



Indonesia–Germany Cooperation under the G to G Triple Win Framework for the Deployment of Indonesian Nurses

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Bilateral Agreement, G to G Triple Win, Indonesia Germany, Labor Migration.

ABSTRACT

This research focuses on G to G Triple Win cooperation between Indonesia and Germany. Germany is currently facing a shortage of nursing staff, while Indonesia is facing a surplus of nurses alongside limited domestic employment opportunities. Through this scheme, Indonesia sends nursing workers to Germany, with all three parties involved gaining mutual benefits. This research aims to explain the G to G triple win cooperation scheme between Germany and Indonesia and to examine its contribution to repositioning Indonesia in the international labor market as well as its role as a solution to Indonesia's unemployment crisis. This research employs a qualitative method with literature review drawing from official government documents, international organization reports, academic literature, and mass media publications. The findings indicate a more detailed cooperation dynamic between Indonesia and Germany, particularly as Indonesia manages its demographic bonus period amid persistently high unemployment rates. In implementing this cooperation, further examination of human resource quality is needed to ensure global competitiveness. The government plays a crucial role in improving educational quality and ensuring its equitable distribution. This scheme benefits all three parties and is expected to expand to other sectors so that the population challenges faced by both Indonesia and Germany can be effectively managed.

Kata Kunci

Perjanjian Bilateral, G to G Triple Win, Indonesia-German, Migrasi Buruh

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini berfokus pada kerja sama G to G Triple Win antara Indonesia dan Jerman. Jerman saat ini menghadapi kekurangan tenaga perawat, sementara Indonesia menghadapi surplus tenaga perawat yang disertai dengan terbatasnya kesempatan kerja di dalam negeri. Melalui skema ini, Indonesia mengirimkan tenaga perawat untuk bekerja di Jerman, dengan ketiga pihak yang terlibat memperoleh manfaat secara timbal balik. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan skema kerja sama G to G Triple Win antara Jerman dan Indonesia serta menganalisis kontribusinya dalam memposisikan kembali Indonesia di pasar tenaga kerja internasional dan perannya sebagai salah satu solusi terhadap permasalahan pengangguran di Indonesia. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi literatur yang bersumber dari dokumen resmi pemerintah, laporan organisasi internasional, literatur akademik, serta publikasi media massa. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan adanya dinamika kerja sama yang lebih mendalam antara Indonesia dan Jerman, khususnya dalam konteks Indonesia mengelola periode bonus demografi di tengah tingkat pengangguran yang masih relatif tinggi. Dalam pelaksanaan kerja sama ini, diperlukan kajian lebih lanjut mengenai kualitas sumber daya manusia guna memastikan daya saing tenaga kerja Indonesia di tingkat global. Pemerintah memiliki peran yang sangat penting dalam meningkatkan kualitas pendidikan sekaligus memastikan pemerataan akses dan kualitas pendidikan. Skema ini memberikan manfaat bagi ketiga pihak yang terlibat dan diharapkan dapat diperluas ke sektor-sektor lainnya, sehingga berbagai tantangan kependudukan yang dihadapi oleh Indonesia dan Jerman dapat dikelola secara lebih efektif.

INTRODUCTION

Unemployment is a macroeconomic problem faced by developing countries such as Indonesia. According to Lisa Marini and Novi Tri Putri (2020), the term unemployment refers to the government's inability to provide employment for every citizen within its jurisdiction. The phenomenon of unemployment occurs as a result of the imbalance between the amount of the labor force and the number of available job opportunities. According to Hariyanto (2020), unemployment is individuals who are not working at all, are currently seeking employment, work fewer than two days per week, or are attempting to obtain decent work. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) stated in 2024 that Indonesia has the highest unemployment rate in Southeast Asia, with the majority of the unemployed coming from upper secondary and higher education backgrounds. This phenomenon has continued to grow year by year and has become a major concern, particularly for the young generation. University graduates are expected to have sufficient knowledge and to secure employment relevant to their field of study. However in reality, this proves difficult to achieve due to limited job availability and the continuously expanding demographic bonus phenomenon.

