

Indonesian Migrant Workers in Japan within the Human Security Framework

Keisha Septi Mayumi

Universitas Singaperbangsa Karawang, Karawang, Indonesia
2210631260052@unsika.ac.id

Gili Argenti

Universitas Singaperbangsa Karawang, Karawang, Indonesia
giliargenti@staff.unsika.ac.id

Abstract

The migration of Indonesian migrant workers to Japan has increased significantly in recent years, driven by Japan's labor shortages resulting from demographic decline and an aging society. Although often framed as a mutually beneficial economic cooperation, this migration also generates various vulnerabilities for Indonesian migrant workers in the destination country. This study aims to analyze the migration of Indonesian migrant workers to Japan within the human security framework. The findings indicate that Indonesian migrant workers in Japan face multidimensional threats, particularly in terms of personal security, economic security, and health security. Therefore, the human security approach provides a more comprehensive perspective by positioning migrant workers as the primary referent of security.

Keywords: Human Security; Indonesian Migrant Workers; Labor Migration; Japan; Migrant Protection

Abstrak

Migrasi pekerja migran Indonesia ke Jepang mengalami peningkatan signifikan dalam beberapa tahun terakhir, yang didorong oleh kekurangan tenaga kerja di Jepang akibat penurunan demografis dan penuaan populasi. Meskipun sering dibingkai sebagai bentuk kerja sama ekonomi yang saling menguntungkan, migrasi ini juga menimbulkan berbagai kerentanan bagi pekerja migran Indonesia di negara tujuan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis migrasi pekerja migran Indonesia ke Jepang dalam kerangka human security (keamanan manusia). Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pekerja migran Indonesia di Jepang menghadapi ancaman multidimensional, terutama dalam aspek keamanan personal, keamanan ekonomi, dan keamanan kesehatan. Oleh karena itu, pendekatan human security memberikan perspektif yang lebih komprehensif dengan menempatkan pekerja migran sebagai referen utama keamanan.

Kata kunci: Keamanan Manusia; Pekerja Migran Indonesia; Migrasi Pekerja; Jepang; Perlindungan Migrasi

Article History: Received 26 February 2026, Revised 05 March 2026,
Accepted 06 March 2026, Available online 01 May 2026

Copyright: © 2026. The Author(s).

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International

Introduction

Migration is one of the global phenomena that has become increasingly prominent in recent years. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), migration is defined as the movement of individuals or groups from one area to another, either across national borders or within a country, with the intention of settling temporarily or permanently.¹ In 2020, the number of international migrants reached 281 million people, or approximately 3.6 percent of the global population.² This high flow of migration is inseparable from the economic interdependence between sending and receiving countries that are equally dependent on labor mobility.³ Receiving countries need migrant workers to support important sectors in their economies, while sending countries utilize migration as a means to increase national income, foreign exchange, and remittances, while simultaneously reducing unemployment and poverty levels.⁴

Indonesia is one of the countries that plays a major role as a supplier of labor abroad, particularly in Southeast Asia.⁵ The Indonesian Migrant Worker Protection Agency (BP2MI) records that the number of Indonesian migrant workers has reached approximately 5.2 million who are legally registered to work abroad, spread across more than 100 destination countries, including Japan.⁶ The presence of Indonesian migrant workers plays a role in national development. In addition to contributing to labor absorption, remittances from migrant workers serve as an important source of foreign exchange income for Indonesia.⁷ In Indonesia, migrant workers are often labeled with the term "foreign exchange heroes".⁸

However, the dominance of economic narratives that position migrant workers as state assets is often not balanced with adequate attention to the social, legal, and security conditions faced by migrant workers. In many cases, migrant workers are in vulnerable positions due to limited protection, differences in legal systems, and power imbalances between workers and employers in receiving countries. This phenomenon shows that labor migration has a dimension broader than mere economic interests, namely encompassing guarantees of individual protection and welfare.

Japan has experienced a significant increase as a destination country for Indonesian migrant workers in recent years. . Data from BP2MI shows that the number of Indonesian migrant workers placed in Japan increased drastically from 359 people in 2021 to 12,720 people in 2024, representing an increase of 3,443 percent over a four-year period.⁹ This increase is driven by structural factors in the form of labor shortages in Japan due to the aging society phenomenon that creates high demand for foreign workers, especially through the Specified Skilled Worker (SSW) scheme opened since 2019. In addition to economic factors, Japan's attractiveness as a destination country is also influenced by positive perceptions of the stability of the employment system, relatively higher wage levels compared to the country of origin, and the influence of Japanese popular culture that shapes the

country's image among Indonesia's younger generation.¹⁰ This surge shows that Japan has become one of the main destinations for Indonesian labor migration in the East Asia region.

Japan is one of the destination countries that is attractive to Indonesian migrant workers because it is considered to offer better economic opportunities compared to the country of origin. Japan, known as a country with the world's third-largest economy, often faces serious demographic challenges in the form of an aging society phenomenon characterized by an increasing number of elderly people and a declining productive-age population.¹¹ Data shows that the proportion of the population aged 65 years and over reached 26.7 percent in 2015 and is projected to increase to 38.8 percent by 2050.¹² The low birth rate and increasing population aging cause a significant decline in Japan's working-age population. This condition creates a structural gap in the labor market, marked by increasing labor shortages in various sectors, thus prompting the Japanese government to consider labor migration as part of the solution to this shortage.¹³

This Condition prompted the Japanese government to open access for foreign workers through policy schemes. The Indonesia-Japan labor migration relationship formally developed since the signing of the Indonesia-Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (IJEPA) in 2007, which opened opportunities for Indonesian health workers to work in Japan.¹⁴ The policy change became more significant in 2019 when Japan introduced the Specified Skilled Worker (SSW) program, which opened access for foreign workers in various sectors experiencing labor shortages such as manufacturing, agriculture, fisheries, and service industries.¹⁵ This policy shows Japan's shift as an emerging migration state that has begun to manage labor migration as part of its national economic strategy.¹⁶

Although often positioned as mutually beneficial cooperation, the migration of Indonesian migrant workers to Japan also raises various vulnerabilities. Migrant workers face language and cultural barriers, risks of labor exploitation, heavy workloads, and high psychological pressure.¹⁷ The phenomenon of *karoshi* or death from overwork, which is a serious issue in Japan, also shows the potential threat to the welfare of migrant workers.¹⁸ This situation causes Indonesian migrant workers to face higher levels of vulnerability than domestic workers.

