

State and Non-State Actor Collaboration in Advocating for The Educational Rights of Indonesian Migrant Workers' Children: A Paradiplomacy Framework Analysis

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ABSTRACT

Children of undocumented Indonesian migrant workers in East Malaysia may face barriers to formal education associated with incomplete civil documentation. This study examines how state and non-state actors collaborate in advocating for these children's educational rights, using a paradiplomacy-informed framework. A qualitative descriptive single-case-study design was applied through documentary analysis of academic publications, institutional reports, policy documents, and official releases published between 2016 and 2026. The documents were analysed thematically across actor roles, interaction patterns, institutional constraints, and relationships between authority and implementation. The findings identify five actor clusters: central government institutions, diplomatic and consular representative offices, civil society organisations, community and private-sector actors, and universities. Five recurring collaboration mechanisms are identified: the documentation grace-period arrangement, repatriation scholarship, layered teacher provision, plantation-based learning facilities, and knowledge production. Enrolment data show that CLCs recorded substantially more learners than SIKK in 2024, although these figures do not measure the overall share of eligible children receiving education. The study argues that a paradiplomacy-informed perspective helps connect central diplomatic authority with locally embedded cross-border action, while revealing relational asymmetry: non-state actors contribute important implementation capacity but remain dependent on state authority, institutional recognition, and resources.

Keywords: *Paradiplomacy, Right to Education, Migrant Workers' Children, Non-State Actors, East Malaysia*

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INTRODUCTION

The right to education is a fundamental entitlement that attaches to every child regardless of a parent's migration or documentation status. The Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by Indonesia through Presidential Decree No. 36 of 1990, establishes education as a right that states are expected to protect rather than a discretionary service. This commitment is reinforced by Law No. 35 of 2014 on Child Protection and by Indonesia's ratification of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families through Law No. 6 of 2012. Within this normative

framework, Indonesian citizen children born or residing abroad remain connected to Indonesia's protection responsibilities, including when their presence is not fully recorded in the host country's administrative system (Asma Amin et al., 2026; Yuvanti, 2021).

The issue becomes more complex when this normative commitment encounters undocumented migration. Malaysia is a major destination for Indonesian migrant workers because of geographic proximity, linguistic and cultural similarity, and differences in wage opportunities (Prianto et al., 2023). Many migrants work in plantation and construction sectors in Sabah and Sarawak, and a substantial proportion are estimated to lack valid immigration documentation. Institutional estimates cited in recent studies suggest that of roughly 2.7 million Indonesian migrant workers in Malaysia, about 1.6 million have documented status, while a palm-oil-sector estimate places the number of workers without valid immigration documentation in Sabah at approximately 840,000 out of 1.2 million (Amin et al., 2026). These figures should be treated as estimates rather than precise population counts because undocumented migration is difficult to measure directly.

Children's access to education is affected by this administrative situation. Malaysian legal and administrative restrictions affecting migrant families contribute to unregistered births and marriages among some Indonesian migrant communities (Aminuddin Mustaffa et al., 2022; Asma Amin et al., 2026). Children without complete civil documentation may consequently face difficulties in school enrolment, inclusion in basic education data, and issuance of educational certificates. Previous research therefore describes documentation as an important institutional condition shaping educational access, rather than treating the absence of documents simply as an individual administrative problem (Wulan, T. R., Muslihudin, M., & Wijayanti, 2024).

Prior scholarship has examined this problem through two broad but partly separate approaches. The first emphasises state-led instruments, including the Indonesian School of Kota Kinabalu (SIKK), Community Learning Centres (CLCs), assigned teachers, bilateral arrangements, and documentation facilitation by Indonesian representative offices (Agustina & Azizah, 2024; Anita et al., 2021; Yulianto et al., 2023). The second focuses on non-state initiatives, including non-governmental organisations, faith-based organisations, diaspora communities, and community-based educational actors that help fill service gaps and advocate for affected children (Damayanti et al., 2016, 2023; Muslihudin et al., 2023; Muyamin, 2019). These studies establish the importance of both state and non-state contributions, but provide less explanation of how their respective roles are connected and coordinated within the same cross-border governance process.

