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Civil Society Dynamics in Monitoring the Draft Law on the Protection of Domestic Workers

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the dynamics of civil society in overseeing the drafting and ratification of the Domestic Workers Protection Bill (RUU PPRT) and to identify the factors that influenced the delay in the legislative process. The study focuses on the role of civil society actors, as well as counter-actors who rejected or delayed the ratification of the bill. The research method used is normative juridical with a regulatory approach combined with document studies from various literature, regulations, and secondary data. The results show that civil society organizations such as JALA PRT, Komnas Perempuan, LBH APIK, and Kowani play an important role in advocacy through political lobbying, public campaigns, victim assistance, and demonstrations to promote legal protection for domestic workers. However, the legislative process of the PPRT Bill has been repeatedly delayed due to the political and economic interests of members of the House of Representatives, some of whom are also employers of domestic workers, as well as gender bias that views domestic workers as not deserving of the same protection as the formal sector. This study emphasizes the urgency of passing the PPRT Bill as a legal instrument that guarantees the rights of domestic workers to fair wages, social security, and protection from discrimination and violence. Strengthened collaboration between civil society, state institutions, and political actors is needed to ensure that the legislative process for the RUU PPRT proceeds in accordance with the principles of equality and legal protection that are gender-just.

KEYWORDS

Civil Society;
Advocacy;
Legal
Protection



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INTRODUCTION

Domestic Workers (PRT) and workers or laborers have fundamental differences. PRT is a job done by someone with the main task of carrying out household tasks such as making food, cleaning the house and clothes, caring for the employer's children, and other tasks as mandated by the employer.¹ Based on Article 1 of Law Number 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, domestic workers can be categorized as workers or laborers, namely every person who works by receiving wages or other forms of imbalance. Labor work is generally carried out in the formal sector, such as offices or companies. While domestic workers' work is carried out in the informal sector in the private environment, namely the employer's household. Based on Law Number 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, which regulates the rights and obligations of workers, these regulations only apply to those who work in companies or agencies, not individuals. Meanwhile, although domestic workers are categorized as workers or laborers, the relationship between domestic workers and individual employers or employers is not included in the scope of Law Number 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower.

The absence of specific protection laws for domestic workers can make them even more vulnerable to threats and discrimination in their work. Protection for domestic workers (PRT) cannot be ignored. Exploitation and violence experienced by domestic workers during their work process persist and must be addressed at the root of the problem. Moreover, in the Indonesian context, the number of women working as domestic workers is higher than that of men. Data from the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 2022 showed that approximately 67.1 million people worked as domestic workers worldwide, of which 17.2%, or approximately 11.5 million, were domestic workers working outside their home country. In Indonesia alone, an estimated 5 million domestic workers were employed in the same year, with women playing a dominant role.² Female domestic workers generally work in the domestic sphere. Low education, economic needs, gender relations within the household, and other factors greatly influence the conditions of female domestic workers who become vulnerable to exploitation during work placement.³ A weak system of protection and supervision of the domestic worker work process makes domestic workers, especially female domestic workers, vulnerable to re-victimization in various forms, including criminalization.⁴

In contrast, Singapore has established a stronger regulatory framework to protect domestic workers. The Singaporean government guarantees protection for domestic workers through instruments such as the Employment of Foreign Manpower Act (EFMA) under the Work Permit for Domestic Workers, which regulates rights such as a weekly rest day, reasonable working hours, and mechanisms to prevent employer abuse, and the Foreign Worker Dormitories Act.

¹ Erwindya Julia Anggraeni, 'Tinjauan RUU PPRT Terhadap Persoalan Pekerja Rumah Tangga di Indonesia' (2024) 3:1 J Huk dan HAM Wicarana 2.

² Anugrah Andriansyah, 'Jala PRT: 400-an Pekerja Rumah Tangga Alami Kekerasan pada 2012-2021', (2022), online: *VOA Indones*.

³ International Labour Organization, *Kerja Layak untuk Pekerja Rumah Tangga di Indonesia: Tantangan dan Strategi Kebijakan* (Jakarta: ILO, 2017).

⁴ Komnas Perempuan, *Catatan Tahunan (CATAHU) 2023: Potret Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Komnas Perempuan, 2023).



Furthermore, Singapore enforces the Employment Agencies Act, which specifically regulates the obligations of employment agencies in the recruitment and placement of domestic workers, thereby strengthening legal protection for this employment sector.⁵ The country even involves employers or individual employers. Employers act as representatives of the state in disciplining their domestic workers. To ensure that employers comply with state regulations, employers must participate in the Employer Orientation Programme (EOP) to apply for work permits for domestic workers, provide personal accident insurance, health insurance, regular medical check-ups, and weekly rest days for domestic workers.⁶

Meanwhile, Indonesia still does not recognize domestic workers as formal workers, as regulated in the Employment Law. As a result, domestic workers continue to experience vulnerable situations, inadequate work, and various acts of violence. The most recent case of violence against domestic workers occurred in the Batam area, Riau Islands, on June 22. A video of a domestic worker from Sumba, East Nusa Tenggara, identified as Intan (21), circulated widely on social media. The video showed Intan's battered face, allegedly due to torture by her employer.⁷