Although the flow of Indonesian migrant workers to Japan continues to increase and is often positioned as mutually beneficial cooperation, many studies still tend to place this migration within the framework of economics and employment policy. Research by Afnur and Pahlawan (2025) entitled "Cooperation in Sending Indonesian Migrant Workers to Japan through the Specified Skilled Worker Visa Program" highlights the implementation of sending Indonesian careworkers to Japan using K.J. Holsti's international cooperation theory, which shows that the SSW program provides benefits for both countries through meeting Japan's labor needs while opening employment opportunities for Indonesia.¹⁹

Meanwhile, Pramesti (2025) in her research "Job Stress of Indonesian Migrant Workers: Comparison Between Indonesian Migrant Workers in Malaysia and Japan" affirms that Indonesian migrant workers working in Japan face significant psychosocial pressure due to work culture differences, language barriers, social isolation, and high workloads.²⁰ The research shows that although Japan's employment policy is more structured compared to Malaysia, Indonesian migrant workers in Japan remain vulnerable to burnout, anxiety, and feelings of alienation that seriously impact their psychological well-being.

In addition, research entitled "Post-Migrant Workers: A Challenging Problem for Human Security" written by Maksum (2021) highlights the condition of Indonesian migrant workers post-migration using a human security approach, and finds that workers returning to their homeland face various vulnerabilities such as low education levels, age unproductiveness, weak financial management, and difficulty accessing business capital.²¹ These three studies provide important contributions in understanding the dynamics of Indonesian labor migration, both in terms of bilateral policy implementation, workers' psychological conditions while working abroad, and vulnerabilities faced post-migration. However, there has been no research that specifically analyzes the entire migration process of Indonesian migrant workers to Japan within the human security framework, particularly covering the pre-migration, during work, and post-migration phases in the context of the Indonesia-Japan SSW program. Therefore, this research seeks to fill the gap in this literature by positioning Indonesian migrant workers not merely as economic actors in inter-state cooperation, but as subjects entitled to comprehensive security and welfare within the human security framework.

In this context, the human security approach becomes relevant as an analytical framework. Unlike traditional security approaches that focus on the state, the concept of human security places individuals as the primary referent of security and emphasizes protection from various multidimensional threats, which include a number of main aspects, namely economic, health, environmental, personal, community, and political protection.²² Therefore, this research aims to analyze the migration of Indonesian migrant workers to Japan within the human security framework to identify forms of insecurity experienced, and to assess the extent to which Indonesian-Japanese policies and bilateral cooperation are able to guarantee the comprehensive security and welfare of migrant workers.

Research Method

This research uses a qualitative method with a descriptive-analytical approach to analyze the human security conditions of Indonesian migrant workers in Japan and the state's role in ensuring their protection. The analytical framework used is the concept of human security as developed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1994). Of the seven dimensions of human security (economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political), this research

focuses analysis on three main dimensions: personal security, economic security, and health security. The selection of these three dimensions is based on literature mapping which shows that the vulnerabilities of Indonesian migrant workers in Japan are most frequently found in aspects of labor exploitation, violence, and physical and mental health conditions, as well as BP2MI data showing that the majority of complaints from Indonesian migrant workers in Japan are related to these three dimensions. The indicators used include: (1) personal security (physical/psychological violence, mobility restrictions, deportation threats, housing conditions); (2) economic security (wage compliance, illegal salary deductions, recruitment cost burdens, contract transparency); (3) health security (excessive workloads, access to healthcare services, mental conditions, *karoshi* risks).

Research data is sourced from primary documents in the form of BP2MI reports for the period 2021-2024, IOM and UNDP publications, and Japanese government statistics (Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare), and secondary data from indexed scientific journals, academic books, and publications from international organizations relevant to migration and human security issues. Data is analyzed using descriptive-qualitative techniques through stages: (1) categorization of data based on three dimensions of human security; (2) identification of threat patterns based on established indicators; (3) analysis of the state's role in the pre-placement, placement, and post-placement phases; (4) source triangulation to validate findings. This approach allows the research to analyze the gap between the state's normative commitments and the effectiveness of protection in the field within the human security framework.

Results and Discussion

Push and Pull Factors of Indonesian Migrant Workers' Migration to Japan

The migration of Indonesian migrant workers to Japan can be understood as the result of interaction between push factors from the country of origin and pull factors from the destination country. As explained in the Push and Pull Factor migration theory framework by Everett S. Lee (1966), migration is not merely driven by individual decisions, but is a response to structural pressures in the country of origin and opportunities offered by the destination country or called push and pull effects.²³

Indonesia's domestic labor market conditions are a major push factor for labor migration abroad. The high number of labor force not fully absorbed, coupled with relatively low wage levels, creates structural pressure for workers to seek employment opportunities abroad. Data released by the Central Statistics Agency shows that as of February 2025, the total labor force in Indonesia reached 153.05 million people, but 7.28 million of them are still unemployed. This condition is worsened by relatively low wage levels. The average monthly worker wage in Indonesia is recorded at around Rp 3.09 million.²⁴ This economic inequality drives

Indonesian workers to view migration as a strategy to obtain better livelihood guarantees.

In addition to labor market pressures, structural poverty and social inequality in Indonesia also reinforce the push for labor migration. Limited employment opportunities, especially in rural areas, and the wide income distribution gap still create conditions where migration is seen as a survival strategy. When access to decent work becomes increasingly limited, social risks such as prolonged unemployment, vulnerability to exploitation, and human trafficking become increasingly real.²⁵ In such situations, the decision to migrate is no longer merely an economic choice, but also a response to broader structural pressures.

This push is reflected in the significant increase in the number of Indonesian migrant workers departing to Japan in recent years. BP2MI 2024 data shows a significant surge, from 359 people in 2021 to 5,832 people in 2022, then increasing again to 9,673 people in 2023, and reaching 12,720 people in 2024. The total increase that occurred reached 31.50% compared to four years earlier.²⁶ This surge shows that Japan has become an increasingly popular destination for Indonesian migrant workers.

