

# Feminization of migration: Redistribution of village government powers and resources to protect women migrant workers

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## Abstract

Law Number 18 of 2017 has significantly expanded the role of village governments in protecting migrant workers, specifically by focusing on the social and economic empowerment of Indonesian migrant workers. Within Tulungagung District, two villages – Sukorejo Wetan and Tanen – have already established Task Forces for the Prevention and Handling of Violence Against Women Migrant Workers and Laws on the Elimination of Human Trafficking. This research, conducted in these villages, aims to achieve three objectives. Firstly, it seeks to identify the actors involved in protecting women migrant workers and understand the relationships between them. Secondly, it aims to describe the accessibility and role of migrant and post-migrant women's groups in protecting women migrant workers. Finally, it aims to explore the existence of profeminist policies in this context. Using a feminist research methodology, the study employs qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews and document studies. The findings highlight an asymmetric collaboration between civil society groups and the village government, with civil society dominating the formation and implementation of activities by the Officer Unit (Satgas). This asymmetry is intertwined with the absence of resource redistribution from the village government, particularly in terms of budget allocation.

**Keywords:** feminization of migration, women migrant workers, village government, profeminist policies

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## 1. Introduction

Sending and placing Indonesian Migrant Workers (Pekerja Migran Indonesia/PMI), always

shows the fact of gender gap. This imbalance is not solely caused by the unequal composition of male and female PMI, because male and female PMI suffer from different problems as well. Fol-

low-up issues experienced by female PMIs are more complex than those experienced by men, such as gender-based violence, fraud, criminalization, human trafficking, and death. (Komnas Perempuan, 2021) notes that this gap is caused by labor migration which tends to be business oriented, thus ignoring the interests of the main subject, namely migrant workers.

Recent studies confirm this statement. The number of female migrants in October 2022 was 14,238 (59%), while the number of male migrants was 9,850 (41%) (Katadata, 2022). The large number of migrant women also indicates the large number of their contribution through remittances. In contrast, it is important to note the facts of the gender gap, beginning with the background of the departure of PMI women to the circumstances in which they have found themselves.

Globally, women’s migration is caused by unemployment and poverty, of which one caused by the green revolution (Ayu et al., 2021; Malamassam, 2014; Jolly et al., 2005). In various parts of the world, the green revolution has marked women’s migration, this is also the case in the Indonesian context. In this case, (Fakih, 1996), explains that the green revolution has systematically marginalized and impoverished women. One of the reasons is because rice is a type of superior seed that grows lower, so that women’s skills in using *ani-ani* during harvest are eliminated.

However, the reasons for women’s migration are actually no single, they are driven by a

combination of many factors such as poverty, unemployment, socio-cultural and gender barriers, wanting to be separated from personal problems, including the desire to ensure family survival (Martiany, 2016).

The large number of women who migrate can be seen as their strategy to deal with poverty and powerlessness in their place of origin. The relationship between poverty and women’s migration is noted by (Gouws, 2016) as the phenomenon known as the “feminization of migration” refers to women migrating alone, often associated with the feminization of poverty. This connection arises from the escalating impoverishment of women and children in certain developing nations, particularly in sub-Saharan Africa, caused by significant economic instability.

According to this assertion and the previously described research findings, the feminization of migration and the feminization of poverty are related. The type of poverty in question is structural, meaning that women are systematically impoverished. Feminization of poverty which includes low education and a lack of skills, keeps many migrant women workers trapped in employment that are simply domestic work extensions. Particularly in the household sector, where domestic workers (Indonesian Pekerja Rumah Tangga/PRT) are predominately women.

Even when women work as migratory workers, the gender disparity persists. The intricacy of migrant women’s difficulties develops from recruiting to post-migration issues, up-

**Table 1.** Case support considering gender

Year	Male	Female	Total
2012	83	96	179
2013	108	115	223
2014	51	78	129
2015	54	91	145
2016	121	104	225
2017	49	246	295
2018	74	104	178
Total	589	1.113	1.702
%	34.6	65.4	100%

Source: Statistic Data (Migrant Care, 2019)

stream to downstream. Various studies highlight the issues faced by migrant women, including the recruitment process (legal or illegal), housing, debt burden, salary, long working hours, health services, leave, violence, and integration issues after they return from migration (Husna, 2014; Muthia, 2020; Rahmawati et al., 2018; Sitepu, 2011; Syamsuddin & Utomo, 2016). Therefore, it is crucial to safeguard female PMI. According to Migran Care (2019), there is a disparity in the number of cases handled for migrant workers who are male and female.

The existence of a gender gap in the migration phenomenon should place women to be more counted in policies regarding migrant workers. On the other hand, policies in Indonesia from one president to the next do not always safeguard migrant workers in general and female migrant workers in particular. During the Soeharto to Megawati eras, the absence of a policy to protect migrant workers opened up space for the high rates of abuse and harassment faced by women migrant workers.

Likewise, during the time of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY), the issuance of Law no. 39 of 2004 concerning the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers Overseas (PPTKLIN). As a note, this law emphasizes placement rather than PMI protection. Therefore, the presence of this law is not effective in lowering the prevalence of violence against PMI, particularly against women (Ayu et al., 2021).