The demographic bonus refers to the phenomenon of accelerated economic growth resulting from shifts in population age structure driven by changes in birth and death rates (Siburian et al., 2025). The demographic bonus represents the potential for economic growth as a consequence of changes in population structure, occurring when the productive age population grows larger relative to both the younger and older age groups. Based on forecasts under an optimistic scenario, Indonesia's demographic bonus momentum reflects an acceleration of the windows of opportunity period, with its lowest dependency ratio projected between 2028 and 2034, concluding after 2045. This condition presents both an opportunity and a challenge if managed well, it can drive economic growth and national development, but if not accompanied by appropriate policy, it risks exacerbating social inequality and poverty. With Indonesia targeting developed country status by 2045 through the Indonesia Emas Vision, the government must promptly formulate a comprehensive strategy to optimize this demographic momentum (Bappenas, 2023).

During Indonesia's growing demographic bonus, the number of people affected by layoffs has also increased drastically, with the Indonesian Employers Association (Apindo) reporting 73,992 layoff cases recorded by companies as of March 2025 (Sari, 2025). One of the root causes of this phenomenon is the increasing number of university graduates amid limited job availability, particularly in the healthcare sector's nursing field, where Indonesia's Ministry of Health has recorded that the nursing workforce will continue to grow to 695,217 by 2025 (Kurniati et al., 2020). The growing number of nurses has also encouraged Indonesia to position its skilled workforce in the international labor market. The placement of Indonesian professionals abroad can create employment opportunities while providing legal and economic benefits for workers. In this case, international cooperation can help Indonesia make use of its growing skilled workforce while addressing limited domestic employment opportunities. The imbalanced number of available jobs relative to the nursing workforce has led to a surplus of nurses, with many ultimately working in non-medical sectors or remaining unemployed. This domestic surplus stands in stark contrast to the global nursing shortage, a 2022 BMJ Global Health study by Boniol projected a shortfall of 18 million health workers worldwide by 2030, while the WHO State of the World's Nursing Report (2025) recorded a global nursing shortage of approximately 5.8 million in 2023, projected to decline to 4.1 million by 2030. This unequal distribution reflects a structural imbalance in the global healthcare labor market, where developed countries such as Germany increasingly rely on foreign healthcare workers to address domestic workforce shortages caused by population aging and the shrinking proportion of working-age residents.

Germany's population ageing caused by consistently low birth rates, has had a significant impact on the country's economy. The government must confront the challenge of an ageing population by ensuring sufficient healthcare services and sustaining the regeneration of its healthcare workforce. A research conducted by Bertelsmann Stiftung in 2024 reported that Germany's population growth is projected to increase by only 0.6% between 2020 and 2040. With Indonesia experiencing a demographic bonus and Germany facing an ageing population, the two governments have established a bilateral cooperation through the G to G triple win program, in which Indonesian nurses are recruited and deployed to Germany to address the growing demands of its ageing population. This research examines the scheme of the G to G triple win cooperation between Germany and Indonesia, also analyzes this bilateral partnership in the nursing sector, specifically whether it contributes to repositioning Indonesia in the international labor market, serves as a response to Indonesia's unemployment crisis, and Germany's healthcare needs arising from its ageing population.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Bilateral Cooperation

Bilateral cooperation represents one clear manifestation of the interconnected relationship between diplomacy and foreign policy. As argued by Hocking (2016) in *The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy*, foreign policy and diplomacy are commonly treated as integrated components in a process through which the objectives of policies directed towards the management of relations with an actor's international environment are translated into outcomes through the employment of a range of institutionalised techniques and strategies. The Government to Government scheme is a mechanism that regulates the legal and well coordinated placement of workers between two countries. Through this scheme, sending countries can address unemployment and labor surplus by sending their workforce to partner countries in need, while the receiving countries obtain workers that match their domestic labor market demands. This not only optimizes human resources efficiently, but also reduces the risks of exploitation and uncertainty commonly found in free market mechanisms or informal labor placement (ILO, 2022). For instance, the G to G triple win cooperation between Indonesia and Germany, launched in 2013, aimed to recruit nursing personnel from countries experiencing a surplus of healthcare workers such as Indonesia, Bosnia, and Philippines to be placed in various healthcare facilities in Germany to address labor shortages resulting from an aging population (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, n.d., as cited in Patricia & Hidayatullah, 2026). States employ foreign policy grounded in domestic interests to create synergy between internal needs and external opportunities. Bilateral cooperation through the G to G scheme enables states to strengthen their negotiating position and diplomatic relations, build mutual trust, and open broader avenues for cooperation in other fields such as trade, education, and technology.

