks.

With the moratorium policy, one of the criticisms was that the MAF did not gradually communicate the policy. The policy implementation caused great turbulence to the national fishing industry because of many fishing vessels suddenly stopping their operation in Indonesian waters. Of course, the policy has created a structural economic loss as many fishermen have lost their jobs (Supriyanto, Kurniawan, & Yusuf, 2016, p. 86). Thus, this policy was not only categorised as a form of structural power to capture global fishery market value, but also as a disciplinary power which governs people’s bodies as a part of a political strategy (Foucault, 2003, p. 241; Stapleton & Byers, 2015, p. 1). In relation to the case study, the massive sudden appearance of foreign fishermen in Ambon and Benjina was also because of this moratorium. This is supported by the AP’s stories below, as well as an Ambon immigration officer.

“Many are migrant workers abandoned by their boat captains after the government passed a moratorium on foreign fishing five months ago, according to the International Organization for Migration, which released the figure Friday. However, others have been trapped on the islands for years, after being dumped by fishing boats or escaping into the jungle.” (Mendoza et al., 2016).

“This case has been running for decade. And after Minister Susi said stop for the foreign vessels, then it appeared new problems. After they stop (moratorium), automatically they (foreign fishermen) were stuck on their boat. I have told them repeatedly (MAF)... We are dealing with human, not an item. If it is an item, we just need to locked up at our storehouse, then it’s done... But this is human... we cannot keep them in custody. They’re not illegal migrant, they came here legally,” Frederick, Ambon Immigration officer (Frederick, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

From the narrative above, since the first time, victims have become a part of political strategy along with Indonesian fishermen who lost their jobs. The only difference between them was the enslavement of the foreign fishermen, which gave them more added value in the entire power contestation. Therefore, this added value can be exploited to capture surplus value in the entire structure.

The best example for that occasion is the minister regulation to protect the human rights value in the fishing industry. As explained in the narratives above, the government was using the rule to enter the European and U.S. markets which do not tolerate any practice that violates human rights values. Hence, the enslavement narrative should continuously be reproduced to strengthen the Indonesian government's argument to promote their new approach in the fishing industry, despite the incompleteness of the regulation.

“This regulation is not yet fully implemented because it's a brand new regulation, it (was) signed on December. Inside (in MAF), we are not yet ready to implement this regulation as it (is) still in the phase of communication and creating the guidelines. Yes, this (is) going to be (a) good regulation... If we can implement the regulation and give a human rights certification, the market will be acknowledging us.” (Husein, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

Moreover, in the Foucauldian perspective, biopower and unfree labour present in this part in two ways. First, the logic of capital and market has penetrated to the entire structure in the name of life's improvement (Lemke, 2011, p. 42). At this rate, enslavement appeared as a disruption in the entire structure because slavery is intolerable in today's capitalist practice. Second, the Indonesian government, which works in the same level of market logic, is forcing victims to enter this logic, either consciously or unconsciously. Victims, at this phase, are no greater than symbolic bodies that can be used as a tool of political-economy contestation in the entire production network. As Lemke (2011, pp. 44-46) explained, biopower is a new art of government where power operates through an economic government which can subjugate any type of social relation.

6.3. Saving the Slave: The Voice of Unfree Labour

In this section, the adverse incorporation theory will be used to examine how the unevenness of the global capitalism structure can produce and reproduce the victims' vulnerabilities in different embedded spatial locations. As Phillips explained, adverse incorporation offers a perspective to read poverty or workers' vulnerabilities not as a set of social exclusion, but further from the adverse terms on which a huge number of workers are incorporated into particular economic and social processes (2013, p. 172). The adverse incorporation works through workers' exploitation in (re)producing vulnerabilities and poverty. The dynamics of adverse incorporation are circular: "poverty generated vulnerabilities among workers which facilitate their exploitation; then their exploitation, in turn, serves as the key mechanism of impoverishment" (Phillips, 2013, pp. 175-176). In this case study, the victims' vulnerabilities can be inspected by looking to their conditions in two different sets of time and embeddedness. Thus, to prove that the reproduction of vulnerabilities happened to the victims, the narrative on their conditions before and after the rescue will be presented.

