

BRIDGING LOCAL AND NATIONAL GOVERNANCE: GENDER-RESPONSIVE REGULATORY INTEGRATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF INDONESIAN MIGRANT WORKERS

CONECTANDO A GOVERNANÇA LOCAL E NACIONAL: INTEGRAÇÃO REGULATÓRIA SENSÍVEL À GÊNERO PARA A PROTEÇÃO DOS TRABALHADORES MIGRANTES INDONESIANOS

Article received on: 30/6/2025

Article accepted on: 29/9/2025

Dyah Wijaningsih*

*Faculty of Law, Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Indonesia

Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0976-6227>

dyahwijaningsih@lecturer.undip.ac.id

Ani Purwanti*

*Faculty of Law, Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Indonesia

Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9164-1679>

anipurwantifh@lecturer.undip.ac.id

Cahya Tri Purnami*

*Faculty of Public Health, Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Indonesia

Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2478-6952>

cahyatp@lecturer.undip.ac.id

Marzellina Hardiyanti*

*Faculty of Law, Universitas Diponegoro, Semarang, Indonesia

Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6692-5458>

marzellinahardiyant@lecturer.undip.ac.id

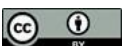
The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest

Abstract

Women migrant workers face significant vulnerabilities due to gender inequality and discrimination which are often exacerbated by weak or inconsistent regulations in both sending and receiving countries. This study aims to analyze the urgency of empowerment and the fulfillment of rights for Indonesian women migrant workers at the village level, as well as to explore gender mainstreaming strategies in harmonizing local and national regulations for comprehensive protection. Employing a socio-legal method with sociocultural and intersectional approaches, the research adopts a prescriptive-analytical design. The findings reveal that women migrant workers frequently experience rights violations perpetrated by both state and non-state actors, including employers, recruitment agencies, and private intermediaries. Existing regulatory frameworks often lack gender responsiveness and continue to reproduce gender bias, while the implementation of local regulations, particularly at the village level, remains incomplete and poorly integrated with

Resumo

As trabalhadoras migrantes enfrentam vulnerabilidades significativas devido à desigualdade de gênero e à discriminação, que muitas vezes são exacerbadas por regulamentações fracas ou inconsistentes, tanto nos países de origem quanto nos de destino. Este estudo tem como objetivo analisar a urgência do empoderamento e do cumprimento dos direitos das trabalhadoras migrantes indonésias em nível local, bem como explorar estratégias de integração da perspectiva de gênero na harmonização das regulamentações locais e nacionais para uma proteção abrangente. Empregando um método sociojurídico com abordagens socioculturais e interseccionais, a pesquisa adota um desenho prescritivo-analítico. Os resultados revelam que as trabalhadoras migrantes frequentemente sofrem violações de direitos perpetradas por atores estatais e não estatais, incluindo empregadores, agências de recrutamento e intermediários privados. Os quadros regulatórios existentes muitas vezes carecem de sensibilidade às



national frameworks. The study highlights the need for gender mainstreaming in regulatory design, from village-level bylaws to national legislation, to establish gender-responsive protection mechanisms that can effectively reduce discrimination and safeguard the rights of Indonesian women migrant workers.

Keywords: Gender Responsive Regulation. Labor Rights. Legal Protection. and Women Migrant Workers.

questões de gênero e continuam a reproduzir preconceitos de gênero, enquanto a implementação das regulamentações locais, particularmente em nível de aldeia, permanece incompleta e mal integrada aos quadros nacionais. O estudo destaca a necessidade de integração da perspectiva de gênero na concepção regulatória, desde os estatutos em nível de aldeia até a legislação nacional, para estabelecer mecanismos de proteção sensíveis às questões de gênero que possam reduzir efetivamente a discriminação e salvaguardar os direitos das trabalhadoras migrantes indonésias.

Palavras-chave: Regulamentação Sensível Às Questões De Gênero. Direitos Trabalhistas. Proteção Jurídica. e Mulheres Trabalhadoras Migrantes.

1 INTRODUCTION

The issue of migrant workers is not only related to the threat of *human trafficking* but also to the fulfillment of the rights of migrant workers, especially female migrant workers. Indonesia, as a developing country, has the opportunity to earn foreign exchange, one of which is from Indonesian migrant workers working abroad in large numbers. This is due to high economic demands to meet the needs of the community.

According to data from the Indonesian Ministry of Migrant Workers Protection, during the period from January to November 2025, various services related to the placement and complaints of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) were recorded. In December 2024, the number of placement services reached 25,273, an increase of 11.18% compared to the same period in the previous year. Placement services were dominated by the formal sector, showing a surge of 35.65% compared to the previous month. The Worker-to-Worker Placement Scheme (P to P) contributed the largest share, accounting for 81.23% of total services, while the Government-to-Government Placement Scheme (G to G) saw an increase of 7.78%. Placements were distributed across major destination countries, including Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and Japan. The most common positions held by PMI included House Maids, Plantation Workers, and Caregivers for the Elderly () .

Indonesia ranks second after the Philippines as the largest migrant labor-sending country in Asia, with a long history of immigration and emigration. However, Indonesia's

emigration policy can be traced back to the colonial era and was heavily influenced by the Dutch government. By the late 19th century, when the Dutch colonial government had full control over the entire Indonesian archipelago, they sought to develop regions outside Java and encouraged the relocation of Javanese people to these areas as a means of addressing the overpopulation issue on Java Island (Deng *et al.*, 2021). ASEAN countries such as Indonesia, the Philippines, and Myanmar serve as source countries for migrants, while Malaysia, Singapore, and Thailand are destination countries. This situation presents various challenges and opportunities for both groups of countries. (Arisman & Jaya, 2021).

The issue of migrant workers in Indonesia has attracted particular attention, especially women who work as Indonesian migrant workers abroad. They are a vulnerable group that faces discrimination when they are prospective migrant workers, while they are working, and even after they have become migrant workers and return to Indonesia. The challenges faced by Indonesian female migrant workers include the fulfillment of their rights to health, particularly reproductive health, the payment of wages that are often inadequate, and the threat of discrimination, sexual violence, and even human trafficking. The vulnerability of women working as migrant workers can be compounded by issues such as undocumented migrant workers who choose agencies with unclear legal status and unclear procedures for departure and registration.

Migration has long been a significant feature of the economic landscape in Asia. Data on regional migration show that ASEAN accounts for 12.8 million migrants, representing 6 percent of the global total of 216 million. Of this number, 3.9 million, or approximately 30 percent, consist of individuals migrating within the ASEAN region itself. Singapore and Malaysia serve as the primary destinations, while the Philippines and Indonesia are the largest countries of origin. A considerable number of migrants also move beyond the sub-region to the Gulf States and the Middle East, where they are frequently subjected to human rights violations and exploitation. The ASEAN region is composed of a diverse set of countries that function both as migrant-sending and receiving states, differing in their levels of socio-economic development, democratic practices, and openness to engaging with civil society actors (Komarudin *et al.*, 2023).