In addition, Law No. 18 of 2017 Concerning Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers was passed under Joko Widodo's administration. The establishment of social security and the existence of penalties for breaking the law seem to indicate that the concept of protection has become more prominent in the law. The role of the government is also strengthened through the provision of services and protection for migrant workers carried out by the central and regional governments through the One Stop Integrated Service (*Layanan Terpadu Satu Atap*).

Furthermore, an elucidating provision absent in the earlier law (Law number 39 of 2004) now explicitly incorporates the values of gender

equality and fairness, along with the preservation of PMI. According to this statement, the principle of gender equality and justice refers to a scenario where women and men possess equal status and enjoy identical opportunities to fully realize their human rights and potential while working abroad.

As a side note, the law has not yet been put into operation because there are no implementing regulations and still uses old rules, therefore the protection for migrant workers is ineffectual (Ayu et al., 2021). In addition to the lack of implementing regulations, efforts to protect PMI have also stagnated (or even regressed) as a result of the passage of Law 11 of 2020 regarding job creation, which changes several points of protection in Law 18 of 2017. The job creation law contains at least 4 (four) modification articles and 1 (one) additional article pertaining to the protection of migrant workers. The major areas of change concern the creation and extension of licenses for Indonesian Migrant Worker Placement Companies (P3MI). Even while P3MI plays a significant role in preventing PMI from leaving in an illegal or irregular manner, the goal of this amendment is to make it easier for P3MI to obtain a permit to operate and to extend an existing permit. The protection of migrant workers, particularly women workers, is undoubtedly very susceptible to being threatened by the withdrawal of the Minister's authorization for the establishment of P3MI (Human Rights Working Group., 2011).

Three crucial aspects need consideration concerning the content of Law No. 18 of 2017 and Law No. 11 of 2020 in relation to this research topic. Firstly, although the protection component has been bolstered, its implementation has been marred by various challenges, leading to a lack of success. Secondly, the gender component, focused on women's protection, poses a significant concern as the regulations heavily prioritize safety. Lastly, the law also wields authority over the village government, acting as a delivery system upstream of the local government.

Regarding the third issue, the village government has been given a number of legal authori-

ties by Law No. 18 of 2017. Considering its position as the lowest government and its optimal knowledge of the populace, social difficulties, and vulnerabilities encountered by the locals, the village government does play a significant role. The village government's duty in protecting PMI candidates during the licensing procedure is defined by the legislation.

Research on the protection of migrant workers by the village government in the rural context, which is the subject of this study, remains severely limited. Among the scarcity of research focusing on village governance, only one study conducted by Ardhanariswari et al. (2018) was found. The primary focus of this study revolves around the drafting of village regulations (Perdes) aimed at ensuring the secure protection of migrant workers, benefiting both the workers themselves and the families they leave behind.

Given the significant research gap in this area, this study will focus on the redistribution of authority and resources within the village administration to ensure the protection of migrant women workers. In this context, the village government's acknowledgment of potential PMIs, current PMIs, and retired PMI women is intertwined with power dynamics and available resources. This recognition will be utilized to investigate how rules, the establishment of community groups, and the utilization of the village budget (APB *Desa*) by the village administration contribute to the implementation of gender-responsive policies that promote the professional advancement of migrant women.

Tulungagung Regency has earned its reputation as one of the leading sources of PMI in East Java Province, alongside Blitar, Kediri, and Madiun. This prominence led to the selection of Tulungagung as the location for this study (Romdiati, 2012). Moreover, from 2003 to 2005, Tulungagung district held the distinction of being East Java's top sender of PMI (Zaqiyah, 2017). Noveria (2017) notes that historically, Tulungagung Regency primarily dispatched TKI to Malaysia as their preferred destination. However, over time, Singapore, Taiwan, and Hong

Kong also emerged as additional destinations for Indonesian migrant workers.

Data from the Indonesian Central Statistics Agency (BPS) reveals that the number of Indonesian migrant workers saw fluctuations during the years 2019 to 2021. In 2019, 4021 migrants departed the country, followed by 923 in 2020, and 1001 in 2021. The Covid-19 outbreak caused a significant impact, resulting in job losses and a decline in the number of migrant workers.

Currently, the task force for the Prevention and Handling of Violence against Women Migrant Workers and TIP (hence referred to as the task force) already exists in two villages in the Tulungagung district: Sukorejo Village and Tanen Village. The existence of a civil society organization (CSO) was the catalyst for the task force's protection mission, which in turn sparked cooperation between the village government and these CSOs. Along with the beginning of bottom-up activities in the two villages, the task force's formation also signaled the presence of a cooperative partnership between CSOs and the village government in the fight to protect women migrant workers.

To ensure the protection of women migrant workers in Sukorejo Village and Tanen Village, Tulungagung District, this study initially focuses on identifying the involved actors and the dynamics of their relationships. Additionally, it aims to determine the scope and role of associations for migrant and former migrant women, which play a crucial role in safeguarding their rights in the area. Furthermore, the third paragraph elaborates on the implementation of pro-feminist policies specifically designed to protect migrant women workers in Sukorejo Village and Tanen Village within Tulungagung Regency.