In addition to economic factors, the structural vulnerability of workers in Indonesia is also a significant driver of migration. Workers with medium and low skills often face weak bargaining positions in the domestic labor market. This condition creates a strong push to migrate to countries considered capable of providing job security and more stable income.

On the other hand, Japan emerges as an attractive destination country for migrant workers. Japan is experiencing labor needs due to demographic changes. Based on Japan's 2015 population census data, Japan's population was recorded at 127.11 million people, a decrease of 947 thousand compared to the 2010 census. This decline is followed by an increase in the elderly population, which shows that in 2015, the population aged 65 years and over had reached 26.7% of the total population and is projected to increase to 38.8 percent by 2050.²⁷ This population structure change causes a narrowing of the productive age group and creates a gap between labor needs and the availability of domestic labor.

Another pull factor is Japan's economic attractiveness and stability of the work system. Japan offers relatively higher wage levels, where the average monthly wage reaches ¥471,000 per month or around Rp 55 million.²⁸ Perceptions of job security, income certainty, and economic stability make Japan a destination country considered more promising than other countries for Indonesian migrant workers.²⁹

In addition to economic and demographic factors, Japan's migration policy is also one of the attractions for migrant workers. Although historically Japan is known to have quite restrictive immigration policies, the Japanese government has gradually begun to open various foreign worker recruitment schemes as an effort to

overcome domestic labor shortages.³⁰ This policy change opens more structured and legal migration pathways for migrant workers, including from Indonesia, thus encouraging an increase in labor migration flows to Japan.

Thus, the migration of Indonesian migrant workers to Japan is the result of interaction between structural pressures in the country of origin and economic opportunities in the destination country, which overall form migration patterns relevant for further analysis through the human security framework.

Human Security Conditions of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Japan

The concept of human security developed post-Cold War as a critique of traditional security approaches that are state-centric. UNDP (1994) defines it through seven main dimensions condensed into two principles: freedom from fear and freedom from want.³¹ This framework is relevant for analyzing migration because migration does not merely reflect efforts to improve economic welfare, but also brings vulnerabilities for migrant workers, both before departure, while working, and after being in the destination country. Although Indonesia is known as one of the largest labor-sending countries in Southeast Asia, some Indonesian migrant workers still face vulnerabilities in the form of exploitation, rights violations, and limited access to protection mechanisms in the destination country.³² This condition shows that the migration experience is not only about obtaining employment, but also about how the employment system, legal framework, and social environment in the receiving country shape the security and welfare of migrant workers comprehensively. In this research, the analysis is focused on three main dimensions based on the severity level of threats found in the literature, namely personal, economic, and health security.

Personal security is the most vulnerable aspect for Indonesian migrant workers in Japan. Indonesian migrant workers often face exploitative working conditions that endanger their physical and psychological safety, especially in the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) scheme. In this scheme, workers are formally positioned as "trainees," although in practice they perform functions as full productive workers, thus protection of employment rights becomes limited.³³ The power imbalance between employers and workers causes minimal room for negotiation over working hours, workload, or living conditions, and encourages excessive control practices that have implications for restrictions on freedom of movement and social isolation.

This vulnerability condition is further exacerbated when Indonesian migrant workers lose or exit their legal status and become undocumented workers or asylum seekers. Indonesian migrant workers in this position are often in vulnerable positions, where they face many threats in the form of exploitation by brokers, job fraud, and constant fear of deportation and re-entry bans to Japan.³⁴ Illegal or semi-legal status makes workers have no access to legal protection mechanisms, so non-physical violence such as intimidation, mental pressure, and life uncertainty become

part of their daily lives.³⁵ This psychological threat is often more dominant than physical violence, because workers live in fear of being reported to immigration authorities and dare not report violations they experience.

In addition, dehumanization is also evident in the living conditions of Indonesian migrant workers who live in cramped and unsuitable housing, often provided by brokers or informal networks, and located in remote areas to avoid authority surveillance.³⁶ This situation shows that the personal security of Indonesian migrant workers is not only threatened in the workplace, but also in their daily living spaces. High dependence on brokers and employers reinforces workers' subordinate positions, making them vulnerable to continuous exploitation without adequate protection.³⁷

In addition to facing threats to personal security, Indonesian migrant workers in Japan also often face economic vulnerabilities. One form is the discrepancy between wages promised in contracts and payments received. In the Verite (2018) report, there are wage payment violations after deductions by costs related to the process related to recruitment agents or intermediaries.³⁸ This situation becomes even more burdensome because some migrant workers bear significant debts from before departure. Santoso in *Broadsheet Asia* (2025) notes that in some cases, the burden of migration costs can reach around 50 million rupiah (US\$3,200) per person.³⁹ As a result, wages received in Japan are often only sufficient to cover daily living costs, without significantly improving economic conditions, so workers remain in continuous financial pressure. This vulnerability is further exacerbated when workers have no right to their wages, it is not uncommon for migrant workers to be threatened with deportation when asking for payment according to Japan's minimum wage standards which is legally their right.⁴⁰ Such threats make workers reluctant to demand wage shortfalls, so economic exploitation repeats.

The economic vulnerability experienced by Indonesian migrant workers in Japan is also influenced by non-transparent recruitment processes. A number of workers are promised jobs with wage levels reaching 2000 yen/hour, but upon arrival in Japan they do not immediately get work and experience unemployment for several months.⁴¹ This situation causes workers to lose sources of income from the beginning of their stay, while the obligation to pay additional costs to intermediaries continues. This condition drives workers out of formal migration channels and risks being in undocumented status.

In terms of health security, migrant workers in Japan face high work pressure, long working hours, and strict productivity demands. Many workers feel isolated because working hours consume almost the entire day, with very limited or even no days off. This condition limits social interaction spaces outside the work environment, making it difficult for them to socialize. As a result, it directly impacts workers' mental health. Research findings by Uezato et al. (2023) show that migrant workers in Japan experience levels of stress, anxiety, and symptoms of depression

related to excessive workload, social isolation, and communication barriers due to language differences.⁴² Long working conditions without rest time can increase the risk of burnout and impact workers' psychological and physical health conditions.