Migration and social justice are closely intertwined, reflecting broader dynamics of economic inequality, cultural hierarchies, and political representation in society. As migration is increasingly recognized as a global phenomenon, it has brought about

significant changes to the economy, shifted national borders, and sparked lengthy discussions on integration, displacement, and various systemic challenges faced by vulnerable groups. Female migrant workers are particularly vulnerable, as the majority work in the informal sector with low wages, often facing multiple layers of injustice influenced by gender discrimination, economic exploitation, and racial prejudice. These conditions highlight that structural inequality within the global labor system persists (Düzgün, 2025).

In global practice, female migrant workers are often marginalized and trapped in intersectional relationships influenced by factors such as race, social class, colonialism, and so on. They often lack power in their relationships with those around them, such as their husbands, extended families, and political elites, especially decision-making institutions (Irianto, 2011). This power imbalance is evident in the decision-making process to migrate, which usually involves negotiations with husbands, parents, and children, in their roles as primary breadwinners and in their efforts to escape poverty. Women's position as "others" then shapes the dynamics of agency, power relations, and vulnerability inherent in the migration experiences of female workers from Indonesia (Wuryandari, 2022).

Within ASEAN member states, the social protection afforded to migrant workers and their families is generally inadequate, largely due to weak provisions in national legal frameworks governing immigration, labor, and social security, as well as the lack of bilateral agreements. This shortfall is evident from both labor rights and, more critically, social security rights perspectives. Migrant workers are often excluded from social security coverage altogether, or, when included, receive fewer benefits than nationals. These challenges are even more pronounced for those in precarious or informal employment, where the absence of labor law coverage and formal social protection schemes leaves them particularly vulnerable to human trafficking (Low, 2021).

Indonesia, as a country with a significant number of migrant workers, has ratified ILO Convention No. 19/1925 on Equal Treatment for *National* and Foreign Workers in *Respect of Workmen's Compensation for Accidents*. This Convention was ratified in 1927 and entered into force for Indonesia through the Indonesian State Gazette 1929 No. 53. Although Indonesia has regulated efforts to protect Indonesian migrant workers through Law No. 18 of 2017 on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, Indonesia has not

yet ratified ILO Convention No. 190 on the Elimination of Violence and Harassment in the World of Work.

Indonesia's ratification of *the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families* (ICMRW) should be proof of the government's commitment to guaranteeing the protection of human rights for Indonesian migrant workers in accordance with international standards. This convention emphasizes the need to prevent and eliminate the illegal recruitment and trafficking of Indonesian migrant workers, particularly those without documentation, while ensuring the protection of non-derogable human rights. The state is obligated to take predictive and anticipatory measures to reduce the number of undocumented Indonesian migrant workers, as noted by Lili Rasjidi and I. B. Wya Putra, who argue that law is not only adaptive and flexible but must also be able to anticipate future phenomena to achieve justice (Natalis & Ispriyarso, 2018) .

According to data from the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency in 2024, East Java was recorded as the province with the highest number of Indonesian migrant workers sent abroad, totaling 79,339 people. This province consistently sends more than 5,000 Indonesian migrant workers every month. In second place, Central Java recorded a total of 66,611 workers, followed by West Java with 61,556 workers. West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) also contributed with a total of 31,031 Indonesian migrant workers sent during the same year. .

Based on data from the Indonesian Migrant Workers Agency of Central Java Province, several areas in Central Java are pockets of migrant workers, including Wonosobo, Kendal, Brebes, Pemalang, Kebumen, Pati, and Cilacap. Brebes Regency is one of the third largest pockets of Indonesian migrant workers in Central Java. The issues frequently faced by Indonesian migrant workers in Brebes Regency, particularly female migrant workers, include fraud by agencies with unclear legal status, threats of discrimination, threats of sexual violence, and *human trafficking*.

Brebes Regency consists of 17 (seventeen) districts, 5 (five) sub-districts, and 292 (two hundred ninety-two) villages. Some of these villages have residents who work as Indonesian migrant workers, one of which is Prapag Lor Village in Losari District, Brebes Regency. The economic condition of Prapag Lor Village is generally classified as developing. With the development of simple fishing techniques that yield abundant

results, the welfare of fishermen has improved. The marine products are managed by a significant workforce, particularly women.

Based on migration theory analysis, it can be seen that the factors behind coastal women becoming migrant workers include economic factors, as coastal women have not yet achieved prosperity. Therefore, migrating abroad to become migrant workers, especially in the domestic or household sector, has become one of the biggest solutions to poverty alleviation efforts for coastal women.

The conditions of women and children in Prapag Lor Village, Losari District, Brebes Regency are still unable to enjoy the benefits of development fairly, especially female migrant workers who work abroad. Female migrant workers in Prapag Lor Village, Brebes still face various problems, ranging from inadequate data collection to insufficient legal protection and empowerment in accordance with the principles of gender equality in *the Sustainable Development Goals*. The quality of life, well-being, protection, and role of women still require special attention.

Overseas migration has long been viewed in Indonesia as a strategy to mitigate high unemployment, particularly among rural women. The 1997 financial crisis, combined with growing demand for women in care-related work in wealthier countries, led to a significant increase in rural women leaving Indonesia on temporary employment contracts. By 2007, women comprised the majority of Indonesian migrant workers, most employed as domestic workers in Southeast and West Asia. Remittances from these women not only support household survival strategies but also contribute substantially to Indonesia's economic stability and development. Despite their economic contributions, entrenched gender norms continue to shape public and state discourses on women's roles, including labor mobility, as illustrated by requirements for women to obtain permission from male guardians to migrate. Women are expected to balance domestic responsibilities with economic contributions. In response to reports of abuse and exploitation, the Indonesian government has periodically implemented restrictive measures, such as the 2009 ban on domestic workers going to Malaysia, lifted in 2011 after a new agreement ensured protections like retained passports, rest days, and communication rights. However, the execution of a domestic worker in Saudi Arabia in 2011 led to renewed restrictions, including a plan to halt overseas domestic worker deployment by 2017 and the extension of the ban to 21 countries across West Asia, North, and East Africa. The

government described such abuses as a national humiliation, reflecting broader gendered assumptions about the state's capacity to protect its women with .