## 2. Literature Review

The gender wage gap and the condition of migrant women in the global labor market are strongly intertwined. Women frequently work in low-paying, unstable jobs that are primarily domestic in nature. The social category of woman,

however, does not exist in a vacuum since it is related to the status of women as members of particular racial, ethnic, socio-economic, and national groups. These factors influence how vulnerable women are to exploitation by ultimately placing them at the bottom of the highly divided labor market. As a result, female migrant workers bear the brunt of inequality, particularly those employed in the domestic sector (Henderson, 2021).

According to a review of the literature, particularly journals, there are a number of research trends that center on discussing migrant women. The first of these trends is articles that analyze the causes or history of women's migration overseas. The topics covered in this collection of essays range from family and poverty-related issues to larger structural ones like the green revolution (Ayu et al., 2021; Malamassam, 2014; Martiany, 2016; Jolly et al., 2005). Second, articles on the role or policies of the state in the service and protection of migrant women. This group of articles discusses how the state takes sides with migrant women (Kustanto, 2019; Natalis & Ispriyarso, 2018; Nola, 2020; Sugianto, 2021). Apart from that, there is also a little research on the sub-optimal role of local government in Indonesia (Rahayu, 2012; Rahayu & Abheseka, 2020). Third, the study conducted by Ardhanariswari et al. (2018), Sulistiyo & Wahyuni, (2014), Dewandaru & Sya'idah (2019), Risnawati & Tridakusumah (2020), and Yazid (2018) on the significant contributions of women migrants, particularly focusing on remittances and their management. Fourth, a compilation of articles addresses the various challenges faced by migrant women. These challenges encompass a wide range of protection-related topics, including migrant status (legal or illegal), health issues, post-migration difficulties, and more. Fifth, studies on the empowerment of post-migrant women have provided valuable insights into the emergence of collective actions to address these challenges. Significant contributions have been made by researchers such as Sitepu (2011), Husna (2014), Syamsuddin & Utomo (2016), and Muthia (2020).

Sixth, a body of research examines the impact of women's migration on the families they leave behind. Articles on this subject display relative diversity, depending on the focus of the study, whether it is children, husbands, or the entire family unit. Numerous articles investigate the effects of women's migration on all family members (Antman, 2013; Rai & Dangal, 2021; Sapkota, 2020), while a substantial number specifically highlight the impact on children left behind (Malamassam, 2014; Opekin & Jayasuriya, 2015; Zhao, 2018). Furthermore, although not as extensive as the previous two groups, some articles specifically delve into the experiences of abandoned husbands (Pallikadavath et al., 2016; Lam & Yeoh, 2018).

Apart from highlighting some good benefits on women's migration, Apatinga's study in Ghana (Apatinga et al., 2022) also discusses the negative repercussions of women's movement over the short and long terms, such as refunds, marital instability, and effects on children's subjective well-being. Therefore, there are several cases in many different countries, including Indonesia, discussing the danger of divorce as a result of women's relocation.

The research groups mentioned above support the idea that women and men migrant workers exhibit diverse movement behaviors, encounter various possibilities, and go through various risks and difficulties. The migration system in Indonesia still presents numerous difficulties for female migrant workers, it is a truth. As a result, the idea of feminizing migration becomes crucial. The idea of feminization can be used to understand the disparity between male and female migrants in the area of labor migration (Tittensor & Mansouri, 2017)

With regard to the feminization of migration, Gouws (2016) research states that the migration of women independent of men is called the feminization of migration, that the aspect of women's independence in migration is the focus of this concept. In addition, Gouws also noted that the reasons for women's migration must be understood in the larger context of economic glo-

balization, which has a different impact on developed countries than developing countries, as well as causing the formation of transnational migration patterns in which people develop hybrid identities that move between countries.

As a result of neoliberal economic policies, the work force is becoming more female, which is a phenomenon similar to the process of deregulation and labor market flexibility. The next condition has varied effects on males and women. Additionally, the feminization of migration is linked to poor working circumstances, which in turn encourages more migration by women and feeds the feminization of poverty.

The feminization of migration historically refers to the phenomena of a high number of women traveling from underdeveloped countries in Asia to the gulf area and to industrial countries, where they primarily work as domestic servants, as noted by Malamassam (2014). The feminization of migration in the next time goes beyond just the causes or motivations for women to travel. However, the threat that the entire migration system poses to the fate of women can be understood as a general indicator of the feminization of migration (Martiany, 2016).

### 3. Research Method

This paper was produced using qualitative research. This strategy was chosen because it is thought to be the most effective at eliciting understanding of the fundamental factors influencing sociopolitical situations. Simply put, this research requires a specific approach that is gender sensitive and conscientious, whereby participants in qualitative research become tools for the study itself in addition to gaining a comprehensive picture.

The feminist methodology employs qualitative methods. Because of this, this study adopts a "feminist perspective" that aims to shed light on women's experiences and gender relations from a female perspective. According to Goel & Willsher, (2016), "feminist research puts women at the center of the research inquiry by drawing

on the struggles and in-sights of oppressed and disempowered groups, in particular, women." According to feminist research, it takes sides, then weighs many aspects of women's emotions and experiences, and finally looks for ways to improve circumstances that are unfavorable to women.