Poverty and vulnerabilities have already been embedded to the victims long before their emigration. In this case study, it was quite clear that poverty is the main driving force for victims to cross borders and be tricked into exploitative conditions. Below are the narratives from the victims' voice.

"There are three kids in our family, but I'm the oldest. Ever since I was young, I wanted to earn money so I could help look after my parents. An agent took me from Yangon to Thailand saying that I'd earn a lot of money – \$300 a month – but as soon as I arrived the boss sent me back to Myanmar's border town of Kaw Thaug. I was told to wait there, in the forest, until someone came and got me to work on a fishing boat. That's how I eventually ended up in Indonesia." (Mason, McDowell, & Mendoza, 2015).

"I live in a poor condition. My mom was unemployed and my dad was a fisherman. In Myanmar, I was not working either. I was still at school back then, but I dropped out because I did not have any money to pursue education. Then I met my aunt. She said she had an older cousin there in Thailand who can gave me a job. Then I follow her," (Z, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation).

“I worked as a farmer back home. I worked at other people’s paddy field. My family was very poor and I thought a lot about our conditions. Therefore, I decided to go to Thailand. Yet, I did not know that I would be ended up in Indonesia.” (Y, Personal Interview, 2016, My Translation)

The victims’ voices above implied how the vulnerable conditions in Myanmar gave them little choice other than to emigrate to Thailand looking for a job. Yet, the narratives showed that the adverse incorporation occurred when huge numbers of victims were emigrating to Thailand and entering the global production networks of the fishing industry. Thus, in terms of embeddedness, this phenomenon demonstrates how poverty and vulnerabilities were moving from one set of social relations to another. At this point, victims’ vulnerabilities were reproduced in the unevenness of global fishing industry structure.

Furthermore, after the media exposed the story, there were several strategic steps taken to normalise the situation. This analysis was explained in the previous section, where some of the solutions contribute to the reproduction of victims’ subjectivity, such as using their bodies as a tool of political strategy. However, the narrative not yet discussed is the victims’ condition after their rescue. The aim of this narrative is to see whether the productive power exercised by the other involved actors contributed to extending victims’ vulnerabilities. Thus, below are the narratives of victims after their liberation.

“If we won’t get our money, I will have to accept it. I can’t do anything... we are like water in their hands. They can do whatever they want... Since we didn’t get a wage, we are like scum. And we are a burden to our families now.” (Al Jazeera, 2016).

“I am still struggling and I still have no proper job. It seems like the more I try to find jobs, the harder they are to get. If I had received my wage, it could have been the capital to start my own small business.” (Al Jazeera, 2016).

The above narratives were echoed when Al Jazeera interviewed victims who were rescued from Benjina. They were among the victims who did not receive any repatriation money or back salary during the immediate rescue and repatriation. As has been explained, this situation is suitable to portray how the cost of lacking a comprehensive strategy to rescue victims as well as fighting can harm the victims

in a longer period. Their statements above clearly deliver a message of insecurity. The narrative of fear, like a fear of becoming a burden for family and a fear of having no jobs, is implied clearly as an inseparable consequence of their embedded vulnerabilities within globalised production networks.

In adverse incorporation, this condition explains how poverty and vulnerabilities continue to haunt victims' lives, although a strategic response to save them was taken in the name of improving life. At this point, it can be argued that, on one hand, victims are left behind by the other involved actors to fight for their lives in an asymmetrical power relation which has been exploiting them over time. On the other hand, in Indonesia they keep reproducing the narrative of victims' unfreedom as an instrument to capture value in the global fishing industry. This condition, thus, is what Foucault (2003, p. 241) argued as being the power to promote "the right to make live and to let die".

