Journal of International Studies on Energy Affairs
Jisea.universitaspertamina.ac.id | jisea@universitaspertamina.ac.id
ISSN Online : 2774- 4213
ISSN Print : 2774 – 6380

Indonesia's Compliance on ICRMW: From Regulatory Gaps to Weak Law Enforcement

Ferdian Ahya Al Putra, Nisryna Lintang Aenuna, & Zayyana Muchsina Sofyatin Najwa

Ferdian Ahya Al Putra

Affiliation : Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta
City : Surakarta
Country : Indonesia
Email : ferdianahya@staff.uns.ac.id

Nisryna Lintang Aenuna

Affiliation : Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta
City : Surakarta
Country : Indonesia
Email : nisrynalin@student.uns.ac.id

Zayyana Muchsina Sofyatin Najwa

Affiliation : Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta
City : Surakarta
Country : Indonesia
Email : zayyanamsn.02@student.uns.ac.id

History

Submission : 28th of April 2026
Review Completed : 15th of May 2026
Accepted : 2nd of June 2026
Available Online : 30th of June 2026

Abstract

This study examines Indonesia's compliance with the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Member of Their Families (ICRMW), focusing on the gaps in the adoption into Law Number 18 of 2017 on the protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PPMI Law). This topic is important because migrant workers contribute to the country's foreign exchange yet remain vulnerable to exploitation and violence. This is evident from the 2,849 complaints from migrant workers received by the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (BP2MI) throughout 2025. This study analyses how regulatory gaps, followed by weak law enforcement, shape Indonesia's compliance affect migrant worker protection. This study uses a qualitative case study method with document analysis, drawing on international regime theory. The results show fundamental differences between the ICRMW and the PPMI Law in the scope of protected subjects, the o definition of workers, and the philosophy of protection responsibilities. The ICMRW recognizes and protects the human rights of all migrant workers, both those with official documents (regular) and those without (irregular/non-procedural) documentation. The PPMI Law in contrast, emphasizes procedural aspect, limiting protection to those who are

Cite this article :
Al Putra, F. H., Aenuna, N. L., & Najwa, Z. M. S. Indonesia's Compliance on ICRMW: From Regulatory Gaps to Weak Law Enforcement. Journal of International Studies on Energy Affairs 7(1). 10.51413/jisea.Vol7.Iss1.2026.

Journal of International Studies on Energy Affairs
Jisea.universitaspertamina.ac.id | jisea@universitaspertamina.ac.id
ISSN Online : 2774- 4213
ISSN Print : 2774 – 6380

DOI :

10.51413/jisea.Vol7.Iss1.2026.

Copyright

This is an open access article distributed under the term of the creative commons attribution 4.0 international licence

registered, competent, and fully documented. Since many cases arise in non procedural context, this gap compound by weak oversight and fragmented institutional coordination, makes Indonesia's compliance formal rather than substantive. The consequences includes low human rights protection, structural obstacles within the state, and risks to Indonesia's international reputation. Ratification and normative alignment alone do not guarantee equal protection for all migrant workers.

Key Words: Migrant worker protection, ICRMW, UU PPMI, compliance, regulatory gaps, norm internalization.

Cite this article :
Al Putra, F. H., Aenuna, N. L., & Najwa, Z. M. S. Indonesia's Compliance on ICRMW: From Regulatory Gaps to Weak Law Enforcement. Journal of International Studies on Energy Affairs 7(1). 10.51413/jisea.Vol7.Iss1.2026.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) are key players in Indonesia's economy. According to the Ministry of Immigration of the Republic of Indonesia, PMIs contributed approximately IDR 430–433 trillion in foreign exchange earnings throughout 2025 (Joniansyah & Setiawan, 2026). This contribution is significant, given that foreign exchange serves vital functions such as maintaining national currency stability, balancing the balance of payments, and safeguarding the country against various external shocks (Tereshchenko, 2022). Nevertheless, PMIs face numerous challenges and working conditions that leave them vulnerable to exploitation and hazardous activities. This is evidenced by data showing that the Indonesian Migrant Worker Protection Agency (BP2MI) received 2,849 complaints from Indonesian migrant workers throughout 2025 (Muhamad, 2026).

Complaints received by BP2MI regarding this issue vary widely, ranging from wage related grievances, exploitation, and abuse to human trafficking. Bunga (a pseudonym), an Indonesian migrant worker, reported being sexually harassed by an elderly patient over the age of 70 whom she was caring for (Miralux, 2026). Another case involves SN, a migrant worker from Temanggung employed in Malaysia, who suffered torture and went unpaid for 21 years (Riso, 2025). Regarding cases involving undocumented migrant workers, Sarman a worker from Madura spent eight years as a construction laborer in Malaysia without official documentation; he reported being imprisoned twice and subjected to severe physical abuse. A similar ordeal was experienced by Ardian, a migrant worker from Lombok, whose status was illegal from the outset because he had entered the country on a visit visa (Nurrakhmani, 2025).

The cases experienced by Indonesian migrant workers (PMI) whether they migrated through official channels or otherwise reflect gaps in the governance of their protection abroad. Significant flaws exist in national regulations, including the Law on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (UU PPMI), which was intended to implement the convention on migrant workers. The situation of non-procedural migrant workers is a matter of particular concern, as their migration is closely linked to networks of brokers or "middlemen" (calo). These brokers play a dominant role due to their ability to reach the village level, where access to official information is often limited. One such case involved Renova Hutapea, who was sent abroad illegally by a broker named Hi'is Darsini. Although promised a job at a nursing home with a monthly salary of RM 1,200, she was instead employed at a restaurant without official documentation. Renova ultimately died as a result of abuse suffered during her employment (Muthia, 2020).

Based on the issues outlined above, the author aims to examine Indonesia's compliance on ICRMW within the Law on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (UU PPMI) and the consequences for the protection of these workers. This adoption process is essentially crucial, serving as the fundamental basis for the legal

protection of Indonesian migrant workers. This paper started to identify the regulatory gap that is followed by the weak law enforcement.

Literature Review and statement of art

Previous studies have found that official procedures such as registration via the One Channel System (OCS) or SIAP-KERJA are often perceived as involving excessive criteria and confusing digital requirements (Rifky et al., 2025). Beyond bureaucratic hurdles, the lure of high wages is a tactic used by brokers to recruit Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) (Selamet, 2026). Consequently, the "instant" pathways offered by brokers become an enticing proposition for PMI. The scope of the Law on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (UU PPMI), which outlines procedural pathways, does not guarantee optimal protection for these workers. In other words, non-procedural pathways can lead to the state remaining unaware of the various issues faced by PMI, thereby increasing their vulnerability. Further research indicates that although the UU PPMI was designed to provide comprehensive protection across all stages of migration, its implementation continues to face significant structural, technical, and legal obstacles (Soflianti et al., 2024).