Based on records from the National Network for Advocacy of Domestic Workers (JALA PRT), there were 3,308 cases of violence against domestic workers between 2021 and 2024. An increase in cases of violence was also seen between 2012 and 2022. Data collected by the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) also shows 2,344 cases of violence against domestic workers from 2005 to 2022. Regarding welfare, JALA PRT data from 2022 shows that the average wage for domestic workers is only around 20% to 30% of the Regional Minimum Wage (UMR). In addition, domestic workers also do not have social security. A 2019 JALA PRT survey of 4,296 domestic workers in six cities found that 89% were not registered as PBI (Contribution Assistance Recipient) health insurance participants, and 99% did not have employment social security.⁸ These data indicate that domestic workers are in a very vulnerable position due to the lack of legal protection.

Before the existence of a structured movement related to the Protection of Domestic Workers and before the enactment of the PPRT Bill, public awareness of its importance first emerged in the late 1990s when a domestic worker study group in Sleman became the beginning of a domestic labor movement that later gave rise to the Household Union (SPRT) named Tunas Mulia.⁹ Then, in 2004, the PPRT Bill was first proposed by the National Network for Advocacy of Domestic Workers to the House of Representatives and was included in the 2005 to 2009 National Legislation Program. Although the PPRT Bill had been proposed since 2004 by JALA

⁵ Agung Pratama Antony et al, 'Employment or Exploration? A Legal Comparative Study of Domestic Worker Protection in Singapore and Indonesia' (2025) 14:2 Leg Br IHSA Inst 2.

⁶ Krittiya Kantachote, 'Micromanagement of Foreign Domestic Workers in Singapore: The Influence of State Regulations and Laws' (2023) 9:7 Heliyon 2.

⁷ Sony Hellen Sinombor, 'PRT Asal Sumba Disiksa di Batam, Pengesahan RUU PPRT Sangat Mendesak', (2025), online: *Kompas.com*.

⁸ Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Asosiasi Perempuan untuk Keadilan (LBH APIK), 'Urgensi Pengesahan RUU PPRT dan Tantangan yang Dihadapi', (2024).

⁹ Diana Putri & Hanjani, 'Ketika Hak Pekerja Rumah Tangga Terabaikan : Potret Realitas dan Jalan Legislasi RUU PPRT (Rancangan Undang-Undang Perlindungan Pekerja Rumah Tangga) yang Mangkrak' (2025) 1:1 J Antropol 63-74.



PRT, to date, there has been no ratification. The PPRT Bill was proposed to provide recognition and equal rights to domestic workers, like other workers, to ensure their welfare. Advocacy from every organization involved in the community movement is one way that is seen as being able to resolve the complex problems experienced by domestic workers. Guarantees for domestic workers' rights and a system of protection for these rights must be enshrined in law at the national level in the form of legislation. The absence of a policy umbrella for domestic workers automatically gives rise to a jungle of other problems. Therefore, the advocacy of various civil society organizations and human rights institutions (the National Commission on Violence Against Women) for a law specifically protecting domestic workers is deemed crucial. This movement has been conducting ongoing advocacy since 2004, and from 2005 to 2009, the bill was included in the National Legislation Program (Prolegnas). However, deliberations on this bill have encountered obstacles and have never been completed, and to date, the Domestic Workers Bill has not been passed.

Based on the above description, a fundamental question arises that is the focus of this research, namely "how did the political dynamics outside parliament influence the process of forming the Domestic Workers Protection Law," including the actors involved, as well as the factors that encouraged the DPR and the Government to accept or reject the actors' demands in the process of its ratification. The purpose of this research is to analyze the extent to which social and political constructions influence the direction of civil society's struggle in fighting for legal protection for domestic workers and to understand the political dynamics outside parliament that influenced the process of forming the Domestic Workers Protection Law. Thus, this research is expected to demonstrate the urgency of civil society involvement as a balancing force in the legislative system, while also emphasizing that the delay in ratifying the Domestic Workers Protection Bill not only reflects the weak political commitment of the state but also constitutes a structural obstacle to the fulfillment of human rights and social justice for domestic workers in Indonesia.

METHOD

This study uses a normative juridical method, which combines analysis of laws and regulations with secondary data such as books, research journals, and websites that support and are relevant to this research. The data collection technique uses document study techniques, which are then presented descriptively and qualitatively.