In-depth interviews are used as the study's primary data gathering method, while document studies are used as the study's secondary data collection method. Interviews are utilized to investigate and discover informants' thoughts about the issues in this research based on their points of view. The Tulungagung Regency Manpower Office representatives, the Director of Kalyanamitra, the Village Heads in each village, the SBMI facilitators in both villages, and task force representatives from both villages were all used as informants for this study.

In the document study, this research focuses on examining documents that belong to the village government and civil society organizations involved, such as Village Head Decrees, Village Development Index (IDM) reports, Village Revenue and Expenditure Budgets (APB *Desa*), drafts of Draft Village Regulations (Raperdes), and so forth.

In general, qualitative data analysis approaches involve reducing or condensing data in accordance with study objectives, showing it so that the data is organized or arranged in a comprehensible pattern of relationships, as well as deriving findings and confirming them. In qualitative research, the researcher acts as an analytical tool for the data collected. In order to establish meaning that enables the creation of new questions and new data requirements, the stages of analysis are therefore not rigidly followed in this research but are instead carried out starting with data collection.

### 4. Results and Discussion

Several aspects of this research, which is being conducted in Tanen Village and Sukorejo Wetan Village, Rejotangan District in Tulungagung Regency, will be examined. These aspects

include the actors involved and the relationships between actors in efforts to protect women migrant workers; accessibility and the role of migrant and post-migrant women's groups in these efforts; and the presence of professional policies in those efforts.

Consequently, the focus of this study is on women and their protection. The inclusion of women and women's viewpoints is crucial in the context of development because women make up half of the world's population, including half of Indonesia's. However, it is also important to take into account the interests of women's groups, which differ from those of other groups, while integrating women into development.

The idea of gender mainstreaming, also known in Indonesia as *Pengarusutamaan Gender* (PUG), is one that the United Nations particularly uses to describe the inclusion of women in development (and politics). Governments and other actors should support an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective into all policies and programs so that, before decisions are made, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively (UN Women, 1995). This was stated in the Platform for Action that came out of the Fourth International Women's Conference in Beijing in 1995. The statement makes it clear that all actors, but particularly the government, are involved in gender mainstreaming.

The government has acknowledged through Law No. 18 of 2017 that there are gender considerations in arrangements on the protection of migrant workers in response to the query of whether PUG also applies to measures to protect women migrant workers in Indonesia. Gender equality and justice are listed as one of the principles of protecting migrant workers in Article 2 of the Law. This idea applies to circumstances or situations in which women and men have equal standing and the same opportunities to exercise their human rights and pursue careers overseas.

In addition to Article 2, which deals with justice, Article 34 on social protection also addresses

gender equality. According to this article, social protection for PMI or PMI candidates must be provided by the national government and regional governments, including among other things through a women's and children's protection policy. These two articles suggest that national level rules and regulations have begun to take into account the requirements and interests of women migrant workers.

PUG's dedication is obviously dependent on more than just the existence or lack of regulations, from implementation to policy review. PUG is represented on a national level by the idea of gender-responsive planning and budgeting (PPRG). According to Fithriyah (2017), the preparation technique of the PPRG (Project Performance Report for Gender) involves three stages: the Gender Analysis Pathway (GAP), the Gender Budget Statement (GBS), and the integration of the GAP and GBS results into the Activity Terms of Reference (KAK/TOR) and Work Plan and Budget (RKA).

At the village level, achieving the goal of gender equality within the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is of utmost importance. Furthermore, the Presidential Regulation on the PUG National Strategy emphasizes the crucial role of villages in fostering gender equality, mandating the implementation of gender-responsive Village Medium-Term Development Plans (RPJM *Desa*).

Regarding the study's location, it is in Tulungagung Regency's Tanen Village and Sukorejo Wetan Village. Task forces for the Prevention and Handling of Violence against Women Migrant Workers and TIP have been established in two villages. According to the Kalyanamitra Foundation, the task force was established in order to serve as a resource for information and consultation for the local community as well as to assist in gathering data on the number of PMI in each village. For peasant migrant laborers (particularly women), a consultation space is made available. To ensure that, should they want to migrate, they are secure to do so and to return home.

The study's location is in Tanen Village and Sukorejo Wetan Village in Tulungagung Regency. In both villages, task forces for the Prevention and Handling of Violence against Women Migrant Workers and Trafficking in Persons (TIP) have been established. The Kalyanamitra Foundation reports that these task forces serve as valuable resources for information and consultation within the local community. They also play a crucial role in gathering data on the number of PMI (Indonesian Migrant Workers) in each village. These task forces provide a consultation space specifically for peasant migrant laborers, particularly women, with the aim of ensuring their safety and security both during their migration and upon their return home.

This objective is directly related to the actions done to increase the representation of women's opinions in the task force. One of the initiatives began with the task force's membership, which was predominately made up of women. There are 10 administrators in Tanen Village, including 3 (three) men and 7 (seven) women. In contrast, there are 10 administrators in Sukorejo Wetan Village, with a ratio of 4 (four) men to 6 (six) women.