Meanwhile, Salas and Wardani (2026) identified regulatory inconsistencies and overlapping authority among relevant ministries following the establishment of the Ministry for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (KP2MI). Additionally, research by Aulia (2024) highlights how the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW) establishes minimum protection standards binding on countries of origin, transit, and destination to uphold migrants' rights regardless of their documentation status. The ICRMW serves as a crucial reference for guaranteeing the civil, political, economic, and social rights of migrant workers without discrimination (Turnip et al., 2024). However, discrepancies between the ICRMW and the UU PPMI regarding the subjects of protection constitute a regulatory gap that contributes to the series of issues experienced by PMI. This study focuses on Indonesia's compliance to ICRMW, especially on regulatory imbalances as the primary cause of the various problems faced by PMI.

METHOD

This study employs a qualitative case study method. The qualitative case study method is a non-experimental research approach that focuses on the intensive investigation of a specific phenomenon, event, organization, or program within a real-life context (Blatter & Haverland, 2012; Bowen, 2009). This method is characterized by a small number of cases (Small-N) yet offers rich and diverse empirical observations for each case (Blatter & Haverland, 2012). In the context of this research, the study focuses on the case of ICRMW adoption within the PPMI Law and its consequences for the protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI). Furthermore, this research utilizes a literature review for data collection, employing

document analysis techniques. According to Glenn A. Bowen, document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents, whether in print or electronic format. This technique requires the examination and interpretation of data to generate meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Bowen, 2009). The researcher analyzes various documents such as official government reports, scholarly articles, and books that are relevant to the research variables.

As an analytical framework, this study employs international regime theory to examine Indonesia's compliance with the aforementioned migrant worker convention. According to Krasner (1982), international regime theory analizes how cooperation among states can emerge and endure within an anarchic international system. An international regime is defined as a set of principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actor expectations converge in a given issue area (Krasner, 1982). At a minimum, according to Krasner, a regime comprises four analytical components: principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures. Principles are beliefs regarding facts, causation, and moral rectitude. Norms are understood as standards of behaviour articulated in terms of rights and obligations. Rules are defined as specific prescriptions or instructions regarding what actions are required, permitted, or prohibited, while decision-making procedures are the prevailing practices for formulating and implementing collective choices (Krasner, 1982).

Going further, Krasner emphasizes that regimes differ from ordinary agreements. Agreements are ad hoc or "one-shot" in nature, whereas regimes are established to facilitate such agreements on an ongoing basis. Behavior within a regime is not driven solely by short-term profit calculations but is instead bound by principles of reciprocity and mutual obligation (Krasner, 1982). In this context, it is understood that a state's participation in an international regime entails an obligation to comply with—and generally adopt—the regime's provisions within the domestic sphere. In the context of this study, Indonesia's compliance with the ICRMW became mandatory once the country ratified the convention. They have to adapt and comply with ICRMW since its involvement in this regime will last in long term. Moreover, in an established regime, compliance is reflected in behaviour that has become ingrained as habit (usage and custom). States adhere to rules because they view such actions as legitimate and anticipate censure from the international community should they deviate from recognized practices (Krasner, 1982).

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Cases on Procedural and Non-Procedural/Irregular Migrant Workers

Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) constitute a group of workers that makes a strategic contribution to the national economy through remittances sent to their families in Indonesia. These remittances serve as a source of foreign exchange for the country; according to data from Bank Indonesia, remittances entering

Indonesia in 2025 reached approximately IDR 288 trillion (Adhyasta Dirgantara, 2026). The high demand for Indonesian labor abroad is also reflected in the steadily increasing number of migrant worker placements each year, with key destination countries including Malaysia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, and Japan.

Top 5 Destination Countries

Destination Country	Nov '25	Dec '25	% Change	Proportion
Taiwan	6,490	8,304	▲ 27.95% (1,814)	37.64%
Malaysia	4,976	4,626	▼ 7.03% (350)	20.97%
Hong Kong	2,452	2,749	▲ 12.11% (297)	12.46%
Japan	1,837	1,806	▼ 1.69% (31)	8.19%
Singapore	1,423	1,607	▲ 12.93% (184)	7.28%
Other Destination Countries	2,632	2,971	▲ 12.88% (339)	13.47%

Figure 1. Number of Indonesian Migrant Worker Placements by Destination Country

Data from the Ministry for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers indicates that labor migration remains a vital component of Indonesia's economic development, while also reflecting the public's heavy reliance on overseas employment opportunities. Although Indonesian migrant workers make significant economic contributions, they continue to face a multitude of challenges throughout the migration process. During the same period specifically throughout 2025 the Directorate General for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (KP2MI) recorded 2,849 complaints lodged by Indonesian migrant workers. These complaints encompass various categories of issues, as illustrated in the following figure:

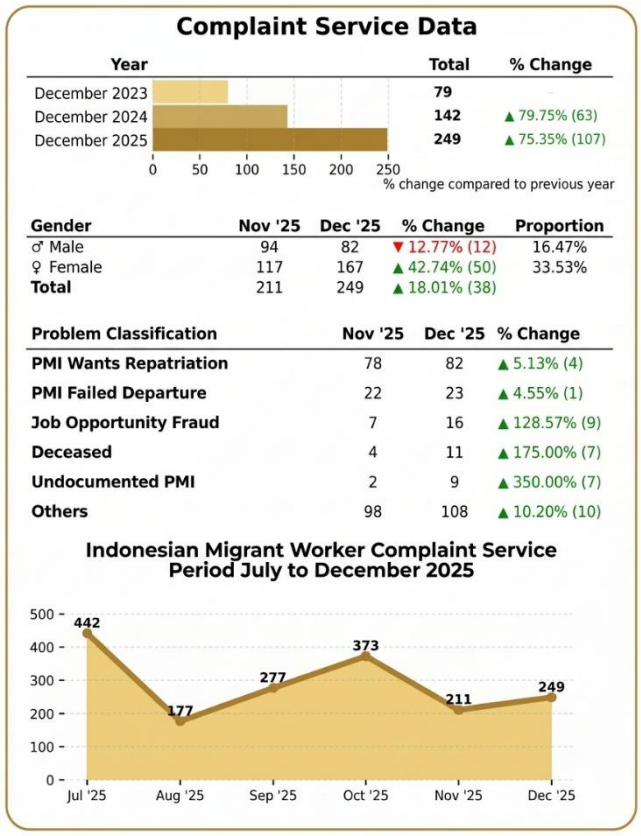


Figure 2. Complaints regarding issues faced by Indonesian migrant workers (PMI)