This cooperation also represents one form of national interest, which is related to the state's economy and welfare. National interest in this context refers to a state's strategy to enhance its economic capacity while simultaneously addressing domestic challenges, one of which is the issue of labor force and unemployment. Through bilateral cooperation such as the G to G scheme, states are able to pursue these interests by deploying their surplus labor abroad in the form of migrant workers, who play a role in reducing domestic unemployment while contributing to the receiving country's labor needs. Migrant workers themselves refer to individuals who leave their home country to work in another country, either temporarily or permanently, in accordance with the labor agreements established between the sending and receiving states. In the era of globalization, this labor movement has increasingly crossed national boundaries, becoming a strategy for states with a labor surplus to be paired with states facing labor shortages, as a result creating a form of interdependence between sending and receiving countries. Among the various forms of bilateral cooperation between states, the most common scheme is carried out through Government to Government (G to G) cooperation, and many countries continue to use this scheme, although other cooperation schemes also exist.

The G to G Triple Win Cooperation Framework

The G to G triple win scheme is a labor cooperation arrangement between Indonesia and Germany designed to deliver benefits to three principal parties: the sending country (Indonesia), the receiving country (Germany), and the nursing workers themselves. The program was initiated by the Bundesagentur für Arbeit together with Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), and is implemented through cooperation with the Indonesian Migrant Worker Protection Agency (BP2MI) within the framework of structured nurse placement between the two countries. Under the G to G triple win cooperation scheme, Indonesia benefits from deploying its surplus nursing workforce to Germany, while the nurses themselves receive employment opportunities and prospects for personal and professional development abroad. Fair working conditions and wages guarantee equal treatment for all parties involved (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2013). For Germany, the program serves as a solution to address the shortage of healthcare workers caused by an aging population and the growing demand for competent professional nurses. Meanwhile, Indonesian workers benefit from quality employment opportunities and legal protection ensuring their rights throughout their time working in Germany (GIZ, n.d.).

In the implementation of the G to G triple win scheme, Indonesian nurses are required to attend German language training from level A1 to B1 for approximately 9 to 12 months before departure. Once in Germany, nurses do not immediately begin full employment, instead they hold the status of "Nurse in the Recognition Process" during which they continue language training to level B2 while at the same time undertaking professional qualification courses and examinations until acquiring an official license. This scheme reflects Indonesia and Germany commitment to ensuring the competence of the deployed workforce, while also providing long term career assurance for Indonesian nurses in Germany (BP2MI, 2025). This mechanism differentiates G to G triple win from other labor migration schemes that frequently give limited attention to worker protection.

Since its launch in 2013, the G to G triple win scheme has gone through continuous development to improve the effectiveness and reach of Indonesian labor placement in Germany. As of September 2024, a total of 195 Indonesian nurses have been successfully placed and are working in Germany through this scheme. The governments of Indonesia and Germany have also continued to hold Joint Committee Meeting (JCM) sessions to improve the placement process, address challenges such as language proficiency, and expand employment opportunities in other sectors including hospitality, construction, and information technology (KP2MI, 2024). The G to G triple win scheme reflects a new paradigm in international labor cooperation that integrates economic, political, and social interests in an equitable way. According to the German Ambassador to Indonesia, Ina Lepel, the G to G triple win program provides benefits to all three parties; Germany gains skilled workers, nurses gain experience to enhance their qualifications, and Indonesia benefits when those nurses return and share the knowledge they have gained (Lepel in Tempo, 2024).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a descriptive qualitative approach to examine in depth the Government to Government cooperation between Indonesia and Germany, particularly in the placement of Indonesian nurses in the international market. The descriptive qualitative approach enables researchers to describe social phenomena under study clearly and accurately, such that the findings can be understood by those who have not directly experienced the phenomena in question. Regarding the topic, this approach is relevant for understanding the dynamics of relationships among key actors such as the government, educational institutions, nurses, and German institutions as well as the social phenomena that occur, including the challenges of nurse adaptation, the professional qualification recognition process, and

placement policies for the workforce. The unit of analysis in this research is the G to G triple win cooperation policy between Indonesia and Germany in the placement of nursing workers. The analysis focuses on how this policy is designed and implemented by both countries, as well as its implications for the placement of Indonesian workers in the international labor market. It also examines the roles of the key actors involved in the program, including the government, relevant institutions, and Indonesian nursing workers as participants in the scheme.