RESULT & DISCUSSION

The Domestic Workers Bill (RUU PPRT) is the result of a long struggle and hard work by various civil society elements concerned with the plight of domestic workers in Indonesia. This bill marks a significant milestone in the effort to enact a law born of advocacy, public pressure, and community demands for the state to provide comprehensive legal protection for domestic workers who have been neglected. Before the UU PPRT, domestic workers often faced legal vulnerabilities because they were not recognized as formal workers under the Manpower Law, making it difficult for them to obtain basic rights such as a living wage, social security, and protection



from violence and exploitation. Existing regulations were deemed incapable of comprehensively addressing domestic workers' issues, especially in the context of justice for women who dominate the domestic work sector. This situation has resulted in many domestic workers continuing to experience discrimination, violence, and legal uncertainty without an adequate response from the state. The RUU PPRT reflects the interaction between law and politics, where the process of its formation was not only driven by the normative need to provide legal protection for domestic workers, but also influenced by negotiations of political, economic, and social interests and the social dynamics of the communities involved.¹⁰

I. Dynamics of Civil Society in Overseeing the Ratification of the PPRT Bill

The dynamics of the ratification of the Domestic Workers Bill have taken a long journey, starting from the Domestic Workers Union and other Community Organizations pushing for the formation of a law that can protect the rights and obligations of domestic workers who are dominated by women. The Domestic Workers Bill is a benchmark for a country to be able to carry out the mandate of the 1945 Constitution well, on the basis of social justice for all Indonesian people. Domestic Workers is a term used in existing regulations, but until now, the existence of Domestic Workers as workers has not been accepted by all parties.¹¹ In the employment law, it is stated that workers are every person who works by receiving wages or other forms of compensation,¹² this is closely related to Domestic Workers. Ironically, Domestic Workers are not included in Formal workers, even though the criteria for workers are included in formal workers, with work and wages, but regulations in this country still classify domestic workers are still classified as informal workers.

Domestic workers, predominantly female, are highly vulnerable to violence. Violence against women encompasses all forms of gender-based violence, including physical, sexual, and emotional violence, which can traumatize women psychologically, including threats, intimidation, and overt or covert violations of their rights.¹³ Physically, there is a stark contrast between male and female workers, with men possessing greater physical strength than women, as shown in the following table:¹⁴

¹⁰ Fajrianto, 'Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Pekerja Rumah Tangga dalam Perspektif Hak Konstitusional dan Hambatan Penerapannya di Indonesia' (2023) 4:3 J Al-Azhar Indones Seri Ilmu Sos 151.

¹¹ Sesa & Tri Dian April, 'Analisis Yuridis Kedudukan dan Perlindungan Hukum Pekerja Rumah Tangga (PRT) di Lihat dari Perspektif Peraturan Perundang-undangan Bidang Ketenagakerjaan' (2016) 1:1 J Nestor Magister Huk.

¹² Law Number 13 of 2003 Article 1.

¹³ Suryamizon, 'Perlindungan hukum preventif terhadap kekerasan perempuan dan anak dalam perspektif hukum Hak Asasi Manusia' (2017) 16:2 Marwah J Perempuan, Agama, dan Jender 112-126.

¹⁴ Karnia Septia, 'Desak Pengesahan RUU PRT, Puluhan Perempuan Demo di Kantor DPRD', online: *Kompas.com*.



Table 1. Differences between Men and Women by Gender

| | Men | Women |
|-----------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| characteristic | Maskulin | Feminine |
| Region | Public | Domestic/Private/Household |
| Role | Leader, Head of Productive Family/Breadwinner | Housewife, Reproductive/Child Care |

From this table, it can be concluded that men have a more dominant role than women, and women are more involved in household management. This dominance makes women workers more likely to be confined to the domestic sphere. Therefore, it is undeniable that there are many cases of violence against domestic workers. Data on violence against domestic workers from 2012 to 2019 shows a consistent increase year after year, requiring special attention. This can be seen in the following table:¹⁵

Table 2. Data on Cases of Violence Against Domestic Workers 2012-2019

| DATA ON CASES OF VIOLENCE AGAINST DOMESTIC WORKERS | | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| 2012 | 2013 | 2014 | 2015 | 2016 | 2017 | 2018 | 2019 |
| 327 | 336 | 408 | 402 | 428 | 417 | 434 | 476 |

From the graphic data, it can be seen that every year, violence against domestic workers continues to increase. The forms of violence include:¹⁶

Table 3. The Percentage of Violence Against Domestic Workers Continues to Increase

| | | | |
|-------------------|--|---|---|
| Case | Physical, Non-Physical, trade resulting in serious injury. | Harassment, humiliation, defamation, unpaid or deducted wages, and not receiving THR. | Violence, Economic, Layoffs due to illness, wage cuts, and THR Not Given. |
| Presentase | 22% | 37% | 41% |

The data demonstrates the need for specific regulations to provide legal protection to workers and reduce the incidence of violence against domestic

¹⁵ Anggraeni & Erwindya Julia, 'Tinjauan RUU PPRT terhadap Persoalan Pekerja Rumah Tangga di Indonesia' (2024) 3:1 Wicarana 1–9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*



workers. According to Eddyono, the urgency of passing the Domestic Workers Law is as follows:¹⁷

- a. The ratification of the Domestic Workers Law recognizes domestic workers as dignified workers in Indonesia and as citizens equal to other citizens.
- b. Domestic workers' constitutional rights as citizens are guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution, including their protection and welfare.
- c. The ratification of the Domestic Workers Law demonstrates appreciation for the care work performed in the household.
- d. Recognizing domestic workers as workers is an effort to honor, improve the welfare of, and protect those who often face limited employment options. In situations where there is no protection, violence and discrimination against domestic workers occur.
- e. The ratification of the Domestic Workers Bill provides a framework for harmonization and mutually beneficial relationships between various parties, including employers, household workers, agents/deployers, community groups, and the government.
- f. The Domestic Workers Bill paves the way for a strategic plan to strengthen data collection on the actual number of domestic workers and the domestic work sector as part of valuable care work.