7. Conclusion

This thesis was aimed to present an analysis of an interplay between the structure and agency in situating the unfree labour dynamic in the case of trafficked fishermen in Maluku, Indonesia. By using the GPN framework and the unfree labour concept, there were three goals that I intended to investigate in this research: First, the victims' vulnerable position in GPN's value creation and value capture. Second, the solutions taken by other involving actors to solve the problem and their relation to the (re)production of victims' subjectivity in GPN. Third, to situate an asymmetrical power relation which has been reproducing victims' vulnerabilities in the entire GPN. Moreover, the media content analysis method and narrative method were employed to address the aforementioned goals. Based on the media content analysis, themes, actors, and solutions were mapped and used as guidelines for using the narrative method.

For the first goal, the narrative of victimhood in this case study was found to go hand-in-hand with the narrative of Indonesia's fishery market and industry. These narratives were inseparable as the whole of the Indonesian narratives were dominated by the view of the Indonesian government, or in this case the MAF. In this part, MAF has dragged the narrative of victimhood beyond the human rights issue. The political-economy contestation of value creation and value capture between Indonesia and Thailand was quite obvious in the entire narrative. The fishing industries, which have been backboned by the practice of slavery, have produced a tremendous surplus value for Thailand in recent decades. This situation, then, was used by the Indonesian government to challenge Thailand's fishing industry structurally for their economic agenda. Therefore, when the slavery case happened, the Indonesian government did not only see this case a disruption of their fishing industry but further as an opportunity to capture the value of Thailand's industry by reproducing the narrative of victimhood. Victims, with their incapability to commodify their labour power, were no greater than a value that can be used to produce surplus value or to capture the lost value.

For the second goal, there were at least three solutions taken in this case. The first was the immediate response to rescue victims. In this solution, the steps taken included identification, evacuation, and repatriation. In this part, the repatriation process and its relation to victims' rights in obtaining restitution or back salary were problematized. The problem rested on the different treatment received by victims in Benjina and Ambon, as well as their incapability to negotiate with the company. In Benjina, because of the media exposure, an immediate rescue was implemented by evacuating victims to the nearest island and sending them home directly. Here, all victims were coming home, without receiving any of salary or back wages. In Ambon, victims had a chance to negotiate back salary. The findings showed that many companies, who had exploited victims, still tried to trick them and demand to cut a deal. As a consequence, many victims only received half of the demanded back salary. Thus, this occurrence showed that victims failed to commodify their labour power, even after the other actors' intervention to normalise the situation.

The second solution was law enforcement. The research focused on examining the Benjina trials in order to determine the negligence of other actors in fighting for victims' rights. In the trials, the narrative of unfree labour appeared when victims' powerlessness to commodify their labour power could not be represented by any of the other actors in front of the law. In this part, it was also found that the decision to repatriate Benjina's victims immediately caused trouble for the law enforcement agencies in prosecuting more restitutions in trials. In the name of improving life, the immediate action might be needed to rescue the victims. Yet, in Benjina, this gesture was not accompanied by a comprehensive plan to follow up on victims' basic rights and needs. Therefore, from a biopower perspective, this occurrence can be seen as a contribution to the reproduction of victims' vulnerable condition, as their bodies were used to legitimate government action or political strategy in the name of improving life.

The last solution was to restructure the Indonesian fishery market and industry. Corresponding with immediate response and law enforcement, the MAF used this solution to construct the narrative of prevention. However, the findings showed that

this solution was used not only to prevent similar cases from happening in the future but also to promote Indonesia's new human rights-based fishing industry to global market. Thus, victims' symbolic bodies appeared again as tools for a political-economy agenda.

For the third goal, an analysis was presented through the victims' voices. In general, the concept of adverse incorporation was used in this section to analyse how victims' vulnerabilities are reproduced in one set of social relation. The finding was that victims remained vulnerable even after their liberation. On one hand, victims' physical bodies were returned by the other involved actors to the market, which has exploited them. On the other hand, their symbolic bodies were gradually subjugated to a certain political strategy.