The five most frequent complaint categories shown in the image along with the significance of their changes include requests for repatriation, failure to depart, job opportunity scams, deaths, and cases involving undocumented migrant workers, among others. Comprehensive data published by KP2MI lists a total of 51 complaint categories submitted by migrant workers for various reasons. The top ten complaint categories recorded throughout 2025 (January to December) are presented in the following table:

Table 1. Complaints Regarding Migrant Worker Issues in 2025

Category	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Total
PMI Want to Be Repatriated	33	52	51	55	110	63	87	72	83	80	78	82	846
PMI fails to depart	17	18	25	6	50	20	48	12	79	24	22	23	344
Deportation/Repatriation	0	15	2	5	12	0	77	1	0	107	0	2	221

Died	14	11	2	4	31	3	29	3	7	53	4	11	172
Others	9	8	13	15	18	16	22	7	13	18	7	18	164
Wages not paid	15	12	14	3	10	9	14	14	11	21	18	5	146
Sick	1	6	6	15	6	1	14	2	5	14	6	7	83
Job opportunity scam	3	2	4	1	7	4	24	6	5	1	7	16	80
Social Security for Indonesian Migrant Workers	5	0	0	1	4	2	26	3	9	2	12	3	67
Illegal recruitment of prospective Indonesian migrant workers	0	4	11	3	11	1	16	7	4	1	2	5	65

When classified according to the migration cycle, these various categories of complaints indicate that migrant worker issues arise at every stage of migration. During the pre-placement stage, dominant cases include failure to depart, employment scams, and illegal recruitment. At the placement stage, complaints are dominated by issues such as unpaid wages, violence, illness, and labor exploitation. Meanwhile, in the post-placement stage, requests for repatriation and deportation are the most frequently reported categories. These findings demonstrate that the challenges regarding migrant worker protection are comprehensive in nature and not limited to the employment relationship in the destination country (Ahmad et al., 2025).

Data in Table 1 indicates that the highest number of complaints consisted of requests for the repatriation of migrant workers, totaling 846 cases throughout 2025. This high volume of repatriation requests suggests that some migrant workers faced situations preventing them from continuing their employment in their destination countries. Such conditions may stem from issues regarding employment relations, health, safety, or other factors necessitating government-facilitated repatriation (Firnanda Haumahu et al., 2023).

The second largest category involves Indonesian migrant workers (PMI) who failed to depart, accounting for 344 cases. Issues regarding migrant worker protection arise even before the migration process itself begins. Cases of failed departure are generally linked to administrative problems, document discrepancies, policy changes in destination countries, or recruitment practices that do not follow established procedures (Dethan et al., 2024). This category highlights that challenges regarding migrant worker protection emerge as early as the pre-placement stage. Furthermore, the 221 cases of deportation or repatriation

demonstrate that immigration status remains a major challenge for Indonesian migrant workers. A study by Ibrahim et al. (2025) explains that such conditions cause migrant workers to lose access to labor protections and increase their reliance on consular assistance mechanisms when facing legal issues in their destination countries. These conditions indicate that migration status and departure mechanisms are factors that must be considered when examining migrant workers' access to protection mechanisms.

Vulnerability is evident in the numerous cases involving non procedural migrant workers that occur at various stages of the migration process. At the pre-placement stage, for instance, a case uncovered by the Ministry for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (KP2MI) in collaboration with the police in Bekasi City in February 2025 revealed non-compliant migrant worker recruitment practices. Seven female prospective Indonesian migrant workers (CPMI) allegedly slated for non-procedural deployment to Saudi Arabia were taken into custody during the operation. Investigations revealed that the victims had been promised domestic work through intermediaries, with a monthly salary of approximately IDR 5 million. Subsequently, they were housed in a shelter pending their departure (Ishak, 2025). This case demonstrates that intermediary networks continue to be utilized in non-procedural recruitment to offer high-cost employment opportunities to prospective migrant workers, bypassing official government placement procedures (KP2MI, 2026).

Vulnerabilities persist during the departure phase for those heading to destination countries, as evidenced by an incident in April 2026 when the Barelang City Police (Polresta Barelang) intercepted 43 prospective Indonesian migrant workers (PMI) attempting to travel to Malaysia via the Batam Center International Ferry Terminal. Investigations revealed that two perpetrators recruited migrant workers and facilitated their travel handling tasks such as pick-ups, ticket purchases, and passport processing through intermediaries known as (calo) (unauthorized brokers) without adhering to official migrant worker placement requirements. Furthermore, between January and April 2026, the Barelang City Police successfully prevented the departure of 155 prospective migrant workers attempting to travel through irregular channels. These events demonstrate that the recruitment and placement of migrant workers outside of official mechanisms remain ongoing issues (Barelang, 2026).

This issue becomes increasingly apparent when migrant workers are successfully deployed abroad through irregular channels. The alleged human trafficking of Indonesian migrant workers in Libya in 2026 serves as a case in point. Investigations revealed that a recruitment network which had been promising high-paying jobs in Turkey since 2023 sent at least 105 Indonesian citizens to Libya. Most victims reported enduring long working hours, the confiscation of travel documents, restrictions on freedom of movement, and alleged violence and exploitation during their employment (Aldi Ferdian, 2026). This case demonstrates that the problems associated with irregular migration do not end at the point of departure but can

persist even after workers have arrived in the destination country.The most recent case of this pattern was RR (31), a resident of Serang, Banten who returned home on 16 April 2026 after being trapped in scam work in Cambodia (KemenP2MI,2026). RR who had been long unemployed, was offered a high paying job by a friend, without any official process. When he reached the place, communication was minimal, he was constantly watched and it was very difficult to get out or ask for help. His case is emblematic of much a larger phenomenon, in the first quarter of 2026 alone 3,097 Indonesian workers employed in the scam sector were repatriated from Myanmar and Cambodia (KemenP2MI, 2026). The head of BP2MI Banten admits that most victims leave without legal procedures, so they do not have adequate legal protection in the destination country. The official response, however is try to persuade the public not to be tempted by vague job offers and to use legal placement agencies, which treats the problem mainly as a matter of individual choice.

These consistent case at all stages of the migration cycle, from illegal recruitment in Bekasi and interceptions in Batam, to trafficking in Libya and the scam centers in Cambodia, suggest that the vulnerability of non-procedural migrant workers is structural and not incidental. Indonesia's ratification of the ICRMW remains incomplete in practice, the commitment exist on paper but has not yet to translate into effective protection for those who migrate outside of official channels, as the state response continues to focus on prevention messaging and post-incident repatriation rather than on protecting workers already abroad regardless of how they left (Dwithia, 2026). This raises the question of whether the state is unable to comply or whether the ratification has not been implemented in a comprehensive manner, which the following sections explore (Guna & Astuti, 2026). These recurring cases reflect regulatory gaps between ICRMW ratification and UU PPMI.