The task force's development paid attention to the representation of various groups, such as village authorities, religious leaders, youth leaders, and previous migrants, in addition to the composition of women. As a point of interest, men were assigned the strategic position of leading the Task Force even though women made up the majority of its organization in the two communities.

In the collaboration between civil society organizations and the village administration, it is also crucial to keep in mind that neither village government took the initiative to create the task force in the two communities. With support from UN Women, the task force was solely established by civil society organizations, in this case Kalyanamitra, which is based in Jakarta. In reality, Kalyanamitra, the program's coordinator, collaborates with another group—the Indonesian Migrant Workers' Union (SBMI) of Tulungagung

Regency during training exercises and the creation of a task force.

Fundamentally, it seems that the roles of civil society organizations (Kalyanamitra and SBMI) and the government in the two villages have not been balanced, both during the formation and implementation of the task force. These facts can be used to infer this. (1) that the Indonesian Migrant Workers' Union (SBMI) collaborates with other civil society organizations to establish the task force; (2) that the Kalyanamitra Foundation took the initiative to form the task force and received funding support from UN Women; (3) that the task force was formed by organizing trainings for village residents who were chosen and selected by Kalyanamitra and SBMI; (4) from all the training participants, nine people were selected who were also selected by Kalyanamitra and SBMI to become the task force; (5) The task force does not get access to village-level decision-making, including access to the village budget; (6) until the field research is carried out, each task force under the supervision of Kalyanamitra and SBMI draws up a draft Raperdes on the protection of migrant workers.

According to the previously given points, as opposed to village government players, civil society group actors primarily play the role of PMI protection in the two communities. The task force's formation and the activities budget support, the majority of which comes from Kalyanamitra, are just two examples of how their relationship even appears lopsided.

In fact, there is a gender discrepancy evident if you look at the circumstances in the two communities. According to the Developing Village Index (IDM), the two villages are still considered to be in the developing category from 2019 to 2022, which is a relatively low status compared to the maximum status, which is an independent village (Kemendesa, 2022). According to information from village profiles, there are over 3,900 individuals living in each village, with men making up more than women in 60% of Sukorejo Wetan's male residents and 52% of Tanen Village's male residents, respectively.

According to population data, female family heads account for 17.5% of households in Tanen Village and 15.9% in Sukorejo Wetan Village, respectively. Tanen Village has a poverty rate of 22.9%, whereas Sukorejo Wetan Village has a poverty rate of 55.6%, or more than half the population.

According to information provided by IDM Tanen Village and Sukorejo Wetan Village, the two villages' residents mostly support themselves through farming and self-employment (Kemendesa, 2022). Table 2 presents information on migrant workers from Tanen and Sukorejo villages.

**Table 2.** Number of migrant workers

Year	Tanen Village	Sukorejo Village
2019	29	75
2020	9	15
2021	2	20

The number of migrants from the two villages broken down by sex was not available to the author. On the one hand, this undoubtedly demonstrates how poorly the local authority views gender. Despite the lack of disaggregated statistics, it appears that there has been a decline in the number of migrant workers over the past three years based on information on the number of workers in the two villages. The Covid-19 pandemic has decreased the number of migrant workers globally, which has resulted in the closing of inter-national borders as the primary cause of the drop in this number. For the record, however, SBMI representatives from the Tulugagung Regency stated in interviews that these data did not accurately reflect the figures, taking into account that the border closure on the other hand also increased the number of migrant workers who departed illegally or non-procedurally, where the majority of these illegal migrants were women.

Migrant Care discovered a brand-new vulnerability for migrant workers from Indonesia during the epidemic, specifically exposure to Covid-19. In addition to exposing them, the pandemic scenario has also negative impacted the majority of the labor performed by migrant work-

ers due to their restricted mobility as a result of border closures (Migran Care, 2019).

As many as 8.5 million migratory women lost their jobs during the pandemic. Women sent fewer remittances as a result of the economic crisis, making the dependent families' vulnerability worse. People with PMI who continue to work in the home and in healthcare are frequently positioned at the forefront of healthcare. Additionally, they frequently sign "unsafe" contracts that carry a higher risk of power abuse and leave them open to exploitation (IOM, 2020; UN Women, 2020).

The pandemic situation has therefore further strengthened the issues of gendered migrant workers, including by providing new challenges that are different from those previously faced by women, in addition to the migration background and the long-standing difficulties faced by female migrant workers due to the influence of patriarchal values. Due to limitations on the amount of migrants permitted during the epidemic, residents have been urged to migrate illegally or outside of the prescribed procedures, making it more difficult for the government to protect migrant labor (Noveria & Romdiati, 2022).

Similar events occurred in two communities, where there were still reports of PMI fleeing the country illegally while using brokers' services. Fundamentally, the presence of brokers in Indonesia, notably in Tulungagung district, has grown to be a significant barrier to the protection of migrant workers. The issue is that due of their unlawful status, their departure frequently results in additional issues that are difficult for the government to address, such as non-payment of wages, inappropriate wages, sexual harassment, and so on.