On the journey towards the ratification of the Domestic Workers Bill, many actions and efforts have been carried out by the civil society coalition with the aim of demanding the state's responsibility for its negligence for more than two decades in not providing a legal umbrella for domestic workers and employers.¹⁸ The first action related to the Domestic Workers Bill, which was pioneered by the National Domestic Workers Advocacy Network (JALA PRT) in 2004, succeeded in getting the Domestic Workers Bill included in the national legislative program from 2005 to 2009.¹⁹ The main drivers of JALA PRT as an advocacy organization that actively fights for the rights of domestic workers, especially women, include:²⁰

- a. Advocating for this bill to provide legal certainty, regulate the rights and obligations of employers and domestic workers, and ensure that domestic workers receive social security.
- b. Receiving complaints and assisting domestic workers who are victims of violence, exploitation, harassment, or other human rights violations. Complaints handled include cases of confinement, torture, deprivation of communication access, non-payment of wages, and confiscation of important documents.
- c. In addition, JALA PRT aims to strengthen the movement by building advocacy networks at the national, regional, and international levels.

On June 13, 2010, 25 women activists staged a demonstration against the Domestic Workers Bill (RUU PPRT), which was included in the DPR's program in 2010 but was not discussed. Then, from 2011 to 2012, Commission IX of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) conducted research in 10

¹⁷ Sri Wiyanti Eddyono, 'RUU Pekerja Rumah Tangga pengakuan Hukum dan Penghargaan terhadap Kerja- kerja Perawatan',.

¹⁸ (APIK), *supra* note 8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Sali Susiana, 'Urgensi Undang-Undang Tentang Perlindungan Pekerja Rumah Tangga Dalam Perspektif Feminis' (2022) 7:2 J Legis Indones.



districts/cities, public hearings in 3 cities, and comparative studies in two countries. Then, in 2013, the draft of the PPRT Bill was submitted to the DPR's Legislative Body (Baleg). On International Women's Day on March 8, 2015, dozens of women and domestic workers who were members of the West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) Workers' Coalition for Lawsuits (KPM) held a long march to the NTB DPRD office. This long march aimed to urge the immediate ratification of the PPRT Bill. This action was finally concluded with the signing of a petition by Commission V of the NTB DPRD, which stated that Commission V supported the inclusion of the PPRT Bill in the Prolegnas,²¹ but entering the 2014-2019 DPR term, this bill seemed to disappear and was only included in the Prolegnas waiting list.

In 2020, the PPRT Bill was completed in the Legislation Body (Baleg) and was now only ready to be submitted to the Consultative Body (Bamus).²² In 2023, the PPRT Bill finally entered a new realm. The 19th Plenary Session of the 4th session officially ratified the PPRT Bill as a DPR initiative.²³ Dissatisfaction with the government's performance, especially the DPR's, on the PPRT Bill prompted demonstrations and other actions carried out by a civil society coalition on August 15, 2024, consisting of JALA PRT, the National Commission on Violence Against Women, LBH APIK Jakarta, and the Indonesian Women's Congress (Kowani) in front of the DPR/MPR building. This action was led by Fanda Puspitasari, an activist and spokesperson for JALA PRT. This action urged the Speaker of the Indonesian House of Representatives, Puan Maharani, to immediately ratify the PPRT Bill. In addition, this action also brought 5 points of demand, namely:²⁴

- a. Demand that the Chairman of the DPR RI pass the PPRT Bill now
- b. Demand that the Chairman of the DPR RI take sides in protecting women's human rights
- c. Demand that all members of the DPR RI support the ratification of the PPRT Bill
- d. Demand an end to modern slavery against domestic workers
- e. Ensure independence for domestic workers.

Promised, delayed, and ignored, that's the current state of the Domestic Workers Bill. This issue has come under sharp scrutiny from the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan). Komnas Perempuan commissioners stated that one of the constitutional mandates is to humanize all human beings and ensure their well-being, both women and men. Given that the majority of domestic workers are women, this requires special affirmation. In the context of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), this affirmative mandate is legitimate, namely by providing additional measures or actions that are different but still aimed at improving the welfare of marginalized women.²⁵ According to Komnas Perempuan, domestic workers experience a high level of vulnerability because the nature of their work is often hidden and viewed as a personal domestic

²¹ Septia, *supra* note 14.

²² Tempoco, '17 Tahun RUU Perlindungan PRT Digantung, Bagaimana Nasibnya Kini?', (2021).

²³ Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Asosiasi Perempuan untuk Keadilan (LBH APIK), 'Urgensi Pengesahan RUU PPRT dan Tantangan yang Dihadapi', (2024).