Recent studies have begun to connect these strands. Asma Amin et al. (2026) examine educational-rights protection through a multi-track diplomacy framework and identify coordination across government, professional organisations, private citizens, and research and education. Amin et al. (2026) analyse related efforts through a soft-power diplomacy framework, emphasising normative appeal, cultural proximity, and plantation-company engagement. Maksum (2025) adds a grassroots perspective by examining citizen-based initiatives in Penang. These studies demonstrate the multi-actor character of educational-rights protection, but they leave open a more specific question: how can the

cross-border activities of actors located at different distances from central state authority be conceptually understood? This study addresses that question through a paradiplomacy-informed analysis.

In its classical usage, paradiplomacy refers primarily to the international activities of subnational governments and other territorially based governmental authorities operating below the central state level (Kuznetsov.A.S., 2015). This definition is important because not every non-state or non-central activity is automatically paradiplomatic. In this study, the term is therefore used in a qualified, analytical sense: paradiplomatic practice refers to cross-border activity carried out below or alongside central diplomacy, particularly by subnational or representative governmental actors, while non-state actors are examined as collaborating actors within the same governance network rather than being treated as paradiplomatic actors by definition. This distinction separates paradiplomacy from citizen diplomacy, which generally concerns people-to-people or citizen-led international engagement; from public diplomacy, which concerns communication and relationship-building with foreign publics; and from broader transnational non-state action, which encompasses cross-border activities by NGOs, firms, universities, and communities without requiring a diplomatic function. The paradiplomacy lens is useful here because it highlights how locally situated governmental and quasi-governmental channels connect central foreign-policy authority with practical cross-border service delivery. It does not imply that all actors involved possess diplomatic status.

Based on this background, the study asks two questions. First, how are the roles of state and non-state actors configured in advocating for the educational rights of Indonesian migrant workers' children in East Malaysia? Second, how do the collaboration mechanisms among these actors operate when interpreted through a paradiplomacy lens? The study's contribution is to use paradiplomacy not as a synonym for all non-state diplomacy, but as a relational perspective for examining how cross-border educational advocacy is connected to actors operating below or alongside central diplomatic authority. Compared with multi-track diplomacy, which primarily differentiates actors by diplomatic track, and soft-power analysis, which emphasises the resources that make attraction and cooperation possible, the paradiplomacy perspective draws attention to territorial proximity, institutional location, authority, and dependence between central and non-central actors. The study therefore proposes a paradiplomatic interpretation of cross-border social-rights governance rather than claiming to demonstrate the effectiveness of paradiplomacy itself.

METHOD

Research Design

This study employs a qualitative descriptive approach with a single-case-study design. The case is advocacy for the educational rights of Indonesian migrant workers' children in East Malaysia, specifically Sabah and Sarawak. A qualitative case-study approach is appropriate because the study examines relationships among institutions, patterns of coordination, and forms of administrative adaptation rather than estimating causal effects (Neale, 2021). Sabah and Sarawak were selected because the documentary literature

reviewed in this study concentrates substantially on these two states and because they contain the Indonesian School of Kota Kinabalu and an extensive network of Community Learning Centres.

Subjects and Data Sources

Because the study used documentary data only, it does not have human subjects or respondents in the conventional empirical sense. The term “subjects” in the earlier version of the manuscript is therefore replaced here by “units of analysis,” namely the institutional and social actors appearing in the documentary record: relevant Indonesian ministries, diplomatic and consular representative offices, educational institutions, non-governmental organisations, mentor teachers, plantation companies, diaspora or community organisations, and universities. The data sources are entirely secondary and comprise academic publications, institutional reports, policy documents, and official government releases published between 2016 and 2026. Two 2026 studies served as anchor sources because they provide recent field-level descriptions and enrolment-related information for the same case (Amin et al., 2026; Asma Amin et al., 2026).