Regarding the gender disparity in the two villages, the informant added that there is an imbalance in the PMI population, with more migrant women than men. Despite the fact that jobs in the domestic and informal sectors are more easily accessible and in demand, respectively. In order to help their families out of poverty, women frequently decide to work as migrant workers.

Many of them stay in the migration cycle until their social or physical circumstances (marriage or taking care of their parents) force them to stop working as migrant laborers. As a result, even though migrant workers of both genders encounter a variety of issues, PMI women have unique experiences that set them apart from PMI males.

In addition, the fact emerged that in two villages the majority of male migrants worked in the construction labor sector, while the majority of women worked in the domestic or non-formal sector. So the migrant work sector here, is confirmed to be one aspect that is gendered. In this regard, Raharto & Noveria (2012) noted that there are indeed much greater job opportunities open to women, especially for jobs in the non-formal sector in the household such as household assistants, baby-sitters and parents' caretakers with lower wages relatively low.

The high rate of divorces for migrant women—one of which was brought on by their husband's extramarital affair in their home country—also became an issue in the two villages. Previous studies on abandoned families have emphasized a variety of problems involving kids and husbands who have left their households. Children's development is significantly impacted when moms migrate, according to Malamassam (2014). While some husbands may be able to take over the mother's duties in the home, there are several draw-backs to wife migration, including loneliness, high stress levels, divorce, and infidelity (Pallikadavath et al., 2016). This definition suggests that gender differences affect practically every element of migrant workers' lives. The idea of feminizing migration is crucial in order to highlight concerns that are gendered in many facets of migration, as well as migration patterns and the contributions made by migrant women through remittances.

Unfortunately, the gender gap that manifested itself in the two communities has not been brought up to the village authority. Politically speaking, Tanen Village is headed by a male village head, while Sukorejo Wetan Village is headed by a female village head. The proposal to create a

task force was not rejected or forbade by the two village governments. However, neither during the creation nor execution of the task force actions did the governments in the two villages offer enough support. This is clear from a certain part of the financing and the effort to establish village regulations in two villages coming from Kalyanamitra, without any meaningful involvement from the local government.

The two villages' village head leaderships were largely unresponsive to the difficulties facing PMI women. Even in villages with female village heads, this occurred. In the two communities, gender sensitivity and gender mainstreaming practices (PUG) have not been observed. Sukorejo Wetan Village, which is headed by a woman and has made greater strides than Tanen Village, has allowed one of the village hall chambers to function as the task force office (although in actuality it is used as a shared office). PPRG has not yet been implemented, and it appears that accommodating the needs of women and immigrant women is not the best option. This can be evident from a variety of factors, including the absence of gender-disaggregated statistics and village laws that are especially designed to protect women in the community.

Therefore, in this research, in analyzing women's involvement in politics, two perspectives are involved. First, the point of view that sees women as a social category or group. Second, the point of view that sees women not only as a social category but seen from how feminine or masculine values are practiced. Through the second point of view, this research departs from the opinion (Shiva, 1997), in his book "Free from Development". Shiva revealed that the principle of femininity is the sustenance perspective, namely the principle needed by a life characterized by peace, safety, compassion and togetherness. Whereas masculinity has characteristics such as competition, domination, exploitation and also oppression. For Shiva, the principles of femininity are not a privilege that women have, nor is masculinity a characteristic that only men have.

Through Shiva's explanation, an understanding can be drawn as to why women leaders are "not always" able to side with the needs or interests of women. This is especially influenced, because masculinity which is the main value of patriarchy can also be owned and practiced by women.

Based on interview results, for Kalyanamitra, although not led by a female village head, the best practices for the formation and implementation of task force activities actually came from two villages in Lampung, because the village heads were supportive of task force activities. In the two villages, they were also relatively progressive in integrating the task force's work processes into their respective village administrations.

Fundamentally in the political context, the protection of migrant workers is the responsibility of the government, including the village government. One important concept is "safe migration", which is a migration procedure that reduces vulnerabilities and strengthens PMI's access to protection and rights. This concept is contained in UN Convention No. 1990 concerning the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families).

As one of the ratifying nations, Indonesia's protection for PMI in Law No. 18 of 2017 places the village government as one of the elements to realize protection for women who are PMI and or PMI candidates, in addition to the central government and regional governments being responsible for the protection of women migrant workers.

According to Law No. 18/2017, the village government is the level of government with the power to make decisions about PMI management. Of course, in this context, the village head and local officials are referred to as the village government. Article 42 of Law No. 18 of 2017 outlines the responsibilities and duties of the Village Government in this regard, including: (a) Receiv-

ing and providing information and requests for work from organizations that handle government affairs in the field of employment; (b) Verifying data and recording PMI candidates; (c) Facilitating the fulfillment of the population administration requirements for PMI candidates; (d) Monitoring PMI departures and returns; and (e) Empowering prospective PMI, PMI, and their families.

The village government's tasks and obligations so cover the entire migration process, from departure through reintegration. In actuality, the required protection extends to the families of PMI as well as PMI candidates. Regarding the information service points, departure and return monitoring sites, and empowerment stations for migrant workers and their families that are mentioned in Article 42 letters a, d, and e. Due to the village government's propensity for passivity and lack of effort, these three points in the two villages are comparatively ineffectual. This is clear from the lack of activity planning in the development planning documents for carrying out these commitments and tasks. One of them works in the empowerment sector, where the two village governments do not pay attention to former migrants.