This study focuses on analyzing the gaps in the fulfillment of the rights of Indonesian female migrant workers at the village level, especially for undocumented migrant workers who face obstacles in fulfilling their rights. As stated by the President of the Republic of Indonesia to the Ministry of Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers, the focus should be on improving the quality of protection for Indonesian migrant workers by maximizing the placement of skilled Indonesian migrant workers to enhance their well-being and increase foreign exchange earnings. This is supported by a statement from the Governor of Central Java on April 15, 2025, stating that migrant workers from Central Java should be provided with guidance and training (Central Java .

The statement acknowledges efforts to raise awareness of Indonesian female migrant workers, but also identifies important shortcomings such as the lack of comprehensive protection strategies covering the entire migration cycle and the high number of undocumented female migrant workers. To address these issues, several measures could be considered, including strengthening pre-departure procedures, improving protection during employment, providing post-return support, strengthening bilateral cooperation with destination countries, and enhancing efforts to prevent human trafficking. These measures aim to reduce the vulnerability of migrant workers to discrimination and the risk of becoming victims of human trafficking, as well as ensuring the enforcement of their rights throughout the migration process.

The Indonesian government's efforts to promote the protection of Indonesian migrant workers through the enactment of Law No. 18 of 2017 on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers have not yet fully addressed all issues faced by migrant workers. This regulation has not been able to accommodate the problems of migrant workers in several rural areas in Indonesia, as many of them remain trapped in illegal labor recruitment agencies that send workers abroad. Therefore, there is a need for integrated regulatory reform from the village to the national level as an effort to protect Indonesian migrant workers with a gender perspective as stipulated in Article 40 of Law No. 18 of 2017 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, which contains the duties of the village government in providing protection to Indonesian migrant workers. Data obtained from the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Service Office in Central Java Province indicates that there are 290 village regulations on the protection

of Indonesian migrant workers in Kebumen Regency, while in other regencies in Central Java, there are no village regulations governing such matters. As a result, efforts to protect migrant workers in Central Java have not been comprehensive.

Previous studies related to this research include a study by Rosalinda Chandra Yulianita (2021) entitled "Legal Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers Employed Not in Accordance with Placement Agreements," which explains that legal protection for Indonesian migrant workers through placement agreements is an important step, but it still needs to be improved with a comprehensive strategy that covers protection before, during, and after employment. Crucial aspects that need to be addressed include handling undocumented migrant workers, preventing discrimination and human trafficking, gender perspectives, and strengthening law enforcement. This strategy includes enhancing education and training, regular monitoring, access to legal assistance, reintegration programs, bilateral cooperation with destination countries, oversight of recruitment agencies, and stricter enforcement of sanctions. By addressing these aspects, protection for Indonesian migrant workers, particularly women, can become more effective and comprehensive. (Yulianita, 2021) .

The difference with the author's research is the effort to integrate regulations from the local to the national level in protecting and fulfilling the rights of Indonesian migrant workers, especially female Indonesian migrant workers, because they are vulnerable to discrimination and threats of *human trafficking* abroad. Another study aligned with the author's research topic is an article by Rohimi (2021) titled "Assistance for Female Migrant Workers (Case Study of the Migrant Workers Care Village Program (Desbumi) in Darek Village, Southwest Praya District, Central Lombok Regency), which discusses the Migrant Workers Care Village Program (Desbumi) in Darek Village. This program plays an important role in assisting migrant workers, especially women, through three main functions: an information center for safe migration, a mobility data center for document management, and an advocacy center for resolving issues abroad. The program also provides empowerment for returning migrant workers through skill training and the formation of support groups. However, the program still has limitations in protecting the rights of female migrant workers throughout the migration process, as evidenced by the high number of undocumented Indonesian female migrant workers. To address this gap, a comprehensive strategy is needed that includes pre-departure protection, protection of

rights while working abroad, as well as post-return support and reintegration (Rohimi, 2021).

The novelty of the author's research lies in the breakthrough in the formulation of village-level regulations that can be integrated with regional regulations up to Law No. 18 of 2017 on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, which is based on *gender mainstreaming* as a mechanism for controlling and addressing human rights violations against female Indonesian migrant workers. Another study aligned with the author's research is by Endeh Suhartini, Mimi Fitriana Zaini, Bambang Widjojanto, Mimi, and Ani Yumarni (2023), titled "Indonesian Migrant Workers After the Job Creation Law: A Challenging Problem for Protection and Welfare."

This study discusses the serious impact of the Job Creation Law on the protection of Indonesian migrant workers through changes to the Indonesian Migrant Worker Placement Company Permit. The findings reveal an urgent need for migrant worker protection amid rising numbers of cases and complaints. The regulation of the Migrant Worker Placement Company License has undermined the essence of protection, as the authority to issue licenses has been transferred from the relevant ministry to the central government and equated with business licenses, thereby altering the licensing mechanism and potentially weakening oversight functions. As a result, migrant worker protection is no better than before the Omnibus Law was enacted. Therefore, legal certainty is needed to ensure that protection is truly realized, as the alignment of the Indonesian Migrant Worker Placement Company License with business licenses is controversial and risks further marginalizing the rights of migrant workers. (Suhartini *et al.*, 2023).

The difference between the above research and the topic discussed by the author is related to the focus of previous studies on the regulation of Indonesian migrant workers through an integrated licensing system, thereby improving government oversight of illegal registration of migrant workers, especially female migrant workers, at recruitment agencies that do not meet the requirements of Law No. 18 of 2017 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. Meanwhile, the author's research addresses the urgency of integrating regulations to protect and empower Indonesian female migrant workers based on gender justice and sustainable development goals.

The purpose of this study is to discuss the urgency of integrating local and national regulations in protecting and fulfilling the rights of Indonesian female migrant workers before they leave to work abroad, while working abroad, and upon their return from

abroad. This study also examines *gender mainstreaming* analysis in efforts to establish gender-just regulations at the village level as the frontline rules to protect the rights of prospective migrant workers and migrant workers, thereby preventing discrimination and issues related to the selection of agencies that lack clear legal standing.

2 METHOD

Non-doctrinal legal research methods with a socio-legal approach combine elements from various social disciplines to deepen understanding of law in a societal context. Socio-legal research is an interdisciplinary approach, which, among other things, provides analysis of how social and political factors influence the performance of legal institutions in interpreting and applying law (Irianto, 2013) .

This approach can help identify discrepancies between written law and everyday practice, and enable research to explore how law can adapt to social change (Fourie, 2015) . The socio-legal approach offers valuable insights into the power dynamics that influence how law is developed and implemented, and enables critical analysis of social justice and inclusion in legal systems (Disemadi, 2022) .