Data validity in qualitative research is crucial to ensure that the findings obtained are accurate and reflect actual reality. To maintain such validity, this study uses source triangulation as its primary technique. Source triangulation is conducted by comparing and examining data obtained from various different sources, such as official government documents, mass media, academic literature, and international publications such as World Health Organization (WHO) reports. Source triangulation aims to uncover the truth of information through multiple perspectives and data sources, thereby reducing bias and enhancing the credibility of research findings (Creswell, 2011). By comparing data from various sources, researchers can verify the consistency of information and identify differences or similarities between sources. This process helps enhance the credibility and validity of the research findings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

G to G Triple Win Cooperation Scheme between Indonesia and Germany

The implementation of the G to G triple win scheme in sending Indonesian nurses in Germany is shaped by the condition of healthcare workforce surplus in Indonesia and the nurse deficiency in Germany resulting from the ageing population phenomenon. Data from the Indonesian Ministry of Health indicates that in 2025 was projected to reach 695,217 nurses in Indonesia (Kurniati et al., 2020), while the existing employment opportunities are insufficient to that number, causing many nurses to work in non-medical sectors or remain unemployed. The Indonesian National Nurses Association (PPNI) explains that this surplus is driven by limited job availability or imbalanced distribution, a gap between market demand and workforce supply, and poor working conditions. On the other hand, Germany is facing a considerably significant shortage of healthcare workers. The WHO State of the World's Nursing Report (2025) confirms that the global nurse scarcity reached 5.8 million in 2023, with projections indicating a decline to 4.1 million by 2030. Germany is among the countries most affected by this shortage, as the proportion of its working-age population is declining and population growth is only projected to increase by 0.6% through 2040 (Bertelsmann Stiftung, 2024). The COVID-19 pandemic further aggravated the situation by adding pressure on and reducing the number of available healthcare workers.

In response to these challenges, the governments of Indonesia and Germany initiated a bilateral cooperation under the G to G triple win scheme. The selection process for nurse candidates includes administrative screening, interviews, and a German language proficiency requiring at least B1 level. Following this, participants in language training for 9 to 12 months in Indonesia, with German language instruction conducted by the Goethe Institut as the winner of the tender procedure organized by the German Federal Employment Agency (BA) and GIZ Triple Win Indonesia (BP2MI, 2025). Participants then proceed to the professional recognition process in Germany. During this recognition period, nurses remain in qualification recognition status, receiving a lower salary compared to fully licensed nurses, and only obtain a salary increase after passing the recognition examination (BP2MI, 2025). This consequently means nurses have to work as nursing assistants at lower wages throughout the recognition period. The availability of language training institutions in Indonesia also remains limited, with only a small number possessing certified instructors and proper facilities, meaning that participants from outside Java tend to receive less effective training.

Beyond the practical and linguistic challenges of preparation, migrant care workers in Germany face high occupational pressure and significant workplace challenges, particularly during the pandemic, reflecting broader vulnerabilities within the care sector (Noack & Bilecen, 2024). These conditions underscore that structured placement through cooperation among the Bundesagentur für Arbeit, GIZ, and BP2MI alone is not sufficient; language standards, qualification recognition, and socio-cultural adaptation remain major obstacles to successful placement. Strengthening institutional coordination is therefore crucial to ensuring that the G to G triple win program functions effectively not only as a labor placement mechanism, but also as an example of protected professional labor migration governance based on bilateral cooperation.

The Role of the State in Navigating Labor Cooperation Based on National Interest

The G to G Triple Win program not only requires individual technical preparedness, but also highlights the importance of state capacity in developing policies, conducting diplomacy, and managing labor migration governance in a sustainable manner. In this context, the state acts as the primary actor in advancing national interests through instruments of international cooperation, including regulation, protection, and the strengthening of bilateral labor governance mechanisms. This is shown in the structured collaboration between BP2MI and the Bundesagentur für Arbeit in managing the placement and protection of Indonesian nurses in Germany through a government to government mechanism (BP2MI, 2024). Through this mechanism, the program includes administrative verification, language training, qualification recognition, and worker protection procedures, indicating that the cooperation is designed not only to increase the number of placements, but also to ensure the quality, legality, and sustainability of migrant healthcare worker deployment.

Indonesia leverages the G to G triple win scheme opportunity to strengthen its negotiating position in bilateral labor negotiations and expand opportunities for international cooperation. This commitment is reflected in BP2MI's role in developing a more structured labor placement scheme oriented toward improving human resource quality. The state plays a role not only in building Indonesia's positive image as a supplier of competent and adaptive professional workers, but also in comprehensively strengthening migration governance spanning the improvement of administrative systems, placement transparency, and the minimization of illegal practices. Educating prospective workers on their rights, obligations, and risks in the destination country, including aspects of legal protection and soft skills development in pre-departure training, constitutes an important part of this strategy. The urgency of this preparation becomes increasingly relevant given that Noack and Bilecen (2024) found that migrant nurses in Germany face high occupational pressure and significant working condition vulnerability during the pandemic.