²⁴ Astrid Meishella, 'Massa Demo Depan Gedung DPR, Desak RUU PPRT Disahkan', (2024), online: *detik.com*.

²⁵ Komnas Perempuan, 'Menuju Pelindungan PRT: RUU PPRT dalam Genggaman DPR', (2024).



responsibility. Based on this thinking, Komnas Perempuan strongly advocates for the rights of domestic workers. Furthermore, domestic work plays a vital role in supporting the national economy through work in the care economy sector,²⁶ which includes domestic work, caring for family members, and supporting the productivity of households and the nation as a whole. However, without adequate legal protection, domestic workers remain vulnerable to discrimination, violence, and various forms of exploitation.²⁷ The state needs to recognize and guarantee the rights of domestic workers as part of the recognition of care work that supports daily life and sustainable development. The Indonesian Women's Association for Justice Legal Aid Institute (LBH APIK) is a key actor in advocating for the Domestic Workers Bill. In its struggle, LBH APIK consistently raises the issue of comprehensive legal protection for domestic workers, emphasizing the importance of a gender perspective and social justice.²⁸ LBH APIK demands that domestic workers be recognized as formal workers with the right to decent wages, clear working hours, leave, and social security. LBH APIK also encourages strict regulation of domestic worker placement agencies to ensure they are fully responsible for the safety and well-being of workers.²⁹ The ratification of the Domestic Workers Bill not only concerns the employment aspect, but also fulfills human rights, especially for women who dominate the domestic work sector and have long been vulnerable to violence and discrimination.³⁰

In voicing the PPRT Bill, Kowani brought up the issue of equal rights by emphasizing that domestic workers must be recognized as formal workers with economic value. The issues raised included:³¹ Recognition of domestic workers as workers with equal rights, demands for decent wage standards in accordance with the Regional Minimum Wage (UMR), social security and work protection from violence and exploitation, gender equality because the majority of domestic workers are women, and empowerment through education and training to increase the capacity and bargaining position of domestic workers.

The role of the community in the discussion of the Domestic Workers Bill is no less important because the stigmatization of domestic workers by the community has a significant influence on advocacy for the Domestic Workers Bill, thus encouraging NGOs to continue to voice the community's voice. Although the majority of the community's voice is often underestimated, the role of the community (the silent majority) is very important because most people believe that legal protection for domestic workers is not a necessity. After all, the relationship between domestic workers and employers should be a legal relationship based on

²⁶ RA Dewi, *Pekerja rumah tangga dan dinamika ekonomi domestik: Kajian peran sosial dan ekonomi PRT di Indonesia* (Jakarta: Pustaka Nusantara, 2021).

²⁷ Nikmah Dalimunthe & Tasya Fadilah, 'Pembantu Rumah Tangga dalam Perspektif Hukum Ketenagakerjaan: Analisis Yuridis Normatif' (2025) 4:2 J Ris Rumpun Ilmu Sos Polit dan Hum.

²⁸ Ayu Sophia Yudistika, *Advokasi Hak-hak Perempuan Asisten Rumah Tangga oleh Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Asosiasi Perempuan Untuk Keadilan (LBH APIK)* UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2017) [unpublished].

²⁹ (APIK), *supra* note 8.

³⁰ Putri & Hanjani, *supra* note 9.

³¹ Siti Magfirah Makmur & Irwansyah Reza Mohammad, 'Tinjauan Hukum Perlindungan Terhadap Pekerja Rumah Tangga' (2023) 1:1 J At-Tanwir Law Rev.



family values, so there should be no state intervention to regulate this relationship.³² Patriarchal norms and religious conservatism are also often obstacles in promoting policies that favor domestic workers.³³

Religious organizations on the agenda of the Civil Coalition for the Ratification of the Domestic Workers Bill held a webinar on the Launching of the Pan-Pumping Movement to Achieve Social Justice, attended by religious leaders such as PBNU, Muhammadiyah, PGI, KWI, PHDI, MATAKIN, and MLKI.³⁴ Representatives of PB NU stated that NU is committed to continuing to support the ratification of the Domestic Workers Bill because the majority of domestic workers are women and every religion honors women. KWI representatives urged the Speaker of the Indonesian House of Representatives to immediately ratify the Domestic Workers Bill because it has been stalled for too long compared to bills related to the economy.³⁵ The Indonesian Academic Alliance also supports the ratification of the Domestic Workers Bill. In 2019, the Indonesian Academic Alliance stated the demonstrations that occurred and urged the ratification of the Domestic Workers Bill.³⁶