This *study* uses primary and secondary data sources with a socio-legal approach that integrates legal text data and empirical data obtained from observations and *in-depth* interviews with informants relevant to the research topic. The research was conducted in several locations, including the National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers in Central Java, the Industry and Manpower Office of Brebes District, the Indonesian Consulate in Tawau, Malaysia, and observations in villages that serve as migrant hubs in Brebes, specifically Prapag Lor Village, Losari Subdistrict, Brebes. After the data from the research were deemed valid and *reliable*, the next step was to reconstruct and analyze them qualitatively to address the issues that were the focus of this study. The data analysis techniques used in this study follow the interactive data analysis model proposed by Matthew B. Miles and A. Miles Huberman, which involves the following cyclical activities: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing or verification. The conclusions drawn are not equivalent to generalizations .

3 THE URGENCY OF EMPOWERMENT AND FULFILLMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF INDONESIAN MIGRANT WOMEN WORKERS AT THE VILLAGE LEVEL

Indonesian migrant workers are one of the most vulnerable groups often facing discrimination, particularly female migrant workers. Indonesian female migrant workers face multiple layers of vulnerability, including the threat of *human trafficking*, *sexual violence*, and the failure to receive proper wages. The majority of Indonesian migrant workers are women engaged in jobs such as *caregivers*, domestic workers, or babysitters.

Data from the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI) shows that the number of complaints reached 145 cases, an increase of 9.49% compared to the previous month, which recorded 132 cases. The majority of complaints still came from female Indonesian migrant workers (PMI), totaling 95 cases or 65.52%, although this number decreased by 10.38% compared to March 2025. On the other hand, the number of complaints from male PMI saw a significant increase of 87.5%. When categorized, the majority of complaints were from PMI seeking repatriation (52 cases), followed by the "other" category with 51 cases, each increasing by 7.84% and 13.33%, respectively. (. This indicates that cases of discrimination reported by female Indonesian migrant workers are more numerous than those reported by male Indonesian migrant workers.

Most women who work abroad come from rural areas with lower-middle economic status. The reasons they work abroad are due to high economic demands and the opportunity for sufficient wages to meet their needs. Central Java Province is ranked second in Indonesia in 2025, so the local government should prioritize efforts to protect Indonesian migrant workers, especially women, throughout Central Java, from registration, placement, to their return after working abroad.

Based on the results of secondary data research conducted by the author, the top 10 provinces with the highest number of Indonesian migrant workers placed during the year 2024, along with their respective regional regulations, are as:

Table 1.

Identification of the Top 10 Provinces with the Highest Number of Indonesian Migrant Workers and Local Regulations on Migrant Worker Protection in Indonesia

No.	Province	Number of Indonesian Migrant Workers	Local Regulations
1	East Java	79,339	East Java Provincial Regulation No. 2 of 2022 on the Implementation of Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers
2	Central Java	66,611	-
3	West Java	61,556	West Java Provincial Regulation No. 2 of 2021 on the Implementation of Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers from the Province of West Java
4	West Nusa Tenggara	31,031	Regulation of the Governor of West Nusa Tenggara Province No. 40 of 2019 on Integrated One-Stop Services for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers in West Nusa Tenggara Province
5	Lampung	25,162	Lampung Provincial Regulation No. 6 of 2023 on the Implementation of Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers
6	Bali	8,143	Bali Governor Regulation No. 12 of 2021 on the Protection System for Indonesian Migrant Workers <i>from</i> Bali
7	North Sumatra	7,176	North Sumatra Governor Regulation No. 13 of 2024 on the Implementation of the Social Security Program for Employment
8	Banten	3,567	-
9	East Nusa Tenggara	2,146	1. East Nusa Tenggara Provincial Regulation No. 7 of 2016 on Services and Supervision of Indonesian Workers 2. Regulation of the Governor of East Nusa Tenggara Number 35 of 2016 concerning the Integrated One-Stop Service Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers in East Nusa Tenggara Province (Kiwang & Arif, 2023) .
10	South Sumatra	2	-

Source: Authors

Based on the table above, it can be seen that the ten provinces in Indonesia with the highest number of Indonesian migrant workers have not all yet established provincial regulations specifically governing the protection of Indonesian migrant workers. This can be seen in the provinces of Central Java, Banten, and South Sumatra. However, each

district/city in these three provinces has its own regional regulations specifically governing the protection of Indonesian migrant workers.

Central Java Province is of considerable concern because it ranks second in terms of the number of Indonesian migrant workers placed abroad, but the local government does not yet have provincial regulations specifically governing the protection of Indonesian migrant workers, *let alone* female migrant workers.

Cilacap, Brebes, Pemalang, Pati, Kendal, and Wonosobo are among 35 districts/cities in Central Java that are designated as red zones for Indonesian migrant workers. The Central Java provincial government does not yet have provincial regulations on the protection of Indonesian migrant workers, but several districts/cities in Central Java have local regulations on the protection of Indonesian migrant workers.

The threat of fraud from migrant worker recruitment agencies also poses a challenge to the protection of Indonesian migrant workers, as seen in the case in Brebes. The General Criminal Investigation Directorate of the Central Java Regional Police uncovered a recruitment fraud scheme targeting Indonesian migrant workers (PMI) to Japan by PT RAB, a company based in Brebes, following reports from victims who had paid Rp22.5 million since 2023 but had not yet departed. Police identified 10 additional victims and named PT RAB Director S as a suspect, who operated by promising jobs without official documents and even illegally sending 32 people to Taiwan. The losses amount to Rp450 million and three land certificates, leading to charges under the Human Trafficking Act, the Labor Law, and Article 378 of the Criminal Code, with a maximum sentence of 12 years in prison. (Setiawan, 2025) .

Cases of fraud against prospective migrant workers are the responsibility of the central and regional governments in determining policy strategies for Indonesian Prospective Migrant Workers and Indonesian Migrant Workers in preventing and protecting them from all acts of fraud and discrimination. Data from the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency in North Kalimantan for the year 2025, obtained by the author from a *forum group discussion* at the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia in Tawau on August 7, 2025, revealed that non-procedural placement practices include: labor exploitation, violence, and human trafficking, unpaid wages, and other issues arising from *illegal* Indonesian migrant workers.

According to data from the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) Annual Report for the period 2017–2024, there were 1,389 cases

of violence against female migrant workers. These cases included physical, psychological, sexual, and economic violence, and even resulted in death or the death penalty (Komnas Perempuan, 2024). The figures from Komnas Perempuan cannot be used as a reference for the actual number of discrimination cases against Indonesian female migrant workers, as these numbers only reflect reported cases submitted to Komnas Perempuan, while in reality, many cases remain unreported.