The physical health impact of excessive workload is also a serious problem. Long overtime hours without adequate rest can increase the risk of heart failure. The phenomenon of *karoshi* or death from overwork is found in many workers in Japan. In 2010, two deaths of foreign trainee participants were considered *karoshi* cases, one of which occurred to a worker who worked more than 120 hours of overtime per month before dying of heart failure in the dormitory where he lived.⁴³ This case shows that threats to migrant workers' health are not only psychological, but can also lead to fatal consequences when work pressure continues without adequate protection.

Access to healthcare services is also a challenge for migrant workers in Japan, although Japan implements a universal health insurance system. Khin et al. (2025) identify language barriers, limited information regarding the healthcare system, and financial and administrative constraints as factors that hinder immigrants' access to healthcare services in Japan.⁴⁴ In addition, workload and time limitations also make it difficult for workers to reach healthcare facilities. This condition shows that the health insecurity of migrant workers is not merely an individual problem, but is related to structural factors in the work system and healthcare services.

The State's Role in Ensuring the Human Security of Indonesian Migrant Workers

The problem of Indonesian workers' migration abroad is not merely an economic phenomenon, but also a matter of human rights protection and human security. Many migrant workers go abroad with the hope of obtaining decent work, but in reality they face various problems, such as unpaid wages, exploitation, violence, document withholding, and even becoming victims of human trafficking. In this case, the state does not only act as a regulator, but as the main actor responsible for ensuring the safety and guaranteeing the basic rights of its citizens. This responsibility is rooted in the constitutional mandate referring to the constitutional mandate in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution which states that the state is obligated to protect all Indonesian people, including those who work abroad.⁴⁵

This protection mandate not only originates from the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution, specifically the fourth paragraph which affirms the state's goal to "protect all Indonesian people," but is also affirmed more specifically in Article 27 paragraph (2) of the 1945 Constitution which states that "every citizen has the right to work and a livelihood worthy of humanity." This condition indicates that the state seeks to guarantee individual protection from various forms of arbitrary oppression and exploitation, while guaranteeing opportunities to obtain humane living standards.⁴⁶

This constitutional commitment is then translated into the national legal framework through Law Number 18 of 2017 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers which affirms that the protection of Indonesian migrant workers is part of the fulfillment of human rights that must be carried out comprehensively. Based on the principle of human rights, the state is obligated to ensure respect for, protection of, and fulfillment of the rights of Indonesian migrant workers in every phase of migration: before placement, while working abroad, and after returning to their homeland.⁴⁷

The increasing interest of Indonesian migrant workers every year is often marked as an indicator of migration success. However, behind these numbers there are problems. Many Indonesian migrant workers still face violence, to exploitation. In the perspective of human security, this condition shows that protection is not sufficient to be interpreted as a placement process, but as a guarantee of economic security, personal security, health, and legal certainty of workers comprehensively.

Changes in Indonesian migrant workers protection policy can be seen from the birth of Law Number 18 of 2017 as a response to the weaknesses of Law Number 39 of 2004 which was considered not yet fully optimal, because it regulated more about the placement of migrant workers than aspects of their protection. Not only that, Law 39/2004 limited the protection of migrant workers with the condition that they must be documented. Whereas, the state still has an obligation to provide protection to migrant workers without differentiating the document status they have. Both documented and undocumented, they remain citizens whose rights must be respected, protected, and fulfilled by the state.⁴⁸ The protection of Indonesian migrant workers is fully the responsibility of the state. Therefore, Law 18/2017 emphasizes more on comprehensive protection, covering the pre-placement, placement, to post-placement phases. This reform marks a change in policy orientation, from focus on managing labor placement to emphasis on guaranteeing the rights and dignity of migrant workers.

In the pre-placement stage, the state is responsible for ensuring the regulation and supervision of the recruitment process through regulation, competency certificates, and supervision of placement companies. This stage is crucial because seeing many vulnerabilities of migrant workers are rooted in non-transparent recruitment practices, high cost burdens, and mismatched work information.⁴⁹ This role is carried out through BP2MI which includes document verification, pre-departure briefing, and education related to the work system and complaint mechanisms in the destination country.⁵⁰ This initial stage is crucial because many problems start from irresponsible agent practices, including document falsification, high cost burdens, and non-transparent contracts.⁵¹ . In the perspective of human security, failure at this phase can create economic and legal vulnerabilities that weaken the bargaining position of Indonesian migrant workers even before they depart.

Protection does not stop at the departure stage. During the placement period, the state's role is carried out through diplomatic and consular roles. The Republic of Indonesia's representatives abroad not only provide legal protection and mediation in every case involving Indonesian migrant workers, but also provide forms of technical protection such as temporary shelter facilities, repatriation assistance, and travel document processing for Indonesian migrant workers who face serious problems in the destination country.⁵² However, the effectiveness of protection often faces constraints of inter-agency limitations and differences in legal systems with destination countries.

In the perspective of international law, the state has an obligation to guarantee the protection of human rights of every person under its jurisdiction, including migrant workers. This obligation originates from the state's commitment to various international human rights instruments, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), which affirm every individual's right to decent work and protection from inhumane treatment. This is part of state obligations that cannot be ignored.⁵³ Therefore, the protection of Indonesian migrant workers is not only a domestic policy, but also part of Indonesia's international commitment.

The strengthening of the legal framework has not been fully proportional to the effectiveness of direct protection. Several studies show that there are still overlapping authorities between agencies and weak coordination which results in less than optimal protection.⁵⁴ Vertical and horizontal regulatory asynchrony also worsens the effectiveness of policy implementation.⁵⁵ In the context of human security, this governance weakness creates gaps that can lead to violations of the rights of Indonesian migrant workers.

Another equally crucial issue is the protection of non-procedural Indonesian migrant workers. Workers who depart through unofficial channels are often in the most vulnerable positions and have difficulty accessing state protection mechanisms.⁵⁶ Although the state faces limitations in reaching them, the principle of non-discrimination in human rights law affirms that basic protection should not be limited by administrative status alone.

The dimension of economic security also cannot be separated from domestic factors. The state has the responsibility to ensure that labor migration is not the only choice due to limited employment opportunities domestically. The high number of Indonesian migrant workers sent often correlates with limited employment opportunities domestically.⁵⁷ If migration occurs due to structural pressures, then the human security of Indonesian migrant workers has been in a vulnerable position from the beginning.