In summary, I have managed to meet all goals in this thesis, where the level of unfreedom can obviously found during the research. However, I argue that to strengthen the claim, the future research needs to be employed in all embedded locations, including Thailand and Myanmar. The future analysis may need to focus on social relation and livelihood strategies after the rescue, and their relation to victims' empowerment. Such a focus appeared to be particularly important if we want to become fully aware of the root causes that create a continuous reproduction of vulnerable conditions.

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Appendix 1: Final Verdict Recapitulation

No	Defendant	Prosecutor's Demand	Final Verdict
1	Mr. Boonsom Jaika	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Four years and six months imprisonment 2. Rp 240,000,000 (US\$ 18,032) fine or three months' subsidiary imprisonment. 3. Silver Sea Co through Mr. Boonsom Jaika need to pay restitution to the victims: Soe Min Thein, Win Hlaing, and Soe Myint. The amount is Rp 335,300,000 (US\$ 25,192). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Three years' imprisonment. 2. Rp 160,000,000 (US\$ 12,022) fines or two months' subsidiary imprisonment if he refuses to pay. 3. Rp 335,300,000 (US\$ 25,192) restitutions to Soe Min Thein, Win Hlaing, Soe Myint. And if the convicted person is unable to pay restitutions, he subjects to subsidiary imprisonment for one year.
2	Mr. Youngyut Nitiwongchaeron	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Four years and six months imprisonment 2. Rp 240,000,000 (US\$ 18,032) fine or three months' subsidiary imprisonment. 3. Silver Sea Co through Mr. Youngyut Nitiwongchaeron need to pay restitution to the victims: Aung Thein Tun, and Min Htike. The amount is Rp 129,900,000 (US\$ 9,760). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Three years' imprisonment. 2. Rp 160,000,000 (US\$ 12,022) fines or two months' subsidiary imprisonment if he refuses to pay. 3. Rp 129,900,000 (US\$ 9,760.) restitutions to Aung Thein Tun, and Min Htike. And if the convicted person is unable to pay restitutions, he subjects to

			subsidiary imprisonment for one year.
3	Mr. Hatsaphon Phaetjakreng	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Four years and six months. imprisonment 2. Rp 240,000,000 (US\$ 18,032) fine or three months' subsidiary imprisonment. 3. Silver Sea Co through Mr. Hatsaphon Phaetjakreng need to pay restitution to the victims: Win Htut, Myo Naing, Zaw Zaw Myat and Ye Tun. The amount is Rp 240,000,000 (US\$ 18,031). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Three years' imprisonment. 2. Rp 160,000,000 (US\$ 12,022) fines or two months' subsidiary imprisonment if he refuses to pay. 3. Rp 239,900,000 (US\$ 18,024) restitutions to Win Htut, Myo Naing, Zaw Zaw Myat and Ye Tun. And if the convicted person is unable to pay restitutions, he subjects to subsidiary imprisonment for one year.
4	Mr. Somchit Korraneesuk	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Four years and six months. imprisonment 2. Rp 240,000,000 (US\$ 18,032) fine or three months' subsidiary imprisonment. 3. Silver Sea Co through Mr. Hatsaphon Phaetjakreng need to pay restitution to the victim: Aye Min Soe. The amount is Rp 18,400,000 (US\$ 1,382). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Three years' imprisonment. 2. Rp 160,000,000 (US\$ 12,022) fines or two months' subsidiary imprisonment if he refuses to pay. 3. Rp 18,400,000 (US\$ 1,382) restitutions to Aye Min Soe. And if the convicted person is unable to pay restitutions, he