Regulatory Gaps in ICRMW and UU PPMI

Policies regarding the protection of Indonesian migrant workers are regulated, in part, by Law No. 18 of 2017 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (known as the PPMI Law). This law demonstrates the alignment of international norms with Indonesia's national policy; notably, the PPMI Law was drafted basedin significant part on Law No. 6 of 2012, which ratified the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW). The PPMI Law serves as the central legal foundation and an instrument for transforming the protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers from a placement-business model to one centered on the fulfillment of human rights (Marpi, 2021). Furthermore, this law explicitly repealed Law No. 39 of 2004, which was deemed overly focused on business aspects and lacking in substantive protection (Dalimunthe et al., 2025; Izzati, 2019).

The PPMI Law can be considered the most recent regulation specifically designed to protect migrant workers. However, the various cases experienced by migrant workers as discussed in the previous section indicate the existence of gaps within

this regulation. To identify these gaps, the author compares the ICRMW with the provisions adopted in the PPMI Law. The author's findings serve as the basis for an argument regarding regulatory gaps that could undermine the protection of Indonesian migrant workers abroad. The first aspect concerns how each instrument defines a migrant worker. The ICRMW provides a comprehensive definition, encompassing frontier workers, seasonal workers, seafarers, and the self-employed. The Convention defines a migrant worker as a person who is to be engaged, is engaged, or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national (United Nations, 1990). This definition establishes a scope that applies to all migrant workers and their families, without distinction based on gender, race, religion, or other status.

In contrast, the PPMI Law defines a migrant worker as a citizen who intends to work, is currently working, or has worked for wages outside Indonesian territory. A key difference between the ICRMW and the PPMI Law lies in the exclusion of Indonesian citizens who are self employed abroad from the law's definition of a migrant worker a group that actually falls within the scope of the ICRMW. The ICRMW adheres to the principle of universality, which shapes the scope of the subjects it protects. It recognizes and extends human rights protections to all migrant workers whether documented (regular) or undocumented (irregular/non procedural) thereby affirming that fundamental rights apply regardless of an individual's immigration status (United Nations, 1990). This is not the case with the PPMI Law, which limits protection to prospective or procedural (legal) migrant workers specifically those who meet strict requirements such as government registration, demonstrated competence, and possession of all mandatory documentation (Government of Indonesia, 2017). The exclusion of non-procedural migrant workers results in unequal protection and weakens oversight regarding non procedural or illegal workers.

Furthermore, both regulations contain provisions regarding the family members of migrant workers. The ICRMW defines family members broadly, encompassing spouses, dependent children, and others recognized as family members under applicable laws or bilateral agreements (United Nations, 1990). In contrast, the PPMI Law establishes a more specific scope, limiting family members to husbands, wives, children, or parents (Government of Indonesia, 2017). Regarding the stakeholders involved, the ICRMW places no restrictions on the parties that may participate in the processes of migrant worker placement and protection. Conversely, the PPMI Law tends to curtail the involvement and role of the private sector in both recruitment and protection processes. Several differences concerning the incorporation of these international norms into the PPMI Law are outlined in the following table:

Table 2. Regulatory Differences between the ICRMW and the PPMI Law

Criteria	ICRMW	UU PPMI	Article
Definition	Applies to all migrant workers and their families without distinction of gender, race, religion, or other status, including the categories of frontier workers, seasonal workers, sailors, and self-employed workers.	Excluding Indonesian citizens who have independent businesses abroad from the PMI category	ICRMW: Article 1, 2 UU PPMI: Article 1, 2, 4
Scope	Procedural and non procedural (irregular) workers	Procedural workers (legal workers)	ICRMW: Article 5 UU PPMI: Article 5, 12, 13
Family Members Scope	Defining family members broadly, including spouse, dependent children, and other people	More specifically, namely only husband, wife, children, or parents	ICRMW: Article 4 UU PPMI: Article 1
Stakeholder Involvement	Not specifically a state actor, opening up opportunities for cooperation with other countries	Regulating the division of tasks and responsibilities of the Central Government, Provincial Government, Regency/City Government, and Village Government	ICRMW: Article 65, 67 UU PPMI: Article 38, 39-42, 44-47
Social Security	The right of migrant workers to receive equal treatment with local citizens regarding social security	Stipulating that the Central Government will organize Social Security for Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) and their families as part of the National Social Security System (SJSN).	ICRMW: Article 27 UU PPMI: Article 29
Guaranteed Rights	Regulating basic human rights, such as the right to life (Article 9), the prohibition of torture (Article 10), freedom of religion (Article 12), the right to a fair trial (Article 18), and access to education for children of migrant workers (Article 30).	Describing the rights of Indonesian migrant workers, including the right to receive correct information, access to capacity building, to carry out religious duties, and wages according to standards.	ICRMW: Article 9, 10, 12, 18, 30 UU PPMI: Article

Beyond these various differences, both regulations address the migration cycle encompassing the pre departure, employment, and post-employment (return to the country of origin) phases. However, it is important to highlight that the process of internalizing ICRMW norms into the PPMI Law has resulted in differences that impact the governance of migrant worker protection. A fundamental issue stems from the immigration status of migrant workers. Several studies have found that the majority of Indonesian migrant workers (PMI) who experience severe problems such as torture or human trafficking departed via irregular channels (Khalid & Savirah, 2022; Nuraeny, 2023; Sundary & Muslikhah, 2024). This undocumented status makes it difficult for the government to track their whereabouts and provide optimal legal assistance in the destination countries (Khalid & Savirah, 2022; Nuraeny, 2023).

Furthermore, studies have found that although the PPMI Law mandates the exemption of placement fees for Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI), agencies still engage in the practice of overcharging, causing workers to become mired in debt even before their departure (Salas & Wardani, 2026; Sundary & Muslikhah, 2024). On the other hand, the PPMI Law stipulates that protection governance must extend to the village level; however, realities on the ground reveal budgetary constraints, with many regions that serve as major sources of migrant workers failing to allocate specific funds for protection programs (Madiyya & Kuswara, 2026). This issue is further compounded by regulatory disharmony specifically the lack of alignment between the PPMI Law and local regulations, such as the Population Administration Law regarding the National Identity Number (NIK) requirements for departing workers, which creates significant administrative hurdles in practice (Khalid & Savirah, 2022). Ultimately, these conditions result in weak oversight at the village or urban-village level, a primary factor behind the continued prevalence of non-procedural migrant worker deployment (Mulyanto & Huda, 2025).