This condition shows that the state also has the responsibility to ensure every individual has a fair employment contract. There are often wage discrepancies, salary deductions, to working hours exceeding contracts. This shows that protection

for migrant workers must be given more attention. If not, migrant workers remain in weak bargaining positions before employers. These vulnerabilities not only impact economic security, but also affect health security. Language barriers, lack of understanding of the insurance system, and dependence of work status on companies often make Indonesian migrant workers hesitant or have difficulty accessing healthcare services.⁵⁸ In this situation, the state's presence becomes crucial through socialization, advocacy, and case assistance to guarantee access to proper healthcare services.

The protection of Indonesian migrant workers cannot be separated from the policy structure that forms the labor migration system itself. Strengthening the protection of Indonesian migrant workers must be accompanied by improving the recruitment system, supervision of placement agents, improving training quality, and effective bilateral diplomacy with destination countries. Bilateral cooperation needs to be evaluated to adjust to changes in regulations in receiving countries so as not to harm and cause losses for Indonesian migrant workers.⁵⁹

Access to complaint mechanisms also needs to be strengthened so that they can truly be reached by Indonesian migrant workers. Protection must not stop at the regulatory level, but must be reflected in the form of rapid responses to cases of violence, exploitation, and employment contract violations.⁶⁰ In the human security framework, a sense of security and legal certainty are important elements that determine the overall welfare of Indonesian migrant workers.

If taken further, the state's role in ensuring the human security of Indonesian migrant workers is a combination of constitutional obligations, international legal responsibilities, and commitment to its citizens. The presence of Law 18/2017 has provided a normative foundation for protection, but its effectiveness is still determined by consistent implementation, inter-agency coordination, and political courage to place the protection of Indonesian migrant workers as a national priority.⁶¹

The state, in the human security framework, must be understood as a protector of the rights and dignity of its citizens. Comprehensive protection, from the recruitment process to reintegration, becomes the main prerequisite so that labor migration does not create vulnerabilities, but truly contributes to improving the welfare and security of Indonesian Migrant Workers. Labor migration ultimately becomes a test of the extent to which the state is able to maintain the security, dignity, and rights of its citizens in transnational spaces.

Conclusion

This research demonstrates that the migration of Indonesian migrant workers to Japan cannot be understood only as a mutually beneficial bilateral economic cooperation phenomenon. Through the human security framework, this analysis reveals that Indonesian migrant workers in Japan face multidimensional threats

encompassing personal security, economic security, and health security. These threats stem from employment schemes that do not fully protect workers' rights, non-transparent recruitment practices, excessive workloads, language barriers, and limited access to healthcare services and complaint mechanisms..

The state, in this case Indonesia, has demonstrated normative commitment through the enactment of Law Number 18 of 2017 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, which emphasizes comprehensive protection from the pre-placement to post-placement phases. However, the effectiveness of this protection still faces various challenges, including weak inter-agency coordination, overlapping authorities, and difficulty reaching non-procedural Indonesian migrant workers who are actually in the most vulnerable position.

These findings affirm that the human security approach is relevant and important in analyzing labor migration issues, as it is capable of positioning migrant workers as the primary subjects of security, not merely instruments of bilateral economic relations. Therefore, strengthening the protection of Indonesian migrant workers requires synergy among domestic regulatory reform, effective bilateral diplomacy with Japan, stricter supervision of placement agencies, and improved worker access to information about their rights. Safe, dignified, and protected labor migration is a shared responsibility among sending countries, receiving countries, and the international community.

Closing Remarks

This study confirms that the migration of Indonesian migrant workers to Japan cannot be understood as a fully mutually beneficial bilateral economic cooperation. The *win-win solution* narrative that is often employed actually conceals the multidimensional vulnerabilities experienced by Indonesian migrant workers in the destination country. Through the human security framework, this analysis reveals that Indonesian migrant workers in Japan face serious threats across three dimensions: personal security (violence, restrictions on mobility, deportation threats), economic security (wage exploitation, recruitment debt burdens, contract violations), and health security (excessive workloads, barriers to accessing healthcare services, *karoshi* risks), all of which are influenced by labor structures—particularly the Technical Intern Training Program (TITP) scheme—non-transparent recruitment practices, and limited access to legal protection. The findings also demonstrate that the state has not been optimal in ensuring the human security of Indonesian migrant workers. Although normative commitments have been established through Law No. 18 of 2017, the gap between policy and implementation remains very wide due to weak inter-agency coordination, minimal oversight of placement agencies, and difficulties in reaching non-procedural Indonesian migrant workers who are actually in the most vulnerable position. Therefore, strengthening the protection of Indonesian migrant workers requires comprehensive reforms encompassing enhanced inter-agency coordination, more responsive bilateral diplomacy in advocating for improvements to Japan's labor

schemes, strict supervision of placement agencies from the recruitment phase, and expanded consular protection coverage for non-procedural Indonesian migrant workers. Further research is recommended to examine the experiences of Indonesian migrant workers directly through field-based approaches, comparative studies with other destination countries in East Asia, and practical evaluation of the implementation of Law No. 18 of 2017.