The G to G triple win scheme includes various stakeholders at both national and international levels. The governments of Indonesia and Germany hold joint discussions through the Joint Committee Meeting (JCM) to review the implementation of the program and identify areas for improvement, including the recruitment process, German language training, and the recognition process for Indonesian nurses (BP2MI, 2023). Although the state has taken strategic measures, Indonesia's bargaining position in negotiations still faces challenges, particularly in terms of standards alignment and the pace of policy reform. The majority of regulations and standards continue to be determined by the German side, meaning Indonesia frequently must adapt reactively. This demands an enhancement of diplomatic capacity and policy advocacy at both bilateral and multilateral levels.

Repositioning Indonesia as a Provider of Professional Health Workers on the Global Stage

The growing interest of developed countries in Indonesian healthcare workers in recent years marks a significant change in Indonesia's image and position in the global labor market. Whereas Indonesia has long been recognized primarily as a source of informal sector migrant workers, the government is now actively driving a transformation toward the role of a professional human resource exporter, particularly in the healthcare sector. This is reflected in government placement programs that increasingly promote the deployment of skilled healthcare workers abroad, as evidenced by the government to government nurse placement program to Germany, which set a recruitment target of up to 600 nurses in 2024 (BP2MI, 2024). One of the factors contributing to the growing international demand for Indonesian nurses is the development of nursing education in Indonesia, which has undergone continuous reforms in curriculum, teaching methods, and educational approaches to adapt to the evolving needs of the healthcare sector (Nursalam et al., 2009). Additionally, Indonesia has implemented a G to G cooperation scheme with Japan for the placement of nurses and care workers through the Indonesia–Japan Economic Partnership Agreement (IJEPA) framework since 2008, while cooperation mechanisms with other countries are still in the process of development (Kurniati et al., 2020).

This repositioning is also shaped by external factors, namely the healthcare workforce crisis in developed countries resulting from an aging population and the increasing demand for nurses in the post COVID-19 pandemic era (WHO, 2025). These conditions have encouraged a number of developed countries to seek healthcare workers from developing nations with a surplus of nursing personnel, including Indonesia. Japan, for instance, has established a G to G cooperation scheme with Indonesia through the Japan-Indonesia Economic Partnership Agreement (JIEPA), which has helped accommodate the surplus of nurses in Indonesia while addressing the high demand for nurses in Japan (Efendi et al., 2024). Such cooperation demonstrates that Indonesia holds strong potential as a sending country for professional healthcare workers needed in the global market. However, this repositioning effort is not without challenges. Indonesia remains in the early stages of strengthening its international positioning as a provider of professional healthcare workers at the global level. According to Brush and Sochalski (2007), Philippines has long established itself as a leading exporter of nurses worldwide through integrated government policies, internationally standardized nursing curricula, and strong alumni networks abroad. Indonesia must draw lessons from the Philippine approach, particularly in terms of curriculum harmonization, certification standardization, and the strengthening of migrant worker protection.

Indonesia's successful repositioning is highly dependent on integrated cross sector policy coherence. The education sector must be capable of adapting its curriculum and learning systems so that nursing graduates are prepared to compete in the international labor market. The Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, and BP2MI need to strengthen their synergy in developing competency standards, foreign language training, and qualification recognition in destination countries. Furthermore, labor diplomacy conducted through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must actively build and expand bilateral and multilateral cooperation networks, across the Asian, Middle Eastern, and European regions. The growing demand for Indonesian healthcare workers from developed countries serves as one indicator that this repositioning is beginning to produce results, while also opening more prospects for expanded cooperation in the future.

Indonesia's repositioning as a provider of professional healthcare workers must also be supported by policy innovation, including the digitalization of recruitment processes, the strengthening of training, and collaboration with global educational institutions. The government can establish partnerships with international universities and hospitals for internship programs, student exchanges, and joint research initiatives to enhance the competitiveness of Indonesia's healthcare human resources. Overall, the growing trend of demand for Indonesian healthcare workers in the global market represents a strategic opportunity to strengthen Indonesia's position as a professional human resource provider. However, the success of this repositioning depends on cross sector policy alignment, worker protection,

and fair access. The G to G triple win program serves as a critical test of the consistency and systematization of this repositioning. If managed effectively, Indonesia has the potential to follow in the footsteps of the Philippines as a global healthcare workforce market leader in the decades to come.