Indonesia's compliance is further complicated by regulatory gaps regarding the protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI). In practice, the mere existence of regulations does not guarantee optimal protection. Evidence shows that despite strict prohibitions against illegal recruitment—punishable by 3 to 15 years in prison—syndicates involved in illegal recruitment and human trafficking remain rampant (Irawati et al., 2025). Other studies argue that poor coordination, sectoral ego, and overlapping authority (the regulator-operator dilemma) following the establishment of the Ministry for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (KP2MI) have resulted in fragmented case handling, sluggish bureaucracy, and a tendency for law enforcement agencies to shift responsibility onto one another (Probosambodo et al., 2025; Salas & Wardani, 2026; Soflianti et al., 2024). These factors constitute interrelated variables that can undermine Indonesia's compliance with the convention. Further discussion on Indonesia's compliance would be discussed in the next section.

Consequences of Regulatory Gap toward Migrant Workers Protection

Examining the gap between the ratification of the ICRMW and the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Law (PPMI Law), along with the failure to provide protection in the aforementioned cases, underscores the need to analyze and address this issue. This review identifies causal consequences that will help the government recognize the urgency of the ratification gap and the growing number of complaints related to the protection of Indonesian migrant workers. The exclusions and categorizations in the PPMI Law, particularly the exclusion of independent business owners from the definition of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI), the explicit inclusion of "procedural migrants" as legally protected subjects, and the specific definition of family members, are three interrelated gaps that are at the root of this critical problem. The specific terminology and categorizations used for PMI limit the scope of state protection available to Indonesian citizens

working abroad who fall outside the categories established by the PPMI Law. The current mechanisms in the PPMI Law focus too much on technical and administrative frameworks, thus failing to guarantee the safety and well-being of PMI in accordance with international human rights standards (Farida, 2025).

Another pressing issue stems from gaps in the definition of "family member," which creates inequities in human rights protection, particularly regarding families' efforts to secure legal access, repatriation of remains, and requests for case follow-up. The resulting impact fosters the normalization of exploitation in the migrant labor sector, where exploitation is seen as the worst-case scenario awaiting anyone who becomes a migrant worker. This analysis is valid because the legal vulnerabilities faced by migrant workers arise from weaknesses in the legal framework (Weatherburn, 2026). Indonesia's ratification of the ICRMW demonstrates the country's global commitment to protecting all migrant workers, regardless of their migration status (Bisri et al., 2025). However, there are disparities in their respective focuses; despite the extensive provisions of the PPMI Law, these provisions limit the universality enshrined in the ICRMW. This is despite the right of states to raise reservations or align specific articles of the ICRMW that conflict with national interests at the time of signature or ratification (Abd Aziz & Basir, 2022). Such reservations do not imply a reduction in consistency with international standards; States are still required to adjust their domestic laws to align with the core norms they have ratified (Laikram & Pathak, 2022).

Using the benchmark of compliance, this situation reflects a shift in norms within the justificatory discourse, as the norms and regulations established in the ICMRW remain incorporated and incorporated with internal adjustments to Indonesia (Percy & Sandholtz, 2022). This view aligns with the continued increase in migrant worker placements in Indonesia, as seen in 2024 data, compared to 2022, which saw a 0.11% increase from the previous year (KP2MI, 2025). However, Indonesia continues to face criticism and scrutiny regarding immigration issues. During its 2025 dialogue with Indonesia, the Committee on Migrant Workers (CMW), while commending legislation promoting migrant workers' voting rights, also highlighted issues regarding recruitment practices and transnational online fraud networks; these factors have contributed to the proliferation of irregular migrant departures and forced labor (OHCHR, 2025). This discrepancy, combined with the significant number of irregular Indonesian migrant workers and increasing reports of violence against them, could negatively impact Indonesia's international image regarding its commitment to human rights. This condition could impact Indonesia's reputation in the international eye regarding their compliance with the ICRMW.

Furthermore, consequences arise from gaps in the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Law (PPMI Law). This law establishes a hierarchical division of duties and responsibilities among the central, provincial, district/city, and village governments, which actually fosters institutional maladministration. This maladministration is driven by weak oversight, coordination, and integration systems across these various levels and institutions, reflecting a weak institutional

and governance system in carrying out administrative protection functions. This is supported by 2024 performance data regarding the protection of Indonesian citizens abroad (PWNI), which recorded 1,348 criminal cases in Cambodia between 2020 and 2024, as well as a surge in human trafficking complaints related to the recruitment of migrant workers, reaching 1,500 cases. These figures contrast sharply with data from the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (KP2MI), which reported 297,434 migrant worker placements in 2024, a figure that continues to increase by 0.11% (Pranoto et al., 2025). This situation further highlights the gaps in management, particularly regarding data availability and accuracy, which ultimately lead to inaccurate handling. This situation could lead to even greater controversy if stakeholders turn a blind eye and fail to promptly address the discrepancies between their data and the actual facts on the ground.

Details regarding social security in Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 14 of 2023 highlight the inclusiveness gaps faced by Indonesian migrant workers. In particular, services under the Work Accident Insurance (JKK) scheme are only available to officially registered Indonesian migrant workers who pay social security contributions, as per Article 1 Point 7. The regulation does not contain provisions for emergency medical care for Indonesian migrant workers who fall outside the "procedural" participant category. However, data published by the Ministry or the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency (KP2MI/BP2MI) for the period from January 1 to December 31, 2025, revealed a 75.35% increase in complaints from migrant workers in December 2025 compared to the previous year (KP2MI, 2026). Specifically, the National Commission on Human Rights (Komnas HAM) reported that data from the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs showed a 700% increase in case handling in Southeast Asia in 2023, reaching 1,262 cases involving non-procedural Indonesian migrant workers (Komnas HAM, 2025).

This situation demonstrates the cognitive fragmentation that isolates certain sectoral bureaucracies from transnational normative interactions, where countries attempting to comply with internationalized norms still conflict with domestic policy arrangements, thus hindering the achievement of the objectives of the initial norms (Carcelli, 2023). This overlapping gap demonstrates the limited authority of the Indonesian government over migrant workers and reveals weaknesses in communication and administrative governance among relevant Indonesian institutions. As a result, the Indonesian government faces political and structural obstacles. This situation is exacerbated by the finding that regulations regarding Indonesian migrant workers still face serious obstacles, such as limited access to information, lack of legal literacy, and administrative difficulties in destination countries (Podungge & Prasetyoningsih, 2025).

