

ABSTRAK

Kamboja merupakan negara dengan jumlah korban Warga Negara Indonesia (WNI) tertinggi dalam kasus scam centers di Asia Tenggara, dengan pekerja migran Indonesia (PMI) non-prosedural sebagai kelompok paling rentan mengalami eksploitasi berupa forced criminality. Kajian terdahulu membahas perlindungan WNI, kerentanan hukum migrasi non-prosedural, dan fenomenologi scam centers secara terpisah, namun belum menganalisis bagaimana diplomasi Indonesia beroperasi menangani irisan ketiga persoalan tersebut. Penelitian ini bertujuan menganalisis bagaimana diplomasi Indonesia beroperasi dalam melindungi PMI non-prosedural korban scam centers di Kamboja periode 2022–2025, dengan objek berupa koordinasi tiga jalur yang dibaca melalui pendekatan Multi-Track Diplomacy (Diamond & McDonald, 1996): pemerintah, organisasi nonpemerintah, dan media. Penelitian menggunakan metode kualitatif studi kasus tunggal berlapis, dengan data primer dari wawancara Kemlu RI dan Migrant Care serta data sekunder dari laporan lembaga internasional dan media. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan diplomasi Indonesia beroperasi sebagai sistem multi-aktor yang aktif namun belum sepenuhnya sinergis, terutama karena perbedaan kategorisasi korban antaraktor. Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa ketegangan tersebut bersifat epistemik-institusional, bukan sekadar persoalan komunikasi, dan mengusulkan kategorisasi korban sebagai parameter tambahan dalam kajian Multi-Track Diplomacy untuk kasus berstatus hukum ambigu.

Kata kunci: diplomasi perlindungan, *Multi-Track Diplomacy*, pekerja migran non-prosedural, *scam centers*, Kamboja

ABSTRACT

Cambodia is the country with the highest number of Indonesian citizens (WNI) who have fallen victim to scam centers in Southeast Asia, with undocumented Indonesian migrant workers (PMI) being the group most vulnerable to exploitation in the form of forced criminality. Previous studies have addressed the protection of Indonesian citizens, the legal vulnerabilities of undocumented migration, and the phenomenology of scam centers separately, but have not analyzed how Indonesian diplomacy operates to address the intersection of these three issues. This study aims to analyze how Indonesian diplomacy operates to protect undocumented PMI who are victims of scam centers in Cambodia during the 2022–2025 period, focusing on coordination across three tracks as interpreted through the Multi-Track Diplomacy approach (Diamond & McDonald, 1996): the government, non-governmental organizations, and the media. The study employs a qualitative, multi-layered single-case study method, using primary data from interviews with the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Migrant Care, as well as secondary data from reports by international organizations and the media. The results show that Indonesia's diplomacy operates as an active multi-actor system but is not yet fully synergistic, primarily due to differences in how victims are categorized among the various actors. This study concludes that these tensions are epistemic-institutional in nature—not merely a matter of communication—and proposes the categorization of victims as an additional parameter in Multi-Track Diplomacy analyses for cases with ambiguous legal status.

Keywords: *protection diplomacy, multi-track diplomacy, non-procedural migrant workers, scam centers, Cambodia*