Women are vulnerable subjects in cases of discrimination as Indonesian migrant workers working abroad. As shown by the author's research on the empowerment of female migrant workers in Tawau, Sabah, Malaysia, female migrant workers in Malaysia only receive maternity leave and childbirth leave, while menstrual leave, as stipulated in Law No. 13 of 2003 on Labor in Indonesia, is not accommodated by the Malaysian government. Additionally, according to the Indonesian Social Security Agency (BPJS) for Labor, the social security benefits for Indonesian female migrant workers only cover access to services for victims of physical violence, while mental health is not included in the social security benefits for female migrant workers. This is contradictory when considering several cases of violence against Indonesian female migrant workers abroad, which have resulted in mental trauma for them.

Cases of *human trafficking* involving Indonesian migrant workers have also occurred in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB). In June 2023, the East Lombok Police formed a Human Trafficking Task Force based on an Official Order issued by the Indonesian National Police for the NTB Region, East Lombok Resort, under Order Number Sprin/574/VI/OPS.1.3/2023. However, this order was only valid from June 6 to July 5, 2023. At the operational level, according to the Task Force's activity report dated September 21, 2023, one case involving a single victim was under investigation. Additionally, four individuals were involved in preventing the illegal departure of Prospective Indonesian Migrant Workers (IMWs). One of the cases handled involved a “tekong” (illegal recruiter) who facilitated the non-procedural placement of an IMW. The victim had been staying at a shelter for several months without securing employment and eventually requested to return home. The response efforts included investigating the suspected perpetrators for further legal processing. As a preventive measure, the Task Force collaborated with local police officers (Bhabinkamtibmas) to conduct outreach and counseling in target villages and among IMWs in the deployment process, aiming to raise

awareness and prevent fraudulent practices by sponsors, "tekong," or recruitment agencies (PT. PJTKI) with .

The case of human trafficking involving migrant workers in West Nusa Tenggara is not a reason for the government to fail to provide services and protection policies for Indonesian migrant workers. This is proven by the fact that West Nusa Tenggara Province already has integrated services for Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) that facilitate document processing in one place. Previously, the process took a long time, but now, with a smooth internet connection and complete documents, the process can be completed in one day. This service helps reduce the number of PMI departing without proper procedures, although many PMI still choose informal channels, primarily because most work in the informal sector. East Lombok Regency, as the main origin of PMI, has two recruitment channels: through field officers by companies, or directly registering with the Labor Office to be included in the Sisnaker application. This integrated service can accommodate 150–200 people per day (Agusmidah & Shalihah, 2023) .

Various cases of human trafficking and fraud against Indonesian migrant workers or prospective Indonesian migrant workers are one of the reasons why protection and empowerment are needed for Indonesian migrant workers in the form of fulfillment of their basic rights and adequate wages in accordance with their competencies. Therefore, in this context, the government needs to provide training for prospective Indonesian migrant workers to enhance their ability to work, particularly in basic skills such as foreign languages to facilitate communication, as well as other competency-based training tailored to the job offers provided.

The Indonesian government has several regulations related to the protection of Indonesian female migrant workers, such as the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women through Law No. 7 of 1984 concerning the Ratification of CEDAW in Indonesia, followed by Law No. 18 of 2017 on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. However, despite the existence of national regulations, Indonesia has not yet ratified ILO Convention No. 97 of 1949: on Migration for Employment and to protect prospective Indonesian migrant workers and Indonesian migrant workers from the threat of human trafficking, there is Law No. 21 of 2007 on the Eradication of Human Trafficking. The above regulations are national regulations that are also supported by several provincial, district/city, and village regulations. However, not all areas with high concentrations of Indonesian migrant

workers have regulations at the local level, so there is a need for regulatory integration from the village to the national level to promote efforts to protect Indonesian female migrant workers.

4 GENDER MAINSTREAMING STRATEGIES IN LOCAL AND NATIONAL REGULATORY ARRANGEMENTS INTEGRATED WITH THE PROTECTION AND FULFILLMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF INDONESIAN MIGRANT WOMEN WORKERS

Gender mainstreaming is one of the efforts to achieve gender equality. Issues faced by Indonesian migrant workers include gender-based violence and *human trafficking*. Although Indonesia has ratified CEDAW and established various related policies, their implementation still faces numerous obstacles, such as weak oversight, ineffective law enforcement, and limited access for female migrant workers to information and services in the countries where they work. The disparities in the implementation of these policies further exacerbate the vulnerability of female migrant workers, especially since many of them work in the informal sector, which has very limited legal protection (Nibras Yumna M *et al.*, 2024). Therefore, there is a need for regulatory reform to protect Indonesian female migrant workers from all forms of violence and discrimination.

The multiple vulnerabilities faced by Indonesian female migrant workers are not only due to their status as women who are marginalized and subordinated, but also due to the threat of fraud from labor recruitment agencies that exploit them for human trafficking. Moreover, other rights such as menstrual leave and maternity leave are still not fully implemented for women. For example, the implementation of menstrual leave in Indonesia is currently only stipulated normatively in Article 81 of Law No. 13 of 2003 on Manpower, which states that female workers are not required to work on the first and second days of their menstrual period. In reality, this is not well enforced in Indonesia, as menstrual pain is considered a normal part of a woman's ability to perform her work activities.

The fulfillment of women's rights to menstrual leave and maternity leave can also be seen in Malaysia, based on data obtained by researchers from a *forum group discussion* at the Indonesian Consulate in Tawau-Sabah, Malaysia, which invited the Sabah Labor

Department, Malaysia, explaining that female workers, including Indonesian migrant workers, are entitled to maternity leave but not menstrual leave. This issue is of particular concern, as women's rights, including the recognition of health rights, are also covered by *the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women*, which Malaysia ratified in 1995.

Even some companies in the agriculture and plantation sectors in the Tawau-Sabah region of Malaysia prohibit Indonesian migrant workers from marrying before the completion of their two-year contract period. They are permitted to marry in their home country, Indonesia, on the condition that their wives and children are not brought to Malaysia to join them there, as employers claim this would impose an additional social burden on the company. This information was obtained by researchers during interviews with several companies in Tawau.

Contrary to the above statement, there is a *Community Learning Center* in Tawau that provides education for the children of Indonesian migrant workers. This service offers free basic education from elementary school to junior high school to facilitate access to education for the children of Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia. Some of them, after graduating from junior high school, continue their education at senior high school in Indonesia, while others remain in Malaysia. Some even work at the Indonesian Consulate Office in Tawau, Malaysia, where they were directly interviewed by researchers. The implications of this program have proven to have a positive impact on economic development and the quality of education for the children of Indonesian migrant workers.