Data Collection Procedure

Data collection followed a three-stage documentary search and analysis procedure. First, potentially relevant publications and documents were identified using combinations of the keywords “Indonesian migrant workers,” “migrant workers’ children,” “education,” “undocumented,” “Sabah,” “Sarawak,” “Community Learning Centre,” “Indonesia–Malaysia,” and “paradiplomacy.” The search covered academic search platforms and journal repositories used to locate the sources cited in this article, including publisher and institutional repositories. Because the original search log did not record a reproducible count of all records identified and screened, this revised manuscript does not invent such figures; the final analytical corpus consists of the documentary sources that met the stated criteria and were used as evidence in the analysis. Before submission, the authors should insert the exact databases/repositories searched and the approximate numbers of records identified, screened, and included if these are available from the research log. Second, documents were included when they addressed actors, programmes, policies, or institutional arrangements related to education for Indonesian migrant workers’ children in East Malaysia and contained verifiable empirical information or a directly relevant conceptual argument. Documents were excluded when they focused exclusively on other migrant populations, other Malaysian regions without analytical relevance to Sabah or Sarawak, or issues unrelated to educational access, advocacy, or inter-actor coordination. Third, relevant information was extracted into a coding sheet covering actor identity, institutional position, intervention, collaborating partners, documentary evidence, and reported constraints. The period 2016–2026 was selected to capture recent scholarship and policy developments while retaining the 2016 study that provides an early documentary account of Sabah Bridge’s educational role; the period also enables comparison with later studies published through 2026.

Data Analysis

Data were analysed through thematic analysis involving familiarisation with the documents, open coding, categorisation, and theme development. The initial coding categories were derived from the research questions and theoretical framework: (1) actor position and resources, (2) form of intervention, (3) inter-actor interaction, (4) institutional constraints, and (5) indicators of cross-border or non-central engagement. These categories were refined inductively when recurring patterns in the documents could not be adequately represented by the initial codes. Coding consistency was maintained by applying the same coding sheet and category definitions across the documentary corpus and by checking whether claims appearing in one source were supported, qualified, or contradicted by other sources. The final themes were interpreted through the paradiplomacy concepts of non-central or subnational engagement, functional proximity, cross-border connectedness, and the relationship between authority and autonomy (Kuznetsov.A.S., 2015). Source triangulation is used here specifically to mean comparison across different types of documentary evidence—academic publications, institutional reports, policy documents, and official releases—not triangulation among human respondents or investigators. No direct human participants were involved in the study.

RESULTS

Configuration of Actors in Educational-Rights Advocacy

The documentary evidence indicates five analytically distinct actor clusters involved in educational-rights advocacy. The clusters differ in institutional authority, resources, and proximity to migrant communities, and they interact through functional rather than purely hierarchical relationships. Because some actors occupy overlapping roles, the classification is used as an analytical typology rather than as a claim that the actors belong to mutually exclusive institutional categories. Table 1 distinguishes the documentary evidence from the authors' interpretation by identifying the principal source base for each cluster.

Table 1. Configuration of Actors and Forms of Advocacy for Migrant Workers' Children's Educational Rights

Actor category	Key actors	Form of advocacy	Resources controlled	Documentary source(s)
Central state actors	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Indonesian Embassy in Kuala Lumpur	Bilateral agreements, establishment of SIKK, CLC licensing, deployment of assigned teachers, repatriation	Policy authority, diplomatic legitimacy, state budget	Asma Amin et al. (2026a, 2026b); Yulianto et al. (2023)