In this regard, through a constructivist framework, Indonesia's compliance level has not been fully realized. On the one hand, Indonesia recognizes and upholds the equality of human rights and supports its protection by ratifying the ICRMW through Law No. 6 of 2012, which is further detailed in Law No. 18 of 2017. On the other hand, the localization of this ratification faces challenges arising from

identified gaps, resulting in the persistence of many cases and the resulting consequences. Indonesia's ratification process is oriented towards the status of migrant workers, categorizing workers as "procedural" or "non-procedural." Law No. 18 of 2017 results in migrant workers who do not have the required administrative status being ineligible for reintegration programs or legal aid (K et al., 2026). The analysis shows that Indonesia as a state actor is still in an unstable process of ongoing transformation with international norms and institutions. Indonesia is still trying to meet the logic of appropriateness standards according to the role of its identity. Because compliance is seen as a dynamic process where the state should actively reconstruct the meaning of law and its application in the field (Talesh, 2021). Thus, the situation faced by Indonesia creates a complex international regime, where the ICMRW and the PMI Law, which are expected to have the same function, end up in a state strategy to choose the forum or international organization that most benefits their policy preferences (Pratt, 2023).

CONCLUSIONS

The gap in protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) stems from disparities in the scope of norms between the ICRMW and the PPMI Law, particularly regarding the protection of migrant workers operating outside official placement mechanisms. Findings indicate that PMI vulnerability persists across various migration stages from pre-placement and departure to employment in the destination country with non-procedural workers facing more complex risks, including administrative issues, deportation, exploitation, and limited access to protection mechanisms. Migration status and mechanisms are key factors influencing a PMI's access to rights and state protection. These conditions demonstrate that the adoption into national law has not yet fully resulted in equal protection for all Indonesian migrant workers. Substantive discrepancies between ICRMW and their domestic implementation have led to consequences such as inadequate human rights protection for PMIs, political and structural state barriers, and impacts on Indonesia's international human rights reputation and commitment. Ultimately, factors such as administrative prerequisites for accessing state services and protection, implementation and data gaps across the various institutions handling migrant workers, and linguistic adjustments made during ratification reveal that normative alignment alone does not automatically guarantee equal protection for all Indonesian migrant workers. Ultimately, Indonesia's compliance depends not only on how the country incorporates the convention into its domestic law but also on the effective implementation of migrant worker governance in accordance with international standards. However, this study has limitations as it focuses primarily on the relationship between regulatory gaps and the rise in cases. Therefore, the author plans to conduct a more in-depth study, specifically focusing on the internalization phase, which is a crucial aspect of such governance.

REFERENCES

Abd Aziz, S. N., & Basir, S. M. (2022). Position of ICMW in ASEAN and A Glimpse I nto The Philippine Practise on Migration. Jurnal Hukum Volkgeist, 6(2), 123–128. https://doi.org/10.35326/volkgeist.v6i2.2091

Adhyasta Dirgantara. (2026, Februari 24). Remitansi dari TKI pada 2025 capai rp 288 triliun, gerakkan ekonomi. Dalam KOMPAS.com. Kompas.com. https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2026/02/24/16290761/remitansi-dari-tki-pada-2025-capai-rp-288-triliun-gerakkan-ekonomi

Ahmad, Nasir, G. A., & Muhidin, A. (2025). Protection of the constitutional rights of Indonesian migrant workers abroad Post-Placement in destination countries. Justitia jurnal hukum, 9(1). https://doi.org/10.30651/justitia.v9i1.25909

Aldi Ferdian. (2026, Agustus 5). Kriminolog: Kasus Tppo Pmi Di Libya Jadi Alarm Tata Kelola Migrasi Indonesia. Dalam POLITIK INDONESIA.ID, POLINDO. POLITIK INDONESIA.ID, POLINDO. https://www.politikindonesia.id/kriminolog-kasus-tppo-pmi-di-libya-jadi-alarm-tata-kelola-migrasi-indonesia

Barelang, P. (2026). Pengungkapan Kasus PMI Non Prosedural, Polresta Barelang Selamatkan Puluhan Calon Pekerja Migran. Dalam Polrestabarelangbatam.id. Polrestabarelangbatam.id. https://www.polrestabarelangbatam.id/2026/04/20/pengungkapan-kasus-pmi-non-prosedural-polresta-barelang-selamatkan-puluhan-calon-pekerja-migran

Bisri, M. M., Ika Maharani, S., & Elhanuna, B. N. (2025). Transformasi Instrumen Internasional dalam Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Perempuan dan Implikasinya terhadap Kebijakan Nasional. 6(3).

Blatter, J., & Haverland, M. (2012). Designing Case Studies. Palgrave Macmillan.

Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document Analysis as a Qualitative Research Method. Qualitative Research Journal, 9(2), 27–40. https://doi.org/10.3316/QRJ0902027

Carcelli, S. P. (2024). Bureaucratic Structure and Compliance with International Agreements. American Journal of Political Science, 68(1), 177–192. https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12811

Dalimunthe, P. C., Ash-Shiddiqy, A. R., Indah, N. L., Siregar, K. Z., Muliana, M.-, & Priscarina, R. (2025). PERBANDINGAN SISTEM PENDIDIKAN INDONESIA DAN SINGAPURA: TINJAUAN LITERATUR DAN IMPLIKASINYA TERHADAP KUALITAS PENDIDIKAN NASIONAL. KNOWLEDGE: Jurnal Inovasi Hasil Penelitian dan Pengembangan. https://api.semanticscholar.org/CorpusID:279421955

Desvi Soflianti, Aulia Ramadayanti, Intan Shofy Martin, Zilva Aulia Rahma, & Arini Azka Muthia. (2024). Tinjauan Yuridis Perlindungan Hukum terhadap Pekerja Migran Indonesia Berdasarkan Undang-Undang Nomor 18 Tahun 2017. Deposisi: Jurnal Publikasi Ilmu Hukum, 2(4), 354–359. https://doi.org/10.59581/deposisi.v2i4.4376

Dethan, O. N. M., Pello, H. F., & Nubatonis, O. J. (2024). Perlindungan PRA penempatan calon pekerja migran Indonesia OLEH dinas tenaga kerja DAN transmigrasi KOTA kupang menurut Undang-Undang nomor 18 tahun 2017 tentang perlindungan pekerja migran Indonesia. Petitum law journal, 2(2), 410–428. https://doi.org/10.35508/pelana.v2i2.18936

Dwithia, Z. F. (2026). Ratification without Harmonisation: Fragmented Domestication of the 1990 Migrant Workers Convention in Indonesia. Jurnal Cakrawala Hukum, 17(2), 205–219. https://doi.org/10.26905/idjch.v17i2.17168

Farida, E. (2025). Empowering indonesian migrant workers: Human Rights-Based Legal Protection Through Village Regulations and Bilateral Agreements. Journal of Southeast asian human rights, 9(1), 122–146. https://doi.org/10.19184/jseahr.v9i1.53034

Firnanda Haumahu, J., H.J. De Fretes, C., & Romulo Simanjuntak, T. (2023). Diplomatic protection efforts of the consulate general of the republic of Indonesia in Johor bahru for Indonesian migrant workers as the domestic helpers (PLRT) in 2018-2019. Arrus journal of Social sciences and humanities, 3(3), 335–347. https://doi.org/10.35877/soshum1839