References

- Afnur, Silvia Ramadhani. "Kerja Sama Pengiriman Pekerja Migran Indonesia ke Jepang Melalui Program Visa Specified Skilled Worker (SSW)" 12 (2025): 167–86.
- Aminah, Shobichatul, Stedi Wardoyo, dan Sri Pangastoeti. "Pengiriman Tenaga Perawat dan Careworker Indonesia ke Jepang dalam Kerangka Indonesia - Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (IJ-EPA)." *Bakti Budaya* 1, no. 1 (8 Agustus 2018): 92. <https://doi.org/10.22146/bb.37933>.
- Athallah, Moch. Ahdan, dan Ferry Adhi Dharma. "Strategi Komunikasi Pekerja Migran Indonesia dalam Mengatasi Culture Shock Selama Bekerja di Jepang." *Academic Journal of Da'wa and Communication* 5, no. 1 (2024): 81–104. <https://doi.org/10.22515/ajdc.v5i1.9603>.
- Badan Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia (BP2MI). "Data Penempatan dan Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia Tahun 2024," 2025. <https://bp2mi.go.id/statistik-detail/data-penempatan-dan-pelindungan-pekerja-migran-indonesia-periode-januari-2025>.
- Badan Pusat Statistik. "Keadaan Ketenagakerjaan Indonesia Februari 2025." Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS), 2025. <https://www.bps.go.id/id/pressrelease/2025/05/05/2432/tingkat-pengangguran-terbuka--tpt--sebesar-4-76-persen--rata-rata-upah-buruh-sebesar-3-09-juta-rupiah-.html%25>.
- Budianto, Firman, dan Yusy Widarahesty. "Asylum Seeking as Survival Strategy: The Narratives of Indonesian Work Seekers in Japan," 2024, 365–88. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-97-2867-1_14.
- Hanifah, Ida. "Peran Dan Tanggung Jawab Negara Dalam Perlindungan Hukum Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Yang Bermasalah Di Luar Negeri." *DE LEGA LATA: Jurnal Ilmu Hukum* 5, no. 1 (30 Januari 2020): 10–23. <https://doi.org/10.30596/dll.v5i1.3303>.
- Hollifield, James F., dan Michael Orlando Sharpe. "Japan as an 'Emerging Migration State.'" *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 17, no. 3 (1 September 2017): 371–400. <https://doi.org/10.1093/irap/lcx013>.
- International Organization for Migration (IOM). "Glossary on Migration."

- International Migration Law*, no. 12 (2019): 1–234.
<https://publications.iom.int/books/international-migration-law-ndeg34-glossary-migration>.
- JICA Ogata Research Institute. “Knowledge Forum ‘Making Japan the Chosen Country: International Labor Migration Dynamics in Indonesia,’” 2024.
https://www.jica.go.jp/english/jica_ri/news/event/1522190_23519.html.
- Junaidi, Muhammad, dan Khikmah Khikmah. “Perlindungan Hukum Dan Penempatan Pekerja Migran Indonesia Di Luar Negeri.” *Jurnal Usm Law Review* 7, no. 1 (2024): 490–501. <https://doi.org/10.26623/julr.v7i1.8127>.
- Kadek Bobby Reza Arya Dana, Dewa Gede Sudika Mangku, dan Ni Putu Rai Yuliantini. “Perlindungan Hukum Bagi Wni Di Luar Negeri Dalam Perspektif Hukum Internasional (Studi Kasus Hukuman Mati Tki Di Arab Saudi, Tuti Tursilawati 2018).” *Jurnal Komunitas Yustisia* 5, no. 2 (2022): 53–67.
<https://doi.org/10.23887/jatayu.v5i2.51449>.
- Kaur, Amarjit. “Labour migration in Southeast Asia: migration policies, labour exploitation and regulation.” *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy* 15, no. 1 (2010): 6–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13547860903488195>.
- Khin, Yu Par, Floret Maame Owusu, Nobutoshi Nawa, Pamela J. Surkan, dan Takeo Fujiwara. “Barriers and facilitators for healthcare access among immigrants in Japan: a mixed methods systematic review and meta-synthesis.” *The Lancet Regional Health - Western Pacific* 54 (Januari 2025): 101276.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lanwpc.2024.101276>.
- KP2MI. “Menteri Karding Ungkap Banyaknya Permintaan Pekerja Migran Indonesia dari Sejumlah Negara,” 2024. <https://kp2mi.go.id/berita-detail/menteri-karding-ungkap-banyaknya-permintaan-pekerja-migran-indonesia-dari-sejumlah-negara>.
- Lee, Everett S. “A Theory of Migration.” In *Demography*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1966), pp. 47-57, 75–92, 1966.
- Maksum, Ali. “Indonesian post-migrant workers: A challenging problem for human security.” *Social Sciences and Humanities Open* 4, no. 1 (2021): 100223.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2021.100223>.
- Matsuno, Yasuharu. “Average Salary in Japan (2025 Research).” Tokyo Portofolio, 2025. <https://tokyoportfolio.com/articles/average-salary-in-japan/>.
- Nawawi. “Working in Japan as a Trainee: The reality of Indonesian Trainees Under Japan’s Industrial Training and Technical Internship Program” V, no. 2 (2010).
- Nizar, Moh, Astiwi Inayah, dan Toto Aman Dwijono. “Penguatan Peran Pemerintah Melalui Perlindungan Hukum dan Terhadap Pekerja Migran Indonesia.”

- Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Ilmu Sosial dan Budaya* 20, no. 2 (2018): 95–111.
<https://share.google/0AGBq7FEsDDqJ1cuN>.
- OECD. *Recruiting Immigrant Workers: Japan 2024*. Recruiting Immigrant Workers. OECD Publishing, 2024. <https://doi.org/10.1787/0e5a10e3-en>.
- Pramesti, Pramita Arga Ayu. "Job Stress Pekerja Migran Indonesia : Komparasi antara PMI Malaysia dan Jepang," 2025.
- Purdadi, Wira, dan Fitran Amrain. "Kewajiban Negara Terhadap Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia." *Mimbar Yustitia* 5, no. 1 (2022): 22–41.
<https://doi.org/10.52166/mimbar.v5i1.2811>.
- Rahayu, Devi, Dina Imam Supaat, dan Mirna Yusuf. "The Neglect of Protection for Undocumented Migrant Workers within the Framework of Human Rights Law." *Legality: Jurnal Ilmiah Hukum* 32, no. 2 (2024): 374–93.
<https://doi.org/10.22219/ljih.v32i2.34993>.
- Rahmawati, Immadudin Muhammad, Asad, Bulqis, dan Jufrin. "Analisis Perlindungan Hak Asasi Manusia bagi Pekerja Migran Tidak Berdokumen: Tantangan, Kerangka Hukum dan Implikasi Kebijakan." In *MAQASID: Jurnal Studi Hukum Islam*, 13:177–94, 2024.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.30651/mqs.v13i2.24781>.
- Safitri, Dhanny, dan Ali Abdullah Wibisono. "Keamanan Manusia Pekerja Migran Indonesia: Ketidakamanan dan Perlindungannya." *Intermestic: Journal of International Studies* 7, no. 2 (2023): 741–69.
<https://doi.org/10.24198/intermestic.v7n2.17>.
- Santoso, Maria Rina. "Indonesian Minister Warns of Labor Traps in Japan Amid History Rewrite Controversy." *Broadsheet Asia*, 2025.
<https://broadsheet.asia/2025/05/21/indonesian-minister-warns-of-labor-traps-in-japan-amid-history-rewrite-controversy/?noamp=available>.
- Statista Research Departement. "GDP in Japan - statistics & facts," 2025.
<https://www.statista.com/topics/13120/gdp-in-japan/#topicOverview>.
- Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Japan. "Statistical Handbook of Japan 2016." *Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Japan*, 2016.
<https://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/handbook/pdf/2016all.pdf>.
- Suhada, Suhada, Fahmy Akbar Idries, Rifqi Syarif Nasrulloh, dan Novi Diah Wulandari. "Memanusiakan Pahlawan Devisa: Pemberdayaan dan Advokasi Komunitas Migran Indonesia di Malaysia." *Rahmatan Lil 'Alamin Journal of Community Services* 4, no. 1 (2024): 39–47.
<https://doi.org/10.20885/rla.vol4.iss1.art5>.
- Sundry, Rini Irianti, dan Umi Muslikhah. "State Responsibility in Protecting