		scholarship schemes		
Diplomatic and consular representative actors	Consulate General in Kota Kinabalu, Consulate General in Kuching, Consulate in Tawau, local governments of migrants' home regions	Civil-documentation facilitation, CLC coordination within their jurisdiction, outreach to plantation communities	Geographic proximity, consular administrative authority, local networks	Asma Amin et al. (2026a, 2026b); Agustina & Azizah (2024)
Civil society organisations	Sabah Bridge Education Foundation, faith-based organisations, diaspora communities	Repatriation mentoring, placement at partner schools, case-based policy advocacy	Organisational flexibility, community trust, responsiveness	Damayanti et al. (2016, 2023); Muslihudin et al. (2023); Muyamin (2019)
Community and private-sector actors	Mentor teachers (guru pamong), plantation companies (syarikat), Indonesian Students' Association	Provision of teaching staff, on-site school buildings and transport, socio-cultural mediation	Daily presence in remote locations, physical facilities, social capital	Asma Amin et al. (2026a, 2026b); Widiawati et al. (2023)
Academic actors	Indonesian universities, lecturers and students in international community-service programmes	Temporary teaching, training of mentor teachers, production of policy-relevant knowledge	Expertise, epistemic legitimacy, inter-university networks	Damayanti et al. (2023); Widiawati et al. (2023); Asma Amin et al. (2026a)

Source: compiled by the authors from the documentary sources identified in the final column of the table.

The documentary evidence indicates that central state actors provide the legal, policy, and financial framework for educational provision, while representative offices

translate parts of that framework into locally situated administrative practice. SIKK was established following a bilateral arrangement and began operating in December 2008, while the CLC network became possible through a subsequent agreement in October 2011 (Amin et al., 2026). The consular offices in Sabah and Sarawak are especially relevant to a paradiplomacy analysis because they operate geographically close to the issue and connect central state authority with migrant communities, educational institutions, and administrative processes. Their activities should not, however, be classified as subnational diplomacy in the strict classical sense, since consular missions remain organs of the central state. The paradiplomatic relevance lies instead in their intermediary and locally embedded function within cross-border governance.

Learner Distribution as an Indicator of Service Burden

Enrolment data indicate a substantial difference in the number of learners recorded by SIKK and the CLC network. In 2024, SIKK recorded 1,273 learners across all levels, while CLCs recorded 18,873 learners in Sabah and 2,296 in Sarawak (Asma Amin et al., 2026). In the cited source, these figures refer to learners/enrolments reported by the respective educational programmes; they should not be interpreted as a measure of the proportion of all eligible children receiving education because the denominator—the total eligible population—is not established in the present documentary dataset. The comparison is therefore used only as an indicator of the scale of decentralised educational provision, not as evidence that CLCs account for a quantified “share” of total educational access.

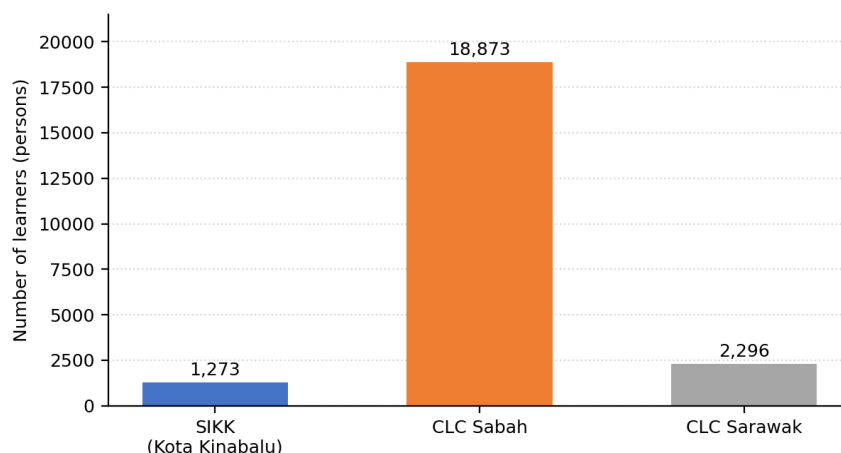


Figure 1. Comparison of Learner Numbers at SIKK and Community Learning Centres, 2024