II. Mapping Counter Actors and Issues of Rejection of the PPRT Bill

The explanation above shows that this situation should be a consideration for the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) to immediately discuss and ratify the Domestic Violence Bill. The DPR RI designated the PPRT Bill as a DPR Initiative Bill in March 2023. The President has also sent the Problem Inventory List (DIM) for the PPRT Bill to the DPR leadership and appointed a ministry representing the government to conduct discussions on the PPRT Bill with the DPR. Ironically, for more than 20 years, the PPRT Bill has shown no signs of being ratified. While the PPRT Bill has formally gained legitimacy as a DPR Initiative Bill, its existence continues to be hampered by counter-actors within parliament who are reluctant to pursue serious deliberations. This repeated delay aligns with the counter-issues frequently raised, such as those raised by the following two counter-actors:

a. Employer

Some employers have expressed opposition to the Domestic Worker Bill. They worry that enforcing the wage requirements stipulated in the bill will increase costs for domestic workers, especially for families with limited incomes. Furthermore, they are concerned that the flexible and family-oriented working relationship will be lost, thereby eroding the sense of security and trust between employers and domestic workers.

b. Member of the House of Representatives

Similarly, several members of the House of Representatives (DPR) rejected the Domestic Workers Bill, citing concerns that employers would be criminalized

³² Putri & Hanjani, *supra* note 9.

³³ Manik & Ekayanta, *Women's Representation in Political Development in Indonesia: Examining Gender Discrimination and Patriarchal Culture. Evolutionary Studies in Imaginative Culture* (2024).

³⁴ Komnas Perempuan, 'Webinar Seruan Sahkan RUU PPRT dari para Pemimpin Agama dan Launching Gerakan Pukul Panci untuk mewujudkan keadilan sosial', (2022), online: komnasperempuan.go.id.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Pernyataan Sikap Aliansi Akademisi Indonesia terhadap Demonstrasi Mahasiswa*, by Perhimpunan Pers Mahasiswa Indonesia (2019).



and required to pay wages in accordance with the provincial minimum wage (UMP) for domestic workers. However, upon further investigation, it emerged that most of the employers were members of the parliament. This immediately became a heated discussion, with many assuming that the parliamentarians were solely concerned with their own interests without considering social justice. This situation is deeply concerning. It is strongly suspected that economic and political interests are one of the reasons for the protracted deliberations on the revision of the law.³⁷ Furthermore, concerns about wages being considered too high indicate gender bias among both employers and members of the House. They believe domestic workers do not deserve high wages, even though the majority of domestic workers are women.

According to Eddyono et al., the existence of interest groups is a crucial prerequisite for the creation of gender-equitable policies. These groups play a pioneering role in preparing draft regulations, lobbying, and pressing issues as part of their policy advocacy. On the other hand, regulations that regulate women without being supported by women's organizations tend to discriminate against women, and one of them is the PPRT Bill.³⁸

III. Debate and Argument Dynamics

Every profession and job should have equal rights to legal protection.³⁹ The International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 189, implemented in 2011, recognizes domestic workers as protected workers and establishes international law related to this. However, recognition and appreciation for domestic workers in Indonesia are still far from adequate. Yet, many Indonesians still work as domestic workers. This lack of protection and vulnerability to discrimination means that domestic workers still feel they have not received legal recognition from the state.⁴⁰

To date, Indonesia has not ratified ILO Convention No. 189, which regulates decent work for domestic workers. The primary objective of this Convention is to ensure decent work for domestic workers, so that domestic workers receive equal employment rights and protections as other workers. This ILO ratification is urgently needed as a reference and minimum standard regarding the rights of domestic workers. This ratification is not intended to replace existing national regulations, but rather to complement them to improve regulations related to the protection of domestic workers at the national level.

The current debate is that Indonesia does have Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower and Ministerial Regulation No. 2 of 2015, but these two regulations fail to provide legal protection and certainty for domestic workers, who are primarily employed by companies/agencies, not individuals. Yet, one of the demands of

³⁷ Sri Wiyanti Eddyono, *Gerakan Advokasi Legislasi Untuk Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia* (Jakarta: Migrant Care, 2020).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Fajrianto Fajianto, 'Perlindungan Hukum Terhadap Pekerja Rumah Tangga dalam Perspektif Hak Konstitusional dan Hambatan Penerapannya di Indonesia' (2023) 4:3 J Al Azhar Indones Seri Ilmu Sos 151.

⁴⁰ Ista Pranoto, 'Perlindungan Hukum bagi Pekerja Rumah Tangga di Indonesia' (2022) 7:4 J Lex Renaiss 745-762.



domestic workers is for protection and recognition, ensuring a clear legal framework and a decent wage.⁴¹

The debate surrounding the Domestic Worker Bill (PPRT) has not only occurred outside parliament but also within it. Conflicts of interest, with many members of parliament also being employers of domestic workers, have also slowed the process of ratifying the PPRT Bill, as they believe the policy could directly impact them. Members of parliament believe that the employment relationship between employers and domestic workers does not need to be regulated by law, as they believe the PPRT Bill will only complicate the relationship between employers and domestic workers.⁴²

The importance of passing the Domestic Workers (PRT) Bill is to provide adequate legal protection, because without a legal umbrella, domestic workers, especially women, are vulnerable to violence, discrimination, and exploitation, and do not receive basic rights as workers. The debate on the PPRT Bill in the House of Representatives (DPR) regarding gender perspectives considers the struggle to change the perspective of society and the state from considering domestic work (related to the household) as a "natural" task for women, so that, according to the DPR, domestic workers are not a profession worthy of legal protection and respect. The PPRT Bill is expected to regulate work relationships more clearly, standardize, and provide a dispute resolution mechanism, as well as realize the recognition of domestic workers as workers whose dignity and rights are respected.⁴³