Limited access to education for migrant workers' children in the Sabah–Serawak region has resulted in some of them being unable to attend school and forced to help their parents work. Meanwhile, others have the opportunity to participate in learning activities facilitated by the non-governmental organization Humana. This situation prompted the Indonesian government to establish an agreement with the Malaysian government through a *Joint Statement* during *the Annual Consultations* on January 11, 2009, between Indonesian President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono and Malaysian Prime Minister Abdullah Haji Ahmad Badawi. Subsequently, the name *Community Learning Center* was officially introduced by the Minister of National Education of the Republic of Indonesia, Prof. Dr. M. Nuh, on October 22, 2010 (SMPIT AL-GHIFARI KOTA SERANG, 2020).

The gender mainstreaming strategy implemented by the Government in promoting the synchronization of policies on the protection of Indonesian migrant workers based on gender justice through the issuance of Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 2 of 2019 concerning the Empowerment of Indonesian Migrant Worker Communities in Productive Migrant Villages. Although the above regulation exists, in reality not all villages in Indonesia, especially in Central Java, have productive migrant villages, and many do not even have village regulations on the protection of Indonesian migrant workers. Some regions in Central Java have village regulations on the protection of Indonesian migrant workers, such as Kebumen, which has 295 villages with Village Regulations on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (Nashori, 2024) in accordance with the instructions of the aforementioned Ministerial Regulation. Additionally, in Grobogan, there is a village with Village Regulations on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, namely Mrisi Village, Tanggunharjo Sub-district, Grobogan District.

This empirical fact draws attention to the government's efforts to encourage all villages in Indonesia, especially those with large pockets of Indonesian migrant workers, to have village regulations on the protection of Indonesian migrant workers based on gender justice, which has resulted in *gender mainstreaming* efforts not yet running optimally in Indonesia, especially for the protection and empowerment of Indonesian female migrant workers.

The protection of women migrant workers from gender-based violence (GBV) is a critical issue that requires serious attention. Although Indonesia has ratified CEDAW and adopted relevant policies, their implementation continues to face numerous challenges, including insufficient oversight, weak law enforcement, and limited access for women migrant workers to information and services in destination countries. These gaps exacerbate the vulnerabilities of women migrant workers, who often work in informal sectors with minimal protection. To strengthen the protection of their rights, it is recommended to enhance policies and regulations, reinforce law enforcement, and raise awareness and education regarding their rights. The use of technology, improvement of support services, and collaboration between public and private sectors are also proposed as innovative measures. Furthermore, additional research and case studies on the implementation of CEDAW in countries with similar conditions could provide deeper insights to improve existing policies and practices (Nibras Yumna M *et al.*, 2024).

Efforts to protect and empower Indonesian migrant workers are one of the strategies to prevent and address issues faced by Indonesian migrant workers. Addressing the issues faced by female migrant workers is also part of *the sustainable development goals* related to gender equality, poverty, and industrialization. These efforts need to be supported by gender-responsive policies and *gender-aware planning* to optimize the empowerment and protection of Indonesian female migrant workers.

The goal of achieving gender equality is explicitly emphasized in international documents and initiatives. It is regarded as essential for the success of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. In this context, the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goal 5, adopted in 2015, urges member states to “achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls.” Indicator 5.c.1, which measures the proportion of countries with systems to monitor and publicly report budget allocations for gender equality and women's empowerment, connects national budgeting practices with the enforcement of laws and policies promoting gender equality, serving as a key measure for Gender Responsive Budgeting .

Gender-aware planning can also be implemented through *gender-responsive budgeting*. The concept of Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB) therefore goes beyond a mere financial planning tool; it is an approach that integrates gender perspectives into every stage of the budget cycle. GRB ensures that resource allocation reflects not only economic efficiency but also social justice by addressing the specific needs and interests of both women and men. In practice, GRB requires governments to assess the potential gender impacts of their fiscal policies and to reorient budgets so that they reduce gender disparities rather than reinforce them. This means prioritizing interventions that empower women, improve access to education and healthcare, enhance labor rights, and promote equal opportunities in political and economic participation. As such, GRB becomes both a mechanism of accountability and a strategic tool to achieve substantive gender equality with .

Regulations are an important aspect of the protection of Indonesian migrant workers. At the village level, the existence of village regulations is a form of commitment and a legal product established in the administration of village government to provide protection for Indonesian migrant workers. Village regulations on the protection of Indonesian migrant workers serve as guidelines for all stakeholders at the village level in carrying out their strategic roles, empowering village communities through empowerment

programs for prospective Indonesian migrant workers, Indonesian migrant workers, their families, and the community, affirming the authority, duties, and responsibilities of the village in accordance with applicable laws and regulations, and providing guarantees of protection and legal certainty for Indonesian migrant workers at the village level. (Kharisma, 2023).

The role of the Village Government in empowering and protecting Indonesian Migrant Women Workers is in line with the provisions of Articles 41 and 42 of Law No. 18 of 2017 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, which regulates the duties and responsibilities of the Village Government in regulating, protecting, and empowering Indonesian Migrant Workers before they depart for overseas, while working overseas, and upon their return from overseas. Based on these regulations, there is a need for synchronization between regulations at the central, regional, and village levels to protect and provide optimal services for Indonesian female migrant workers.

The above regulation is also supported by the Regulation of the Minister of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia No. 2 of 2019 concerning the Empowerment of Indonesian Migrant Worker Communities in Productive Migrant Villages, particularly Article 6, which stipulates that the objectives of establishing Migrant Villages include the formation of productive Indonesian Migrant Worker Communities, expanding employment opportunities through the development of productive businesses and improving the skills of the migrant village community, establishing a database of Indonesian migrant workers at the village level, providing education on safe and procedural migration processes, and enhancing the active role of the central government, local government, village government, community, and all stakeholders.

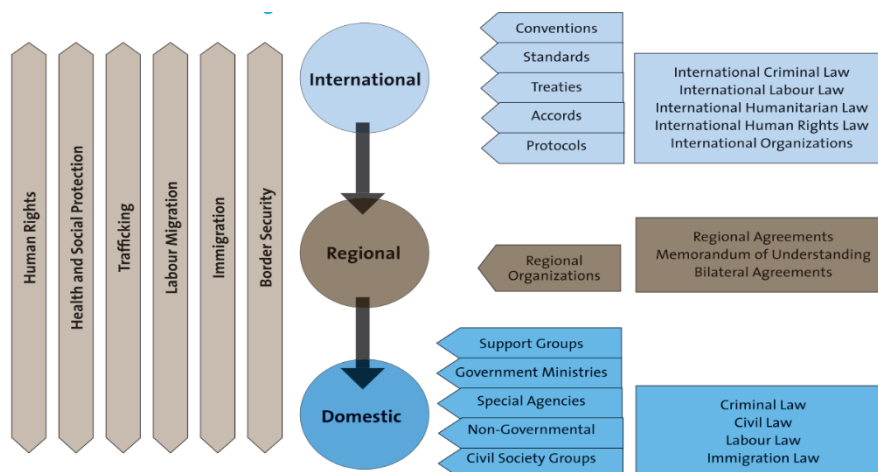
A total of 37 Migrant Worker-Friendly Villages spread across West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara, East Java, Central Java, and West Java have established village regulations on the protection of migrant workers. This step marks a positive beginning in efforts to improve the management of migrant worker placement and protection abroad. Additionally, these villages have begun receiving financial support from local governments to fund operational activities, entrepreneurship training, and capacity-building initiatives for migrant worker . The establishment of village regulations on the protection of Indonesian migrant workers marks the first step toward safeguarding and empowering female migrant workers from the threats of fraud, *human trafficking*, job placement discrepancies, and sexual violence.