Source: compiled by the authors from (Asma Amin et al., 2026)

The CLC network is documented as comprising 111 primary-level and 45 junior-secondary-level units holding National School Identification Numbers, together with 409 outreach learning posts in 2024 (Asma Amin et al., 2026). The same documentary source records 628 locally recruited mentor teachers working in Sabah and Sarawak, indicating that

locally recruited personnel constitute an important part of the teaching workforce alongside teachers assigned from Indonesia (Amin et al., 2026). These figures demonstrate the operational scale and geographical dispersion of the CLC system; they do not by themselves establish the causal effect of any single actor on educational access.

Non-Formal Services and the Documentation Grace-Period Policy

Beyond the formal pathway, the documentary record identifies non-formal education as another channel of educational provision. The equivalency education programme delivered through Community Learning Activity Centres offers Package A, Package B, and Package C, with certificates or diplomas recognised within the Indonesian equivalency system; by 2024, 2,405 learners were reported as enrolled under the coordination of the Indonesian Consulate General in Kota Kinabalu (Asma Amin et al., 2026; Sucipto et al., 2021). Early childhood education is also documented, although capacity is constrained by classroom space and the availability of qualified early-childhood educators (Suarno et al., 2021).

A further documentary finding concerns the documentation grace-period arrangement. The reviewed sources report that children who do not yet possess a birth certificate may be admitted while the documentation process is being pursued through Indonesian representative offices. This arrangement allows learners to enter education data and obtain a National Student Identification Number, while completion of civil documentation remains relevant to formal educational recognition and diploma issuance (Amin et al., 2026; Saefudin et al., 2024). The evidence therefore suggests an administrative accommodation that partially separates immediate educational access from completion of documentation, while not eliminating the longer-term documentation requirement.

Inter-Actor Collaboration Mechanisms

Thematic analysis of the documentary evidence identified five recurring collaboration mechanisms. These mechanisms are presented in Table 2. The “paradiplomatic function” column represents the authors’ analytical interpretation of what each mechanism reveals about cross-border, non-central, and locally embedded coordination; it should therefore be distinguished from the underlying documentary evidence listed in the source column.

Table 2. Inter-Actor Collaboration Mechanisms and Their Paradiplomatic Functions

Collaboration mechanism	Pattern of interaction among actors	Paradiplomatic function	Documentary source(s)
Documentation grace period	Indonesian representative offices issue birth documents; SIKK and CLCs admit learners in advance; mentor teachers trace	Translates constitutional obligation into cross-jurisdictional administrative practice	Asma Amin et al. (2026a); Saefudin et al. (2024)

	families in plantation areas		
Repatriation scholarship	The ministry provides the scheme and funding; Sabah Bridge identifies candidates, manages travel documents, and arranges school placement	Extends the reach of state policy through the operational capacity of a non-state actor	Asma Amin et al. (2026a); Damayanti et al. (2023)
Teacher provision	Assigned teachers are sent from Indonesia; mentor teachers are recruited locally; university students and lecturers fill temporary gaps	Closes implementation gaps beyond the state's formal capacity	Asma Amin et al. (2026a); Widiawati et al. (2023)
Plantation learning facilities	Plantation companies provide buildings, tutors and transport as part of corporate social responsibility and sustainability-certification requirements	Links global market interests with the fulfilment of migrant children's basic rights	Amin et al. (2026); Widiawati et al. (2023)
Knowledge production	Universities document field practice and provide an empirical basis for policy evaluation by representative offices	Converts short-term intervention into long-term policy learning	Asma Amin et al. (2026a); Damayanti et al. (2023)

Source: compiled by the authors from the documentary sources identified in the final column of the table.