When linked to feminist theory, political scientists Brooke Ackerly and Jacqui True, experts in feminist theory and human rights, define a feminist perspective as one based on an awareness of unequal gender relations and aimed at promoting social justice.⁴⁴ The process of changing gender equality policies in Indonesia is usually initiated by the women's movement, which significantly influences the whole. According to Blackburn, the women's movement expresses women's desire to have a collective voice and to include voices in groups (both formal and informal) to articulate their demands in the public sphere.⁴⁵ In this Draft Law on Domestic Workers (RUU PPRT), women's unions and local community groups collaborated to voice policies put forward by each group with an interest in gender equality, one of which was the elimination of discrimination and violence against domestic workers. This diversity of interests influenced the political dynamics among actors, especially in terms of articulating and prioritizing policy issues to be promoted. Therefore, women's movements can collaborate or even conflict depending on how they interpret the policy issues being debated.⁴⁶

Essentially, the frequent debate or issue that is always brought up regarding why the Domestic Workers Bill has not yet been passed is the issue of economic

⁴¹ Trias Palupi dan Riza Asyari, 'Urgensi Perlindungan terhadap Pekerja Rumah Tangga' (2024) 16:18 J Bid Kesejaht Rakyat 23.

⁴² A Mutiara & Harefa B, 'Politik Hukum Pengesahan Rancangan Undang- Undang Perlindungan Pekerja Rumah Tangga' (2025) 11:2 Justitiabelen.

⁴³ Anggraeni, *supra* note 1.

⁴⁴ J True Ackerly, BA, *Penelitian Feminis dalam Politik dan Sosial Sains* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

⁴⁵ Blackburn, *Perempuan dan Negara di Indonesia Modern* (Cambridge: University Press, 2004).

⁴⁶ Srwi Wiyanti Eddyono, *Tantangan Gerakan Feminis dalam Mengembangkan Aliansi dengan Gerakan Perempuan dan Gerakan Sosial Lainnya di Indonesia* (Jakarta: SCN CREST-WEMC, 2010).



burden, where employers seem afraid of the regulation contained in the Domestic Workers Bill, which stipulates that domestic workers are required to receive a decent wage. In reality, no regulation explicitly stipulates that domestic workers must receive wages in accordance with the Provincial Minimum Wage (UMP). In addition, the regulation of social security for domestic workers has also become an issue raised by counter actors, where the regulation regarding social security has not yet clearly regulated who will pay the insurance contributions.⁴⁷

Based on the latest House of Representatives meeting on October 21, 2025, the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower stated that the current number of domestic workers in Indonesia is 4.2 million. According to them, domestic workers need a guarantee of decent wages and protection as formal workers. The Indonesian Ministry of Manpower is also ready to provide a special portion for vocational training for domestic workers through Community Job Training Centers, both organized by the government and the private sector. In addition, the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education also took part in the discussion of this PPRT Bill. The Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education has training programs that have been implemented, such as skills or vocational education. Prospective domestic workers and domestic workers who are already working can participate in these programs, including formal and non-formal education programs, so that later prospective domestic workers or domestic workers who are already working can have a good quality education and skills, and are ready to work. This was then highlighted by Uztad Yanuar, a member of the DPR RI Legislation Body, who said that the Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education seemed hopeless and was not very involved in this bill, even though there were facilities that could be used to facilitate domestic workers, such as the Community Learning Activity Center (PKBM).⁴⁸

The Indonesian Women's Political Caucus (KPPI) also argued that the bill took so long to be passed because they knew that most of the people in the DPR meeting room were employers. They urged employers not to worry about the sense of family because once they were working, that closeness would naturally arise.⁴⁹ The Indonesian Driver Empowerment House (RBPI) also voiced its opinion at the DPR RI Legislation Body meeting. According to them, this law is the cause of people having difficulty finding work because if it is too complicated, it is the people who want to provide the work who will have difficulties, not only drivers, but also other domestic workers.⁵⁰

In the last meeting held by the Legislation Body of the Indonesian House of Representatives, most of the members of the Legislation Body highlighted the domestic workers who are still underage, with the age when they should have received proper education, but because of economic circumstances that force them to become domestic workers, the Legislation Body of the Indonesian House of Representatives also proposed the relevant Ministry, especially the Ministry of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia and the Ministry of Primary and Secondary

⁴⁷ Thea Ady, 'Dirut BPJS Kesehatan Sodorkan 3 Skema Pendaftaran Jamsos dalam RUU PPRT', (2025), online: hukumonline.com.

⁴⁸ Baleg DPR RI CHannel, *Baleg DPR RI RDPU Tentang RUU PPRT* (2025).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ TVR Parlemen, 'DPR Genjot Pembahasan RUU PPPRT', (2025).