The interaction between female migrant workers and regulations is complex and multi-layered, occurring before departure, during travel, while working abroad, and after returning to their country of origin. The absence of regulations, such as the lack of gender-sensitive labor policies, has serious consequences because it eliminates the instruments and mechanisms that can be used to address issues. In some cases, this regulatory vacuum is intentional, driven by political, cultural, or economic factors, despite its detrimental consequences by denying protection for the rights of female migrant workers. Beyond differences in the quality, strength, and wording of regulations, their implementation also varies significantly (Hennebry Jenna, Grass Will, 2016) .

The distinction between de jure and de facto is crucial to the effectiveness of regulations relating to female migrant workers. For example, domestic labor migration regulations prohibiting the collection of contract fees from female migrant workers appear adequate de jure. However, in practice, recruitment agencies continue to collect fees through other means, such as administrative charges or document preparation services. Therefore, the existence of a monitoring and evaluation system is a crucial aspect. Every policy or bilateral agreement should be accompanied by evaluation mechanisms, resource support, and measurable compliance indicators (The framework explaining the interplay between migrant workers and various issues that pose threats to female migrant workers can be illustrated in the following mind map:

Picture 1.

Structures with which Migrant Workers Interact (Tahir & Kauser, 2023) .



Source: Authors

All these aspects vary depending on the context; whether women are in their home country, during transit, or working abroad, the nature of their interactions with formal structures will differ. This report provides a brief overview of these dynamics, drawing on global comparisons and three case studies: Mexico, Moldova, and the Philippines.

5 CONCLUSION

Based on the research findings and discussions above, the conclusions of this study include: The urgency of protecting Indonesian migrant women workers stems from their multiple vulnerabilities resulting from gender discrimination, economic exploitation, and rights violations by state and non-state actors, exacerbated by gender-insensitive regulations and inconsistent enforcement. Their vulnerability is further exacerbated by weak oversight, limited access to information and services, and discriminatory practices in destination countries. To address this, comprehensive measures are needed, including strengthening gender-responsive regulations, consistent law enforcement, enhancing education and awareness of rights, and leveraging technology and cross-sectoral and cross-national collaboration. Such an approach will not only strengthen the protection and fulfillment of the rights of migrant women workers but also contribute to reducing their vulnerability and enhancing their dignity and well-being.

A *gender mainstreaming* strategy in local and national regulation is key to protecting and fulfilling the rights of Indonesian female migrant workers who are vulnerable to discrimination, gender-based violence, human trafficking, and labor rights violations. Although Indonesia has ratified CEDAW and established various policies, their implementation remains weak due to inadequate oversight, limited legal protection in the informal sector, and the scarcity of gender-responsive regulations at the village level up to the national level. Therefore, synchronizing regulations from the central, regional, and village levels—accompanied by monitoring mechanisms, *gender-responsive budgeting*, and strengthening village regulations such as the Productive Migrant Village program—is an important step to ensure comprehensive protection. These efforts are not only in line with the mandate of Law No. 18 of 2017 and the SDGs but also an effective strategy to empower female migrant workers, narrow gender gaps, and ensure their rights are protected before departure, during work, and upon returning to their places of origin.

REFERENCES

- Agusmidah, & Shalihah, F. (2023). Indonesian migrant workers: a socio-economic analysis with regard to the integrated services practice implementation. *Economic Annals-XXI,203* (5–6), 70–75. <https://doi.org/10.21003/ea.V203-08>
- Arisman, A., & Jaya, R. K. (2021). Labor migration in ASEAN: Indonesian migrant workers in Johor Bahru, Malaysia. *Asian Education and Development Studies,10* (1), 27–39. <https://doi.org/10.1108/AEDS-02-2019-0034>
- Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency. (2025). *Data on . Ministry of Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers/Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency*. <https://bp2mi.go.id/statistik-detail/data-penempatan-dan-pelindungan-pekerja-migran-indonesia-periode-januari-april-2025>
- Deng, J. B., Wahyuni, H. I., & Yulianto, V. I. (2021). Labor migration from Southeast Asia to Taiwan: issues, public responses and future development. *Asian Education and Development Studies,10* (1) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/AEDS-02-2019-0043>.
- Disemadi, H. S. (2022). Legal Research Lens: A Descriptive Essay on Legal Research Methodology. *Journal of Judicia; Review,24* (2), 289–304. <http://dx.doi.org/10.37253/jjr.v>
- Düzgün, E. (2025). Addressing the Challenges of Female Migrant Workers Through the Concept of Social Justice. *Revista Tecnológica - ESPOL,37* (1), 156–173. <https://doi.org/10.37815/rte.v37n1.1276>
- Fourie, A. N. (2015). Expounding the Place of Legal Doctrinal Methods in Legal-Interdisciplinary Research. *Erasmus Law Review,8* (3), 95–110. <https://doi.org/10.5553/elr.000045>
- Hennebry Jenna, Grass Will, M. J. (2016). Women Migrant Workers' Journey Through The Margins: Labor, Migration, and Trafficking. In *United Nations WOMEN* (November Issue).
- Central Java Public Relations. (2025). *Migrant Workers from Central Java Reach Thousands, Governor Prepares Role Models for Mentoring and Training*. Central Java Public Relations. https://humas.jatengprov.go.id/detail_berita_gubernur?id=9573
- Irianto, S. (2013). *Legal Approach through Constellation and Reflection*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia.
- Izzul Wafa. (2024). *NTB Records Highest Number of PMI Dispatches at the End of 2024, How Many?* GoodStats. <https://data.goodstats.id/statistic/ntb-catat-angka-pengiriman-pmi-tertinggi-di-pengujung-2024-berapa-jumlahnya-MnHQ6#:~:text=Although NTB recorded the highest increase, their welfare abroad.>
- Ministry of Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers. (2024). *Data on Bp2mi.Go.Id*. <https://www.bp2mi.go.id/statistik-detail/data-penempatan-dan-pelindungan-pekerja-migran-indonesia-periode-januari-desember-2024>
- Kharisma, D. B. (2023). Optimizing the Role of Village Governments in the Protection

of Indonesian Migrant Workers. *Rechts Vinding: National Legal Development Media*, 12 (1) <https://dx.doi.org/10.33331/rechtsvinding.v12i1.1117>.