			subjects to subsidiary imprisonment for one year.
5	Mr. Surachai Maneephong	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Four years and six months imprisonment 2. Rp 240,000,000 (US\$ 18,032) fine or three months' subsidiary imprisonment. 3. Silver Sea Co through Mr. Boonsom Jaika need to pay restitution to the victim: Thant Zin Win. The amount is Rp 49,800,000 (US\$ 3,741). 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Three years' imprisonment. 2. Rp 160,000,000 (US\$ 12,022) fines or two months' subsidiary imprisonment if he refuses to pay. 3. Rp 49,800,000 (US\$ 3,741) restitutions to Thant Zin Win. And if the convicted person is unable to pay restitutions, he subjects to subsidiary imprisonment for one year.
6	Mr. Hermanwir Martino	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Four years and six months imprisonment 2. Rp 240,000,000 (US\$ 18,032) fine or three months' subsidiary imprisonment. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Three years' imprisonment. 2. Rp 160,000,000 (US\$ 12,022) fines or two months' subsidiary imprisonment if he refuses to pay.
7	Mr. Mukhlis Ohoitenan	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Three years and six months Imprisonment 2. Rp 240,000,000 (US\$ 18,032) fine or three months' subsidiary imprisonment. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Three years' imprisonment. 2. Rp 160,000,000 (US\$ 12,022) fines or two months' subsidiary imprisonment if he refuses to pay

8	Mr. Yopi Hanorsian	<p>1. Three years and six months. Imprisonment</p> <p>2. Rp 240,000,000 (US\$ 18,032) fine or three months' subsidiary imprisonment.</p>	<p>3. Three years' imprisonment. Rp 160,000,000 (US\$ 12,022) fines or two months' subsidiary imprisonment if he refuses to pay</p>
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Source: (Kejaksaan Negeri Dobo, 2016)

Appendix 2: IOM-Indonesia Data

1. Up to date, IOM has identified in total of 1128 fishermen, in which 658 of them were identified in Tual and 470 were identified in Ambon;

No	Place of Identification	Nationalities				# Identified Fishermen	Remarks
		Myanmar	Cambodia	Lao PDR	Thailand		
1	Ambon	381	3	6	80	470	
2	Benjina	512	96	8	42	658	2 Myanmar national who identified in Tual were referred to Ambon for the further assistance
Total		893	99	14	122	1128	

2. 978 fishermen have been receiving the assistance of daily meals and water:

No	Place of Assistance	Nationalities				# Assisted Fishermen	Remarks
		Myanmar	Cambodia	Lao PDR	Thailand		
1	Ambon	319	2	1	0	322	Including 2 Myanmar national who referred from Tual
2	Benjina	510	96	8	42	656	
Total		829	98	9	42	978	

3. 1050 fishermen have been provided with basic hygiene kits and clothing:

No	Place of Assistance	Nationalities				# Assisted Fishermen	Remarks
		Myanmar	Cambodia	Lao PDR	Thailand		
1	Ambon	386	2	6	0	394	Including 2 Myanmar national who referred from Tual
2	Benjina	510	96	8	42	656	
Total		896	98	14	42	1050	

4. Provided 1067 fishermen with health care assistance:

No	Place of Assistance	Nationalities				# Assisted Fishermen	Remarks
		Myanmar	Cambodia	Lao PDR	Thailand		
1	Ambon	403	3	6	0	412	Including 2 Myanmar

							r national who referred from Tual
2	Benjina	510	96	8	42	656	
Total		913	99	14	42	1068	

5. Provided 978 fishermen with safe accommodation:

No	Place of Assistance	Nationalities				# Assisted Fishermen	Remarks
		Myanmar	Cambodia	Lao PDR	Thailand		
1	Ambon	312	2	6	0	320	Including 2 Myanmar national who referred from Tual
2	Benjina	510	96	8	42	656	
Total		822	98	14	42	976	

6. Provided 781 fishermen with return assistance:

No	Place of Assistance	Nationalities				# Assisted Fishermen	Remarks
		Myanmar	Cambodia	Lao PDR	Thailand		
1	Ambon	174	3	0	0	177	Including 2 Myanmar national who referred from Tual
2	Benjina	508	96	0	0	604	
Total		682	99	0	0	781	