Education to address this problem by providing special matters related to the welfare of domestic workers and providing training and education that can provide them with an education level equivalent to high school education. Deputy chairman of the legislative body of the Indonesian House of Representatives (Ahmad Doli Kurnia Tanjung), Golkar Faction, North Sumatra Electoral District 3, revealed important points regarding the latest progress regarding the results of the meeting. These points are:⁵¹

- a. The relationship between employers and domestic workers is not an industrial relationship. Indonesia is culturally a country full of family ties, so there's no need for contracts or anything like that. Therefore, the solution is that the employment relationship can be chosen between an agreement and an employment contract.
- b. The emergence of a protection system due to the many cases of violence and discrimination, so the House of Representatives' Legislation Body (Baleg) is focusing more on this issue.
- c. There will be a regulation of the three-party relationship between domestic workers, employers, and a third party connecting them, which will be regulated in more detail in this law.
- d. The House of Representatives (DPR RI), through its Legislation Body, is also exploring ways for the state to fund BPJS Employment and Health Insurance (BPJS Kesehatan) to ensure domestic workers work comfortably, safely, and ensure their health.
- e. The PPRT Law is a law that is more specific to domestic workers than the Labor Law.
- f. Domestic workers are informal workers.
- g. Domestic workers are considered informal workers, and even if taxes and other related expenses, including insurance, are incurred, these will not be borne by the worker but by the employer.
- h. The estimated monthly contribution for BPJS Employment and BPJS Health is 50,000 rupiah, which will then be borne by the employer.
- i. This law strengthens the status of workers as informal workers, while maximizing protection. Furthermore, employers are not burdened with excessive responsibilities.

IV. Main Factors Hindering the Legislation of the PPRT Bill

The stalling of the Domestic Workers Bill in the House of Representatives (DPR) was due to a lack of political commitment from its members. The large number of DPR members who are also employers has led to bias against domestic workers. Furthermore, the legislative body is considered to lack a gender perspective. In 2023, the Domestic Workers Bill finally entered a new phase. In the 19th Plenary Session, the bill was officially passed as a DPR initiative, representing significant progress after a long delay. However, the struggle to pass it into law remains far from over.

Some groups are still delaying the ratification of the Domestic Workers Bill, even though all parties in parliament have already expressed their support. Two

⁵¹ Elisa Purba, 'Perlindungan Pekerja Rumah Tangga Jadi Prioritas dalam RUU PPRT', (2025), online: *TVR Parlemen*.



parliamentary factions, the Functional Groups Party (Golkar) and the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP), have postponed the ratification. Those opposing it are as follows:⁵²

- a. The PDIP faction rejected the bill, citing the need to harmonize the Domestic Workers Bill with the Manpower Law to ensure its implementation is smooth.
- b. The Golkar faction expressed its opposition, arguing that all protections should apply to everyone, including employers, not just domestic workers, as violence can be inflicted by domestic workers themselves.
- c. The Garuda Party believes that the Domestic Workers Bill will likely discourage employers from hiring domestic workers, leading to high unemployment.
- d. Employers rejected the Domestic Workers Bill, arguing that it would eliminate the principles of kinship and cooperation in the relationship between employers and domestic workers.

CONCLUSION

A comparison of the dynamics of civil society and counter-actors in the legislative process of the Domestic Workers Bill (RUU PPRT) reveals fundamental differences in both their objectives and their impact on the protection of domestic workers. Civil society organizations consulted by JALA PRT, Komnas Perempuan, LBH APIK, and Kowani consistently advocated for the ratification of the RUU PPRT through lobbying, public campaigns, victim advocacy, and rescue efforts. On the one hand, this movement provided advocacy power to guarantee domestic workers' rights to a living wage, social security, and protection from violence and discrimination. However, on the other hand, it posed vulnerabilities due to political and economic resistance in parliament. In contrast, counter-actors, such as some members of the House of Representatives (DPR) and job reporters, emphasized economic interests, citing the burden of costs and the risk of criminalization. The system maintained without the RUU PPRT ultimately benefited employers more than it protected domestic workers, primarily due to gender bias that still positions domestic work as a woman's personal responsibility, rather than a profession worthy of legal protection.

The dynamic of the push and pull between these two actors demonstrates that the legislative process for the Domestic Workers Bill (RUU PPRT) is not merely a legal issue, but also a reflection of deeply rooted patriarchal social and cultural structures. In terms of legal and social consequences, this disparity is increasingly apparent. Without the ratification of the RUU PPRT, cases of violence, discrimination, and exploitation against domestic workers will continue to recur, even harming family stability and perpetuating structural injustice. Meanwhile, if the RUU PPRT is passed, a legal instrument will be available that not only provides certainty of employment status but also protects domestic workers from economic and social vulnerability. Therefore, accelerating the ratification of the RUU PPRT is a strategic step to ensure social justice, gender equality, and respect for human dignity.

⁵² Mutia Azzahra, *Keterlambatan Pembahasan Terkait Rancangan Undang- Undang perlindungan Pekerja Rumah Tangga* Universitas Nasional, 2025) [unpublished].



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