Guna, A. A., & Astuti, D. (2026). The state's absence in protecting Indonesian migrant workers: An analysis of migrant worker exploitation and violence. Journal of Gender Equality Disability Social Inclusion and Children, 4(1). https://doi.org/10.61511/jgedsic.v4i1.2026.3236

Ibrahim, M., Dalimunthe, R., & Wulandari, P. (2025). Indonesian migrant workers in the framework of legal protection and business existence. Priviet Social Sciences Journal, 5(7), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.55942/pssj.v5i7.376

Irawati, I., Susanti, S., Wasistiono, S., & Broto, M. F. (2025). Early Detection Policies Prevent Non-Procedural Indonesian Migrant Workers. BESTUUR, 13(2), 130. https://doi.org/10.20961/bestuur.v13i2.107768

Ishak, A. M. (2025). Diplomasi Indonesia Dan Perlindungan Pekerja Migran di arab Saudi, 1975–1986. Forum for Social and Humanities Studies, 1(2), 54–66. https://doi.org/10.65741/fshs.v1i2.7

Izzati, N. (2019). New Direction of Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection through the Law Number 18 of 2017 and its Implementation Challenges. PADJADJARAN Jurnal Ilmu Hukum (Journal of Law), 06(01), 190–210. https://doi.org/10.22304/pjih.v6n1.a10

Joniansyah, & Setiawan, K. (2026, April 30). Imigrasi: Pekerja Migran Sumbang Devisa Rp 433 T pada 2025. Dalam Tempo. PT Tempo Inti Media. https://www.tempo.co/ekonomi/imigrasi-pekerja-migran-sumbang-devisa-rp-433-t-pada-2025-2132750

K, C., Syarief, E., & Tan, D. (2026). Regulatory Gaps and Legal Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers Proficient in Mandarin: A Review of Illegal Employment Practices. Jurnal Dusturiyah, 16(1), 2088–5363. https://doi.org/10.22373

KemenP2MI. (2026). Terjebak Kasus Scam di Kamboja, Warga Serang Akhirnya Dipulangkan. Kementerian Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia/Badan Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia. https://kp2mi.go.id/berita-detail/terjebak-kasus-scam-di-kamboja-warga-serang-akhirnya-dipulangkan

Khalid, H., & Savirah, A. (2022). Legal Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. Golden Ratio of Law and Social Policy Review, 1(2), 59–67. https://doi.org/10.52970/grlspr.v1i2.201

komnasham. (2025). Ringkasan Kebijakan Peningkatan Tata Kelola Dan Pelindungan Hak Pekerja Migran Indonesia Melalui Revisi Undang-Undang Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia. Dalam Komnasham. komnasham. https://dataham.komnasham.go.id/home/data_detail/32b30a250abd6331e03a8092a1f16466346?__cf_chl_tk=VOcex9qwSnPr5V.i.qROaqnd7g5bu4g1RaUKz2xYfQI-1785573956-1.0.1.1-d2ozrq1YfUp0Gx4bioYs13wyJrrN1IpY7t8vWLy6zRk

KP2MI. (2025). Data Penempatan dan Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia Periode Januari 2025 [Dataset]. https://kp2mi.go.id/statistik-detail/data-penempatan-dan-pelindungan-pekerja-migran-indonesia-periode-januari-2025

KP2MI. (2026a). Bongkar Penampungan Pekerja migran non prosedural di Bekasi, Polisi Amankan 7 CPMI tanpa paspor. Dalam KP2MI. KP2MI. https://kp2mi.go.id/index.php/berita-detail/bongkar-penampungan-pekerja-migran-non-prosedural-di-bekasi-polisi-amankan-7-cpmi-tanpa-paspor

kp2mi. (2026, Januari 5). Data Penempatan dan Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia Periode Januari—Desember 2025. Dalam KP2MI. Kementrian Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia. https://kp2mi.go.id/statistik-detail/data-penempatan-dan-pelindungan-pekerja-migran-indonesia-periode-januari-desember-2025

KP2MI. (2026b, Januari 5). Data Penempatan dan Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia Periode Januari—Desember 2025. Dalam KP2MI. KP2MI. https://kp2mi.go.id/statistik-detail/data-penempatan-dan-pelindungan-pekerja-migran-indonesia-periode-januari-desember-2025

Krasner, S. D. (2007). Structural Causes and Regime Consequences: Regimes as Intervening Variables (1982). Dalam B. A. Simmons & R. H. Steinberg (Ed.), International Law and International Relations (1 ed., hlm. 3–17). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511808760.004

Laikram, S., & Pathak, S. (2022). Ratification of ICRMW toward the ILO Conventions amid COVID-19 in Thailand. Emerging Science Journal, 6, 193–211. https://doi.org/10.28991/esj-2022-sper-014

Madiyya, D. T., & Kuswara, K. P. (2026). Legal Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers Abroad: A Review of Law No. 18 of 2017. Jurisprudensi: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah, Perundang-Undangan dan Ekonomi Islam, 18(1), 363–378. https://doi.org/10.32505/jurisprudensi.v18i1.12930

Marpi, Y. (2021). LEGAL PROTECTION OF MIGRANT WORKERS AGAINST THREATS OF ABUSE DISCRIMINATION IN A DIPLOMATIC RELATIONSHIP PERSPECTIVE BETWEEN COUNTRIES. Lampung Journal of International Law, 3(2), 111–120. https://doi.org/10.25041/lajil.v3i2.2366

Miralux. (2026, Mei 25). PMI di Hsinchu diduga alami pelecehan oleh pasien, dijanjikan bonus tambahan—Fokus Taiwan. Dalam 中央社 CNA. CNA Berita Bahasa Indonesia. https://indonesia.focustaiwan.tw/society/202605245001

Muhamad, N. (2026, Januari 15). Ada 2.849 Aduan Pekerja Migran Indonesia pada 2025, Ini Keluhannya. Dalam Katadata.co.id. Databoks. https://databoks.katadata.co.id/ketenagakerjaan/statistik/69674595779f8/ada-2849-aduan-pekerja-migran-indonesia-pada-2025-ini-keluhannya

Mulyanto, M., & Huda, M. (2025). Analisis Yuridis Perlindungan Hukum Pekerja Migran Indonesia Menurut Undang-Undang Nomor 18 Tahun 2017 Tentang Perlindungan PMI. Jurnal Riset Rumpun Ilmu Sosial, Politik dan Humaniora, 5(1), 44–55. https://doi.org/10.55606/jurrish.v5i1.6759

Muthia, A. A. (2020). Legal Protection for Illegal Migrant Domestic Workers under the ASEAN Regulations and its Implication for Indonesia. Indonesian Journal of International Law, 17(3). https://doi.org/10.17304/ijil.vol17.3.788