The data verification and recording of PMI candidates under article 42 letter b. The village government's role in this study, which ended with the recording aspect without any additional responsibilities like consultation or inspection to take a closer look at the economic circumstances, family circumstances, and/or vulnerabilities that the permit requester might have, was regrettable according to the informants. The task force therefore assumed the consultation duty that had not been performed by the village government.

Still related to the implementation of article 42 letter b, the findings of this study indicate that the government in the two villages already has a database of migratory residents, but it is relatively difficult to provide answers to questions regarding how many people migrate per year, what is the composition of the migratory population based on gender, to which country the population is

migrating, and so on. Moreover, the existing data is data on residents who have migrated legally, while residents who have migrated non-procedurally are not a concern.

Whereas in letter c, namely facilitating the administrative requirements of PMI candidates, this relates to one of the important tasks of the village government where PMI candidates must obtain a recommendation from the Office of Manpower and Transmigration, which is written based on a statement or permit signed by the Village Head. By signing the letter, it is only natural for the village government to have data related to migrating villagers. It is not limited to the number of citizens migrating, but ideally data is based on gender, data on PTs that sent them, the contract period, as well as data on the destination countries of prospective migrant workers.



Figure 2. Town head Permi

Based on Figure 2, it appears that the two villages have exercised their authority and obligations in issuing certificates or permits. In connection with the issuance of the letter, no obstacles were found. The process of making a permit involves a brief interview simply to ensure the va-

lidity of the prospective migrant’s data. Thus, the village government is less involved in ensuring that prospective migrant workers really understand safe migration procedures and the types of problems that might occur.

So in practice, efforts to protect prospective PMI, PMI and their families are very limited in implementation by the village government. This in turn provides a relatively large space for the task force, and ideally it can be effective if it gets support not only from civil society groups such as kalyanamitra and SBMI, but also support from the village government.

Although the task forces were established in the Tanen and Sukorejo Wetan villages in 2020, they didn’t formally get a village head’s order until 2021. In reality, the two local governments offered very little assistance. This is evident from the task force’s actions, which are not supported by a budget from the APB *Desa*. The task force already has an office in Sukorejo Village’s Village Hall, but Kalyanamitra receives financing from UN Women to cover the cost of the task force’s office supplies like printers, PCs, and other equipment. The Village Income and Expenditure Budget (APB *Desa*) for the two villages is shown in the Table 3.

According to the information in Table 3, it appears that in the two villages, the sector responsible for managing village government spends the most money, followed by the sector responsible for development. The empowerment and coaching sectors, which are two areas directly associated to villagers, do not receive an adequate amount of funding. The APB *Desa* membership indirectly demonstrates how the hamlet is con-

Table 3. Village revenue and expenditure budgets of Sukorejo Wetan and Tanen in 2022

Sector (2022)	Sukorejo Wetan (Rp)	Tanen (Rp)
Village Government Implementation	745,210,078	807,198,035
Implementation of Village Development	587,402,600	533,230,900
Village Community Empowerment	45,835,500	29,275,850
Village Community Development	108,815,900	5,468,750
Disaster Management, Emergencies and Village Emergencies	469,305,000	427,485,500
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,956,569,078</b>	<b>1,802,659,035</b>

cerned about PMI issues. Other assistance for PMI concerns by the Village Government may actually be observed in the provision of amenities and infrastructure, outside from the areas of development and empowerment. In two villages, this support was minimally demonstrated. It is accurate to say that the task force in Sukorejo Village has an office in the village hall, however this office is actually a multipurpose space that, in the informant's testimony, can be utilized for a variety of different activities. The task force headquarters in Tanen Village, meantime, is currently housed in a home owned by a member of the task force due to the restricted space at the village hall.

Not only is policy support deemed to be subpar, but funding support from the village government is also lacking. Only the SK Formation of the task force has been observed from the village government thus far, but the task force's presence with the village head's decree does not necessarily make it a true partner of the village government. The task force was never officially invited to participate in the Village Deliberation (Musdes) or the Village Development Planning Deliberation (Musrenbangdes), which is clear evidence of this. When measuring gender equality using PUG indicators, the effects of the task force's presence in the two villages may be seen in the following Table 4.

The task force, with the assistance of Kalyanamitra and SBMI, continues to work to transfer the authority and funding held by the village administration for the protection of PMI, particularly PMI Women. The task force developed a Raperdes discussing PMI issues in addition

to taking the initiative to carry out activities with self-financing from members.

Until this article was written, the Kalyanamitra foundation, together with the task force in each village, were drafting Village Regulations (Perdes) related to activities for the Prevention and Handling of violence against Women Migrant Workers and the Crime of Trafficking in Persons. The initiative for drafting the Draft Village Regulations (Raperdes) purely came from the Kalyanamitra Foundation which subsequently included the SBMI and the task force in the drafting process, while the BPD and the village government (institutionally) which ideally helped draft the draft, tended to lack initiative and or be passive in creating migrant-friendly and post-migrant villages.