The repatriation scholarship programme illustrates how state resources and non-state operational capacity can be combined. The government provides education schemes and funding, while the Sabah Bridge Education Foundation identifies candidates, assists with travel documentation, arranges placement at partner schools in Indonesia, and provides post-return mentoring (Amin et al., 2026; Damayanti et al., 2023). Plantation companies are separately documented as providing school buildings, tutors, transport, or related support under corporate social responsibility and sustainability-related arrangements, although the level of reported support varies among companies (Asma Amin et al., 2026). These examples demonstrate functional complementarity, but the documentary evidence does not establish that any particular collaboration caused improved educational outcomes.

Across the documents, four recurring constraints are identified: legal and administrative uncertainty affecting migrant families, limited teaching staff and facilities in remote locations, differences in administrative procedures across institutions, and financial dependence of non-state initiatives on state or corporate support (Aminuddin Mustaffa et al., 2022; Asma Amin et al., 2026; Widiawati et al., 2023; Wulan, T. R., Muslihudin, M., & Wijayanti, 2024). These constraints are treated as documentary findings; their relationship to broader patterns of governance is interpreted in the Discussion.

DISCUSSION

Interpreting the Findings through a Paradiplomacy Framework

The findings suggest that educational-rights advocacy in East Malaysia cannot be described adequately through central government foreign policy alone, but this does not mean that the activities documented here are all forms of paradiplomacy. In the classical literature, paradiplomacy is principally associated with subnational governmental actors conducting international activities below the central state (Kuznetsov.A.S., 2015; Tavares, 2016). In the present case, consular and locally situated representative offices are central-government institutions, while foundations, mentor teachers, companies, and universities are non-state actors. The paradiplomacy framework is therefore used to interpret the relational space connecting central authority, geographically embedded representative institutions, and non-state implementers. This distinction prevents the category of “actors outside central government” from being treated as synonymous with “paradiplomatic actors.”

Mentor teachers provide a useful example of the boundary between non-state action and citizen diplomacy. The documents indicate that their daily presence in plantation areas helps sustain educational provision and facilitates communication between migrant communities and educational institutions (Udhwalalita & Hakim, 2023; Widiawati et al., 2023). This activity can be interpreted as citizen diplomacy only in a limited descriptive sense: citizen diplomacy generally refers to people-to-people engagement in international relations, and the mentor teachers’ role includes community mediation across a transnational social setting. However, the evidence does not establish that mentor teachers consciously pursue diplomatic objectives or possess diplomatic authority. They are therefore better treated as non-state actors whose community-level activities complement a broader cross-border governance arrangement, rather than as paradiplomatic actors by definition.

Relationship to the Existing Literature

The findings reinforce and extend the multi-track diplomacy literature while also differentiating the analytical questions addressed by the present study. Asma Amin et al. (2026) show that educational-rights protection involves several diplomatic tracks; the present analysis confirms the importance of functional complementarity but asks how authority and institutional position shape interaction across those tracks. Multi-track diplomacy primarily differentiates actors according to the track or social location through

which they participate. A paradiplomacy perspective, by contrast, draws attention to the relationship between central state authority and actors operating at subnational, territorial, or locally embedded levels. In this case, that perspective is particularly useful for examining why geographically proximate representative offices and community-based actors become important to implementation while remaining dependent on central authority and formal recognition.

The findings also complement the soft-power diplomacy analysis of Amin et al. (2026), which emphasises normative appeal, cultural proximity, and other sources of attraction and cooperation. The present study addresses a different analytical problem: how cooperation is organised institutionally and operationally after actors become involved. Soft power can therefore illuminate the resources that facilitate cooperation, whereas the paradiplomacy-informed reading highlights institutional location, territorial proximity, channels of coordination, and dependence on state authority. The comparison with citizen-based initiatives also supports Maksum's (2025) observation of resource constraints, while the present documentary evidence suggests that such constraints should be considered together with the distribution of authority across the collaboration network.