Kiwang, A. S., & Arif, F. M. (2023). The Government of East Nusa Tenggara Province's Policies on the Handling and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers from East Nusa Tenggara. *Journal of Citizenship*, 7 (2) <https://doi.org/10.31316/jk.v7i2.5496>.

Komarudin, U., Pramuji, P., Handoko, W., & Irawati, I. (2023). Indonesian Domestic Workers in Taiwan: An International Migration and Workers' Rights Perspective. *Lex Publica*, 10 (1) <https://doi.org/10.58829/lp.10.1.2023.141-164>.

National Commission on Violence Against Women. (2024). *Report on the Monitoring of Human Rights of Migrant Workers & Mechanisms for Handling Victims of Human Rights Violations*. National Commission on Violence Against Women. <https://komnasperempuan.go.id/laporan-pemantauan-ham>

Low, C. C. (2021). Legal Reforms in Protecting Migrant Workers' Welfare in Malaysia: Labor Law and Social Security. *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, 14 (1), 59–80. <https://doi.org/10.14764/10.ASEAS-0048>

Mediana. (2018). *As many as 37 villages have established regulations on the protection of migrant workers*. Kompas. <https://www.kompas.id/artikel/sebanyak-37-desa-bikin-peraturan-soal-perlindungan-buruh-migran>

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1992). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. UI Press.

Nashori, S. A. (2024). *Thanks to the Charmer, 295 Villages in Kebumen Regency Have Village Regulations on Migrant Worker Protection, Regency Government Receives HWSA Award*. Pikiran Rakyat Jateng. <https://jateng.pikiran-rakyat.com/jawa-tengah/pr-3738017558/berkat-si-pemikat-295-desa-di-kabupaten-kebumen-punya-perdes-perlindungan-pmi-pemkab-raih-penghargaan-hwsa?page=all>

Natalis, A., & Ispriyarso, B. (2018). Legal Policy on the Protection of Female Migrant Workers in Indonesia. *Pandecta: Research Law Journal*, 13 (2), 109–123. <https://doi.org/10.15294/pandecta.v13i2.15784>

Nibras Yumna M, L., Dwi Prigitaningtyas, I., & Djoko Saputro, H. (2024). Protection of the Rights of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers as Survivors of Gender-Based Violence (GBV) in Review of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). *Jurnal Mahasiswa Hukum*, 1 (1) <https://doi.org/10.36859/rechtswetenschap.v1i1.2539>.

Nurchayati. (2011). Bringing agency back in: Indonesian migrant domestic workers in Saudi Arabia. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, 20 (3–4), 479–502. <https://doi.org/10.1177/011719681102000311>

Panday, P. K., & Chowdhury, S. (2021). Participatory budgeting and gender responsive budgeting. *Gender Responsive Budgeting in South Asia, December 2015*, 50–64. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003148661-4>

Rohimi, R. (2021). Assistance for Female Migrant Workers (Case Study of the Migrant Workers Care Village Program (Desbumi) in Darek Village, Southwest Praya District, Central Lombok Regency). Rohimi Abstract Introduction The

phenomenon of migrant workers remains a subject of study. *HUMANISMA: Journal of Gender Studies*, 05(02) <https://doi.org/10.30983/humanisme.v5i2.3921>.

Satu Data Kemnaker. (2025). *Placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) for the Period January-December 2024*. Ministry of Manpower. <https://satudata.kemnaker.go.id/data/kumpulan-data/2409>

Setiawan, L. (2025). *Central Java Police Uncover Fraudulent Practices Targeting Indonesian Migrant Workers*. Radio Republik Indonesia Digital. <https://rri.co.id/kriminalitas/1334188/polda-jateng-ungkap-praktek-penipuan-pekerja-migran-indonesia>

Shivakoti, R., Henderson, S., & Withers, M. (2021). The migration ban policy cycle: a comparative analysis of restrictions on the emigration of women domestic workers. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 9 (1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-021-00250-4>

SMPIT AL-GHIFARI KOTA SERANG. (2020). *Realization of Education for Migrant Workers' Children Through CLC in Malaysia*. SMPIT AL-GHIFARI KOTA SERANG. <https://smpitalghifari.sch.id/read/8/realisasi-pendidikan-bagi-anak-pekerja-migran-melalui-clc-di-malaysia>

Suhartini, E., Zaini, M. F., Widjojanto, B., & Yumarni, A. (2023). Indonesian Migrant Workers After Job Creation Law: A Challenging Problem for Protection Welfare. *Bestuur*, 11 (2) <https://doi.org/10.20961/bestuur.v11i2.78442>.

Susilawati, I. Y., Karyati, S., & Ulum, H. (2024). The Eradication of Human Trafficking: What Can We Learn From East Lombok District? *Jurnal IUS Kajian Hukum Dan Keadilan*, 12 (2), 393–405. <https://doi.org/10.29303/ius.v12i2.1373>

Tahir, M. W., & Kauser, R. (2023). Mainstreaming ‘gender’ and ‘integration’ needs in human development initiatives: Asian and African migrant women’s integration in Europe. *International Migration*, 61 (2), 260–282. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.13006>

Vito, D., Klun, M., & Rakar, I. (2024). A concept of maturity model for gender responsive budgeting at local level. *Administratie Si Management Public*, 2024 (42), 76–98. <https://doi.org/10.24818/amp/2023.42-05>

Wuryandari, R. D. (2022). Women and the Application of Feminist Ethics in the Governance of Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers. *Journal of Labor*, 17 (1), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.47198/naker.v17i1.111>

Yulianita, R. C. (2021). Legal Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers Employed in Violation of Placement Agreements. *Jurist-Diction*, 4 (5), 2023. <https://doi.org/10.20473/jd.v4i5.29831>

Authors' Contribution

Both authors contributed equally to the development of this article.

Data availability

All datasets relevant to this study's findings are fully available within the article.

How to cite this article (APA):

Wijaningsih, D., Purwanti, A., Purnami, C. T., & Hardiyanti, M. BRIDGING LOCAL AND NATIONAL GOVERNANCE: GENDER-RESPONSIVE REGULATORY INTEGRATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF INDONESIAN MIGRANT WORKERS. *Veredas Do Direito*, e223342. <https://doi.org/10.18623/rvd.v22.n3.3342>