The "Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers from the Villages of Tanen or Sukorejo Wetan" draft village ordinances, each of which has 7 (seven) chapters and 21 articles, have been created for the two villages. It basically says that women and children are more susceptible to becoming victims of violence and human trafficking throughout the migration process, including before departure, during placement, and after repatriation.

The important points in the Perdes draft include, (1) Arrangements regarding the mechanism for recruiting PMI candidates; (2) Arrangements regarding Post Migrant; (3) Arrangements regarding the work of Private PMI Placement Executors (PPPMIS) as PMI placement service providers abroad; (4) Details on the role of the village government in protecting PMI, PMI and Re-

**Table 4.** Number of migrant workers in the Villages of Tanen and Sukorejo

Gender Analysis	Activity
Access	Women's access to become members of the task force is very open, even though they do not get a strategic position as the head of the task force. APB <i>Desa</i> access which targets PMI protection activities including women in two villages does not appear.
Participation	The task force was institutionally uninvited and not involved in village decision-making events.
Control	There is no direct control from women and the task force over activities in the village.
Benefit	The benefits received by women, both PMI Candidates, PMI and Retired Migrants, are very minimal

tired Migrant candidates; and (5) The presence of service providers who are government partners, known as the Migrant Worker Protection Task Force (SP2M).

The village government does not understand the importance of regulating the protection of PMI, PMI, and Retired Migrant candidates. The task force, along with Kalyanamitra and SBMI, have demonstrated a significant role by presenting the Perdes to the village administration because the regulatory points in the task force's draft Perdes indicate subjects that have not yet been regulated by the village government.

Each task force member is personally working to better understand gender; they have all taken part in gender training on multiple occasions. According to Kalyanamitra, the goal is a shift in viewpoint, at least in the first year. Members of the task force are expected to support women who have been the victims of violence in order to contribute to efforts in each community to prevent and safeguard violence against women in general and against women migrant workers in particular. In actuality, they begin to not only deal with domestic abuse against women that takes place in the hamlet but also serve as consultants for people who would travel overseas.

Targets of Kalyanamitra include 4 (four) areas of change: changes at the individual level; changes at the cultural/community level related to issues of women migrant workers in villages; changes in the government system; and changes at the policy level. These changes result from a series of activities and the creation of the task force. According to Kalyanamitra, there have been adjustments made by the training participants, including the task force administrators, in terms of change at the individual level. Of course, changes at the cultural and community levels take time to manifest.

The next modification in the political system concerns the social institutions of the village, in this case the establishment of a task force at the village level. Permendagri 5 of 2007 about Guidelines for the Arrangement of Community Institutions states that social institutions are or-

ganizations created by the community in response to its needs and that the government works with the community to empower it. According to (Rauf & Munaf, 2015), social institutions in practice help the government with governance, development, social issues, and community empowerment to varying degrees between one social institution and another. It is appropriate that social institutions get a village head's decree as well as other government orders as compensation for aiding the government.

Previously, Family Empowerment and Welfare (PKK), which began at the Neighborhood Association (RT) level as *Dasa Wisma*, as well as Integrated Healthcare Center (Posyandu) activities were largely dominant in the social institutions for village women. However, it goes without saying that the existence of these two institutions does not directly address the wants and requirements of women in relation to migration-related concerns.

Therefore, it is relatively necessary for the task force to be present as a government partner to cover the void position left by other social institutions. However, major, inclusive, transformative, and gender-equitable improvements to the administration of migrant worker protection will undoubtedly be more challenging to implement without proper backing from the village government. It appears that a gender gap exists in every circumstance and poses a threat to women based on the description of measures to protect migrant workers in the two communities. According to the theory of the "feminization of migration," this research supports the idea that women's participation in migration has led to new social tensions, particularly within the family, and that this is because feminization influences changes in how women are traditionally constructed and regarded. Examining the sacrifices made by migrant women and the covert conflicts of labor export under globalization is the fundamental justification for the feminization of migration (Kholmatova, 2016).

The village authority did not pay enough attention to this problem, nevertheless. In the case

of the two villages, it appears that the asymmetrical connection between the task force and the village government has a direct bearing on the gradual redistribution of authority and financial resources controlled by the village government for the protection of current and retired migrants as well as potential PMIs. The direction and dynamics of village politics should ideally be primarily determined by the village authority. The fact that the interests of migrant protection do not appear in priority arrangements for villages is a result of this condition, directly or indirectly.

## 5. Conclusion

The study examines the reasons behind the failure of efforts to protect migrant workers in two villages, Tanen and Sukorejo Villages. The initial sign of an imbalanced relationship between

civil society and the village government is evident in the prominent role played by civil society in the establishment and execution of task force operations. Furthermore, the lack of resource redistribution by the village government, specifically in terms of budget allocation, contributes to an unequal collaboration. Despite the introduction of Law No. 18 of 2017, which mandates the involvement of the village authority in providing protection, the actual commitment from the village government remains absent. Consequently, the protection of migrant workers is reliant on the task force, as the village authority's involvement is not assured. Additionally, changes in regulations at the national level may not necessarily have a direct impact on the effective implementation of these measures, as their success heavily relies on the public policy actors responsible for their execution.

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