Relational Asymmetry and Governance Implications

The central theoretical finding of the study is relational asymmetry. The documentary evidence indicates that collaboration does not occur among actors with equivalent authority or resources. State institutions retain greater control over policy authority, legal recognition, formal documentation, and public resources, while non-state actors often contribute operational capacity, community access, facilities, or specialised knowledge. Educational foundations depend on documentation and institutional recognition; mentor teachers depend on the educational institutions through which their work is recognised; and university community-service programmes commonly require coordination or facilitation from institutional partners. These relationships indicate that the autonomy of non-state actors is substantial in implementation but constrained in agenda setting and formal recognition. Relational asymmetry therefore extends the paradiplomacy discussion by directing attention to dependence as well as autonomy. This is an analytical interpretation of documentary patterns, not a causal claim about actor behaviour.

The governance implication suggested by these findings is institutional coordination. If collaboration depends heavily on personal initiative, informal networks, or fluctuating corporate support, continuity may be vulnerable to personnel changes and resource cycles. A standing coordination forum involving diplomatic missions, relevant ministries, migrant-origin local governments, educational foundations, and universities could provide a formal channel for information exchange and role coordination. Standardised procedures for documentation and clearer recognition and support for mentor teachers could also reduce administrative discontinuity. These are policy recommendations derived from the documented coordination gaps; the study does not empirically test their effectiveness.

Limitations of the Study

This study has three principal limitations. First, all evidence is derived from secondary documents, so the analysis does not capture the direct experiences of learners, parents, educators, or other stakeholders that interviews or participant observation could provide. Second, some quantitative figures are institutional estimates, which is a recurring limitation in research on undocumented migration; the figures are therefore interpreted as reported enrolment or institutional estimates rather than precise population measurements. Third, the case is limited to Sabah and Sarawak. The findings are consequently not intended to be generalised to Peninsular Malaysia or other destination contexts with different institutional configurations.

Future research should use interviews, participant observation, or mixed documentary-field designs to test how the collaboration mechanisms identified here operate in practice and how actors perceive their relative authority and dependence. Comparative studies could examine whether the pattern of relational asymmetry differs between East Malaysia and other destination contexts. Future work could also develop indicators of coordination, institutional recognition, and service continuity, while carefully distinguishing these from measures of paradiplomatic effectiveness.

Future research is encouraged to employ in-depth interviews and participant observation to empirically test the collaboration mechanisms mapped in this study. Comparative studies between East Malaysia and other destination countries, such as Saudi Arabia or Taiwan, could further enrich understanding of variation in paradiplomatic practice for protecting citizens' social rights abroad. In addition, developing indicators to measure the effectiveness of inter-actor coordination would help transform descriptive analysis into a policy-evaluation instrument usable by stakeholders.

CONCLUSION

The study identifies five actor clusters involved in advocating for the educational rights of Indonesian migrant workers' children in East Malaysia: central government institutions; diplomatic and consular representative offices; civil society organisations; community and private-sector actors; and academic actors. It also identifies five recurring collaboration mechanisms: the documentation grace-period arrangement, repatriation scholarship, layered provision of teachers, plantation-based learning facilities, and knowledge production. The first research question is therefore answered by showing a division of roles based on differences in authority, resources, and proximity to affected communities. The second is answered by showing that collaboration operates through functional complementarity and negotiated interdependence, while remaining structured by unequal access to legal authority and resources.

The paradiplomacy framework is useful here as an interpretive lens rather than as an empirical proof that the entire network constitutes paradiplomacy. Its principal contribution is to make visible the relationship between central state authority and locally embedded cross-border action. The analysis further identifies relational asymmetry as the main theoretical finding: non-state and locally situated actors contribute substantially to

implementation and community access, but their autonomy remains conditioned by state authority, institutional recognition, and resources. Institutional coordination is therefore a central governance implication. The study recommends a standing cross-actor coordination mechanism, aligned administrative procedures, stronger institutional support for mentor teachers, and more systematic involvement of migrant-origin local governments. These recommendations should be understood as proposals for future institutional development, not as tested interventions.

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