7. Provided reintegration assistance for 84 Cambodian fishermen.

Appendix 3: Media Content Analysis' Coding Book and Manual Coding Book

Code	Name
Theme produced to construct the news	
1	International and Regional Cooperation
2	Indonesia's Fishery Market (Production, Processing, Import, Export and Image)
1.2	Moratorium policy on foreign fishing vessel
1.3	Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated Fishing policy
1.4	Human rights
1.5	Foreign Direct Investment in Indonesia
1.6	Company's tax arrears
3	Immediate response to rescue victims
3.1	Repatriation
4	Case's Investigation and Law enforcement
4.1	Witness and victim protection
4.2	Human trafficking or slavery issue
4.3	Corrupt public officials
Solution Offered	
1	Use the case as an opportunity to restructured Indonesia Fishery Market
1.2	Issued a ministerial regulation to protect and uphold human rights in the fisheries industry
1.3	Implementing Moratorium on Foreign Fishing Vessel
1.4	Combating transshipment
1.5	Combating Illegal Fishing in Indonesia
2	Law Enforcement
2.1	Witness and victim protection
2.2	Name and arrest the suspects
2.3	International and Regional Cooperation
2.4	Evaluating and Revoking or not extending fishery business license to the suspected company
2.5	Combating corrupt public official

2.6	Capture or Seize the case related foreign vessels or boats
2.7	Benjina's case trial
3	Case's Investigation and Immediate Rescue
3.1	Victim's Identification
3.2	Repatriation
3.3	Providing health care to the victims
3.4	Forming Special Task Force
3.5	Evacuate the victim
3.6	Establishing Temporary Shelter
3.7	Case's In Depth Investigation
Label Used to Portray Victims	
1	Modern Day Slavery
2	Human Trafficking
3	Foreign Fisherman
4	Forced Labour
Actor	
1	Victim
2	State-owned Enterprises
1.2	Angkasa Pura I
3	Law Enforcement Agencies
3.1	Witness and Victim Protection Agency
3.2	Prosecutor's Office
3.2.1	Maluku Prosecutors
3.2.2	Maritime Security Board
3.3	Indonesian Police
3.3.1	National Police Detective
3.3.1.1	the human trafficking unit under the police's detective division
3.3.2	Maluku's Police
3.3.3	Dobo Police
4	International Organization
4.1	Thailand
4.2	Myanmar

4.3	International Organization for Migration Indonesia
4.4	ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights
4.4.1	Indonesian representative to AICHR
5	Government
5.1	National Commission of Human Rights
5.2	Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Ministry
5.2.1	Task Force for the Prevention and Eradication of Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) Fishing
5.2.2	Maritime Resources and Fisheries Supervisory station in Tual
5.2.3	Maritime and Fisheries Affairs Ministry Inspector General
5.2.4	Maritime Affairs and Fisheries Ministry Director-General
5.2.5	Director General of Marine Resources Supervision
5.2.6	Ambon's National Fishery Port
5.3	Local Government
5.3.1	Aru Islands acting regional secretary
5.3.2	Aru Island Traditional Council
5.3.3	Aru Island Local House of Representative Member
5.4	Investment Coordination Board (BKPM)
5.5	Indonesian President
5.6	Immigration
5.7	Foreign Ministry
5.8	Coordinating Political, Legal and Security Affairs Ministry
5.9	Coordinating Maritime Affairs Ministry
5.9.1	Deputy Minister for Maritime Sovereignty
6	Fishing Company
7	Civil Society Organization
7.1	Public Coalition for Fishery Justice
7.2	Indonesian Tuna Association
7.3	Indonesian Traditional Fishermen's Association
7.4	Indonesian Fishery Processing and Marketing Association
8	Academic

Coding Manual (Question)

Q1: Source

- Kompas Daily
- The Jakarta Post

Q2: News Author

- Kompas Daily
- The Jakarta Post
- Wires (e.g. Associated Press/Antaraneews/ Agence France-Presse)

Q3: Date

DD/MM/YY

Q4: News Title

Q5: Case Location (Multiple Responses)

- Benjina
- Ambon

Q6: In relation to the case, what themes are produced to construct the news? (Multiple response)

Follow Code Book

Q7: What labels are used to portray victims? (Multiple Responses)

Follow Code Book

Q8: Who is the actor that made statement? (Multiple Responses)

Follow Code Book

Q9: What solution is offered to the victims? (Multiple Responses)

Follow Code Book