- Indonesian Migrant Workers as Fulfillment of Human Rights." *Jurnal Ius Constituendum* 9, no. 3 (2024): 428–45.
<https://doi.org/10.26623/jic.v9i3.9183>.
- Theresia, Kadek Febriana, dan Wayan Nurita. "Dampak Karoshi Pada Karyawan Perusahaan Di." *Jurnal Daruma: Linguistik, Sastra dan Budaya Jepang* 4 (2024). <https://e-journal.unmas.ac.id/index.php/daruma/article/view/9763/7653>.
- Thuzar, Mi Moe, Shyam Kumar Karki, Andi Holik Ramdani, Waode Hanifah Istiqomah, Tokiko Inoue, dan Chukiati Chaiboonsri. "Settlement Intention of Foreign Workers in Japan: Bayesian Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis." *Economies* 13, no. 4 (2025): 1–15.
<https://doi.org/10.3390/economies13040112>.
- Uezato, Akihito, Kohei Sakamoto, Mieko Miura, Akane Futami, Toshihiko Nakajima, Pham Nguyen Quy, Soi Jeong, et al. "Mental health and current issues of migrant workers in Japan: A cross-sectional study of Vietnamese workers." *International Journal of Social Psychiatry* 70, no. 1 (8 Februari 2024): 132–43.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/00207640231196742>.
- United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. "International Migration 2020 Highlights." United Nations (via UN DESA / Population Division), 2021. <https://www.un.org/en/desa/international-migration-2020-highlights>.
- United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). *Human Development Report: New Dimension Of Human Security (1994)*. United Nations Development Programme 1994, 1994.
<https://hdr.undp.org/system/files/documents/hdr1994encompletenostats.pdf>.
- Verité. "Forced Labor Risk in Japan's Technical Intern Training Program Exploration of Indicators among Chinese Trainees Seeking Remedy," 2018, 24.
<https://www.verite.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Forced-Labor-Risk-in-Japans-TITP.pdf>.
- Widyawati, Anis. "Legal Protection Model for Indonesian Migrant Workers." *Journal of Indonesian Legal Studies* 3, no. 2 (9 Desember 2018): 291–304.
<https://doi.org/10.15294/jils.v3i02.27557>.
- Yusuf, Angel Sabatini, Aldi Buntaran, Devita Vallensia, dan Dwi Putra Nugraha. "Efektivitas BP2MI Sebagai Lembaga Administratif Dalam Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia: Perspektif Hukum Administrasi Negara." *Jurnal Ilmu Hukum, Humaniora dan Politik* 6, no. 2 (2025): 1522–27.
<https://doi.org/10.38035/jihhp.v6i2.6928>.

Endnote

- ¹ International Organization for Migration (IOM), "Glossary on Migration."
- ² United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, "International Migration 2020 Highlights."
- ³ Safitri dan Wibisono, "Keamanan Manusia Pekerja Migran Indonesia: Ketidakamanan dan Perlindungannya." 2
- ⁴ Kaur, "Labour migration in Southeast Asia: migration policies, labour exploitation and regulation."
- ⁵ Kaur.
- ⁶ KP2MI, "Menteri Karding Ungkap Banyaknya Permintaan Pekerja Migran Indonesia dari Sejumlah Negara."
- ⁷ Maksum, "Indonesian post-migrant workers: A challenging problem for human security." 1-3
- ⁸ Suhada et al., "Memanusiakan Pahlawan Devisa: Pemberdayaan dan Advokasi Komunitas Migran Indonesia di Malaysia."
- ⁹ Badan Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia (BP2MI), "Data Penempatan dan Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia Tahun 2024."
- ¹⁰ Budianto dan Widarahesty, "Asylum Seeking as Survival Strategy: The Narratives of Indonesian Work Seekers in Japan."
- ¹¹ Statista Research Departement, "GDP in Japan - statistics & facts."
- ¹² Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, "Statistical Handbook of Japan 2016." 13
- ¹³ OECD, *Recruiting Immigrant Workers: Japan 2024*.
- ¹⁴ Aminah, Wardoyo, dan Pangastoeti, "Pengiriman Tenaga Perawat dan Careworker Indonesia ke Jepang dalam Kerangka Indonesia - Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (IJ-EPA)."
- ¹⁵ Thuzar et al., "Settlement Intention of Foreign Workers in Japan: Bayesian Multinomial Logistic Regression Analysis."
- ¹⁶ Hollifield dan Orlando Sharpe, "Japan as an 'Emerging Migration State.'" 388-389
- ¹⁷ Athallah dan Dharma, "Strategi Komunikasi Pekerja Migran Indonesia dalam Mengatasi Culture Shock Selama Bekerja di Jepang."
- ¹⁸ Theresia dan Nurita, "Dampak Karoshi Pada Karyawan Perusahaan Di."
- ¹⁹ Afnur, "Kerja Sama Pengiriman Pekerja Migran Indonesia ke Jepang Melalui Program Visa Specified Skilled Worker (SSW)."
- ²⁰ Pramesti, "Job Stress Pekerja Migran Indonesia : Komparasi antara PMI Malaysia dan Jepang."
- ²¹ Maksum, "Indonesian post-migrant workers: A challenging problem for human security."
- ²² United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report: New Dimension Of Human Security (1994)*.
- ²³ Lee, "A Theory of Migration."
- ²⁴ Badan Pusat Statistik, "Keadaan Ketenagakerjaan Indonesia Februari 2025."
- ²⁵ Budianto dan Widarahesty, "Asylum Seeking as Survival Strategy: The Narratives of Indonesian Work Seekers in Japan." 383-384.
- ²⁶ Badan Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia (BP2MI), "Data Penempatan dan Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia Tahun 2024."
- ²⁷ Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, "Statistical Handbook of Japan 2016." 13
- ²⁸ Matsuno, "Average Salary in Japan (2025 Research)."
- ²⁹ JICA Ogata Research Institute, "Knowledge Forum 'Making Japan the Chosen Country: International Labor Migration Dynamics in Indonesia.'"
- ³⁰ Hollifield dan Orlando Sharpe, "Japan as an 'Emerging Migration State.'" 3373-374
- ³¹ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report: New Dimension Of Human Security (1994)*.