Nuraeny, H. (2023). Legal Protection Against Acts of Violence: Evidence from Indonesian Migrant Workers. Journal of Law and Sustainable Development. https://doi.org/10.55908/sdgs.v11i11.1844

Nurrakhmani, P. S. (2025, Juli 15). Kisah PMI Ilegal di Malaysia Jadi Catatan Penting. Dalam Portal Informasi Indonesia. Portal Informasi Indonesia. https://indonesia.go.id/kategori/editorial/9689/kisah-pmi-ilegal-di-malaysia-jadi-catatan-penting

OHCHR. (2025). In dialogue with Indonesia, experts of the Committee on migrant workers praise Law promoting Indonesian migrant workers' right to vote,

raise issues concerning unethical recruitment practices and online scam operations in south-east Asia. Dalam OHCHR. https://www.ohchr.org/en/meeting-summaries/2025/12/dialogue-indonesia-experts-committee-migrant-workers-praise-law-promoting

Pemerintah Indonesia. (2017). Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 18 Tahun 2017 tentang Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia. Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia.

Percy, S. V., & Sandholtz, W. (2022). Why norms rarely die. European Journal of International Relations, 28(4), 934–954. https://doi.org/10.1177/13540661221126018

Podungge, I., & Prasetyoningsih, N. (2025). of the Minister of Manpower No. 4 of. Masalah-Masalah Hukum, 54(3).

[Postingan]. (t.t.). [Postingan].

Pranoto, E., Arief, E., & Muawafah. (2025). Penguatan Kelembagaan dan Tata Kelola Pemerintahan dalam Pelindungan Hak Asasi Manusia Pekerja Migran Indonesia di Era Globalisasi (hlm. 1–14). Prosiding Seminar Hukum Aktual Fakultas Hukum Universitas Islam Indonesia.

Pratt, T. (2023). Value differentiation, policy change and cooperation in international regime complexes. Review of International Political Economy, 30(6), 2206–2232. https://doi.org/10.1080/09692290.2023.2262478

Probosambodo, Y. A., Josef Purwadi Setiodjati, & Ayu Kumala Sari Hamidi. (2025). Indonesian Migrant Workers: A Study of International Legal Protections and Their Relevance to SDGs Point 8. Journal Customary Law, 2(4), 1–10. https://doi.org/10.47134/jcl.v2i4.4866

Rifky, M. A., Dewi, A. U., & Darmawan, W. B. (2025). Procedural Formality, Substantive Reality: Evaluating Migrant Worker Protection in the Indonesia-Malaysia One Channel System (OCS). Dinasti International Journal of Education Management And Social Science, 7(1), 352–361. https://doi.org/10.38035/dijemss.v7i1.5475

Riso, N. (2025, November 20). Pilu PMI asal Temanggung: 21 Tahun Bekerja di Malaysia Tak Digaji dan Disiksa. Dalam Kumparan. Kumparan. https://kumparan.com/kumparannews/pilu-pmi-asal-temanggung-21-tahun-bekerja-di-malaysia-tak-digaji-dan-disiksa-26hntosults/full

Ruggie, J. G. (t.t.). International regimes, transactions, and change: Embedd-ed liberalism in the postwar economic order.

Salas, M., & Wardani, S. (2026). The Legal Politics of Protecting Migrant Workers' Human Rights: Policy Reorientation through the Revision of Law Number 18 of 2017. Jurisprudensi: Jurnal Ilmu Syariah, Perundang-Undangan dan Ekonomi Islam, 18(1), 198–215. https://doi.org/10.32505/jurisprudensi.v18i1.13687

Selamet, I. (2026, Juli). Gaji Besar Jadi Senjata Calo Gaet PMI Cianjur Masuk Perangkap Ilegal. Dalam Detikjabar. detikcom. https://www.detik.com/jabar/berita/d-8555452/gaji-besar-jadi-senjata-calo-gaet-pmi-cianjur-masuk-perangkap-ilegal

Shavanita. (2024). Protection of Migrant Workers: A Study of International and Indonesian Law. Jurnal Pengembangan Ketenagakerjaan, 2(2). https://doi.org/10.59574/jpk.v2i2.109

Sundary, R. I., & Muslikhah, U. (2024). State Responsibility in Protecting Indonesian Migrant Workers as Fulfillment of Human Rights. Jurnal Ius Constituendum, 9(3), 428–445. https://doi.org/10.26623/jic.v9i3.9183

Talesh, S. A. (2021). Constructing the Content and Meaning of Law and Compliance. Dalam B. Van Rooij & D. D. Sokol (Ed.), The Cambridge Handbook of Compliance (1 ed., hlm. 63–80). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108759458.006

Tereshchenko, O. (2022). CURRENCY MARKET AND MECHANISMS OF ITS REGULATION IN THE SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC SECURITY OF THE STATE. Three Seas Economic Journal, 3(1), 182–188. https://doi.org/10.30525/2661-5150/2022-1-26

Turnip, A., Surbakti, A., Br Pandia, J., Harahap, R., Wardana, S., & Tanjung, I. U. (2024). Legal protection for Indonesian workers in various countries Adenpati. Journal of Law Science, 6(3), 471–476. https://doi.org/10.35335/jls.v6i3.5303

United Nations. (1990). International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (General Assembly Resolution 45/158). United Nations.

Weatherburn, A. (2026). Migrant worker victimisation: EU labour migration law and structural injustice. International review of Victimology. https://doi.org/10.1177/02697580261444757

BIOGRAPHIES

Ferdian Ahya Al Putra, is a lecturer in the International Relations department at Universitas Sebelas Maret. He finished his master's degree in the Master of International Relations department at Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM) as an awardee of the LPDP scholarship provided by the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Indonesia. He has been involved in various research related to International Relations, especially in the study of development and international cooperation.

Nisryna Lintang Aenuna, is an International Relations student at Sebelas Maret University. She is active in public speaking activities such as radio and hosting. She also has an interest in academic research in contemporary issues and foreign policy analysis. Lintang has published a journal article in the field of gender studies entitled "The Influence of Shalwar Kameez and the Hashtag #DoNotTouchMyClothes as Symbols of Digital Feminism in Afghanistan.

Zayyana Muchsina Sofyatin Najwa, is an International Relations student at Sebelas Maret University. She is interested in participating in several academic competitions and writing scientific articles. Her research interests focus on Southeast Asian studies, with an emphasis on regional political economy and issues such as labor, migrants, women, and children.

RESEARCH FUNDING

This research is funded by the Security, Conflict, and Peace Studies Research Group through 2026 fiscal year issued by the Institute for Research and Community Service (LPPM), Sebelas Maret University with contract number 462/UN27.22/PT.01.03/2026