-
- ³² Safitri dan Wibisono, "Keamanan Manusia Pekerja Migran Indonesia: Ketidakamanan dan Perlindungannya."
- ³³ Nawawi, "Working in Japan as a Trainee: The reality of Indonesian Trainees Under Japan's Industrial Training and Technical Internship Program."
- ³⁴ Budianto dan Widarahesty, "Asylum Seeking as Survival Strategy: The Narratives of Indonesian Work Seekers in Japan." 382-383
- ³⁵ Rahayu, Supaat, dan Yusuf, "The Neglect of Protection for Undocumented Migrant Workers within the Framework of Human Rights Law." 380-381
- ³⁶ Verité, "Forced Labor Risk in Japan's Technical Intern Training Program Exploration of Indicators among Chinese Trainees Seeking Remedy." 13, 19
- ³⁷ Budianto dan Widarahesty, "Asylum Seeking as Survival Strategy: The Narratives of Indonesian Work Seekers in Japan." 376.
- ³⁸ Verité, "Forced Labor Risk in Japan's Technical Intern Training Program Exploration of Indicators among Chinese Trainees Seeking Remedy." 16.
- ³⁹ Santoso, "Indonesian Minister Warns of Labor Traps in Japan Amid History Rewrite Controversy."
- ⁴⁰ Verité, "Forced Labor Risk in Japan's Technical Intern Training Program Exploration of Indicators among Chinese Trainees Seeking Remedy." 14-15
- ⁴¹ Budianto dan Widarahesty, "Asylum Seeking as Survival Strategy: The Narratives of Indonesian Work Seekers in Japan." 380.
- ⁴² Uezato et al., "Mental health and current issues of migrant workers in Japan: A cross-sectional study of Vietnamese workers."
- ⁴³ Verité, "Forced Labor Risk in Japan's Technical Intern Training Program Exploration of Indicators among Chinese Trainees Seeking Remedy." 7.
- ⁴⁴ Khin et al., "Barriers and facilitators for healthcare access among immigrants in Japan: a mixed methods systematic review and meta-synthesis."
- ⁴⁵ Purdadi dan Amrain, "Kewajiban Negara Terhadap Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia." 26.
- ⁴⁶ Hanifah, "Peran Dan Tanggung Jawab Negara Dalam Perlindungan Hukum Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Yang Bermasalah Di Luar Negeri." 15
- ⁴⁷ Sundary dan Muslikah, "State Responsibility in Protecting Indonesian Migrant Workers as Fulfillment of Human Rights."
- ⁴⁸ Rahmawati et al., "Analisis Perlindungan Hak Asasi Manusia bagi Pekerja Migran Tidak Berdokumen: Tantangan, Kerangka Hukum dan Implikasi Kebijakan."
- ⁴⁹ Junaidi dan Khikmah, "Perlindungan Hukum Dan Penempatan Pekerja Migran Indonesia Di Luar Negeri."
- ⁵⁰ Yusuf et al., "Efektivitas BP2MI Sebagai Lembaga Administratif Dalam Perlindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia: Perspektif Hukum Administrasi Negara."
- ⁵¹ Nizar, Inayah, dan Dwijono, "Penguatan Peran Pemerintah Melalui Perlindungan Hukum dan Terhadap Pekerja Migran Indonesia."
- ⁵² Kadek Bobby Reza Arya Dana, Dewa Gede Sudika Mangku, dan Ni Putu Rai Yuliantini, "Perlindungan Hukum Bagi Wni Di Luar Negeri Dalam Perspektif Hukum Internasional (Studi Kasus Hukuman Mati Tki Di Arab Saudi, Tuti Tursilawati 2018)."
- ⁵³ Purdadi dan Amrain, "Kewajiban Negara Terhadap Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia." 23
- ⁵⁴ Hanifah, "Peran Dan Tanggung Jawab Negara Dalam Perlindungan Hukum Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Yang Bermasalah Di Luar Negeri." 16
- ⁵⁵ Purdadi dan Amrain, "Kewajiban Negara Terhadap Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia." 35
- ⁵⁶ Widyawati, "Legal Protection Model for Indonesian Migrant Workers."
- ⁵⁷ Hanifah, "Peran Dan Tanggung Jawab Negara Dalam Perlindungan Hukum Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Yang Bermasalah Di Luar Negeri." 11-12
- ⁵⁸ Khin et al., "Barriers and facilitators for healthcare access among immigrants in Japan: a mixed methods systematic review and meta-synthesis."
- ⁵⁹ Hanifah, "Peran Dan Tanggung Jawab Negara Dalam Perlindungan Hukum Tenaga Kerja Indonesia Yang Bermasalah Di Luar Negeri." 20.

⁶⁰ Kadek Bobby Reza Arya Dana, Dewa Gede Sudika Mangku, dan Ni Putu Rai Yuliantini, "Perlindungan Hukum Bagi Wni Di Luar Negeri Dalam Perspektif Hukum Internasional (Studi Kasus Hukuman Mati Tki Di Arab Saudi, Tuti Tursilawati 2018)."

⁶¹ Sundary dan Muslikhah, "State Responsibility in Protecting Indonesian Migrant Workers as Fulfillment of Human Rights."