The Impact of G to G Cooperation on Unemployment Issues in the Health Sector

The government to government cooperation between Indonesia and Germany under the G to G triple win scheme is often regarded as a major step in the governance of health workforce migration. However, when assessed in terms of its effectiveness in addressing educated unemployment in the health sector, the program's impact appears statistically limited. By 2024 only approximately 195 nurses had been successfully deployed to Germany through this scheme (KP2MI, 2024). Despite this, the program remains an important model in labor migration governance through its guarantees of legal protection, pre-departure training, and integration support as well as access to decent work in destination countries (GIZ, 2021). However, its scale and reach remain considerably small relative to domestic labor demand and employment capacity. When compared to the Philippines, which is able to place tens of thousands of nurses abroad each year as part of its labor diplomacy and economic development strategy, Indonesia still shows gaps significantly behind in terms of policy integration.

Structurally, the limited effectiveness of the G to G program in addressing educated unemployment in the healthcare sector is influenced by several factors. First, although receiving countries have a high demand for healthcare workers, the recruitment process remains highly selective and placement quotas are limited. The adaptation process and qualification recognition in destination countries often become significant obstacles, resulting in only a small proportion of graduates being able to meet the requirements and pass the final selection stages. Second, there is still a gap between the competency standards and foreign language proficiency of Indonesian nursing graduates and the demands of the global labor market. Language training and cultural adaptation require significant time and financial resources, meaning that only participants with sufficient resources are able to complete all stages of the program. Third, the distribution of information and access to the G to G program remain limited. Graduates from urban areas are more likely to participate successfully, while those from underdeveloped regions continue to face barriers related to access to information, training, and certification financing. This condition limits the potential workforce absorption base that could otherwise be utilized more broadly across all regions of Indonesia. In addition, Indonesia's vocational nursing education system still needs to be aligned with international standards in terms of curriculum, language training, as well as the strengthening of soft skills and cross-cultural competencies.

From a policy perspective, the Indonesian government has made steps to expand bilateral cooperation with a greater number of destination countries, as well as to strengthen cross sectoral synergy among the education, labor, and foreign affairs sectors. However, the expansion of the government to government program and increases in training capacity have kept up with the annual growth rate of newly graduated nurses. The government also faces challenges in harmonizing the national nursing education curriculum with the standards of destination countries, meaning that credential recognition and professional adaptation processes abroad are often time consuming and impose additional burdens on program participants. For this program to serve as an effective national strategy in addressing educated unemployment, it must be supported by integrated and sustainable cross sectoral policies. Without significant expansion and reform of both the education system and worker protection mechanisms, the G to G program will remain a small-scale solution that fails to address the root causes of educated unemployment at the national scale.

For the G to G program to contribute more significantly, the government needs to increase placement quotas through bilateral and multilateral negotiations, integrate the national nursing education curriculum with the standards of destination countries, strengthen language and soft skills

training from the early stages of education, and expand access and financial support for participants from underdeveloped regions. Furthermore, continuous monitoring and evaluation must be carried out to ensure that the Triple Win program does not only serve as a platform for diplomatic showcase, but truly functions as an instrument of equal opportunity and social mobility for all citizens of the nation. Accordingly, structural inequality in access to and opportunities within the G to G triple win program reflects the dynamics of power and resource distribution within the global labor migration system. The state must assert a stronger presence through affirmative policies, equal access, and the strengthening of regional capacity, so that the principle of triple win genuinely applies in a fair and inclusive manner across all regions of Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

The bilateral cooperation in government to government framework between Indonesia and Germany demonstrates that the program provides opportunities for Indonesian nursing workers to access the international labor market in a legal, structured, and secure manner. Nevertheless, its impact on reducing nurse unemployment in Indonesia remains limited, given the relatively small number of placements compared to the substantial surplus of nursing workers domestically. On the other hand, this cooperation holds strategic value for both countries. For Indonesia, the program not only serves as an effort to reduce domestic pressure arising from labor surplus, but also contributes to strengthening Indonesia's position in the global labor market. For Germany, the presence of Indonesian nursing workers helps sustain the continuity of healthcare services amid the challenges of an aging population. Despite these benefits, the implementation of the program continues to face various obstacles, including limited language proficiency, the qualification recognition process, and the readiness of workers to adapt to international work environments.

Based on these analyses, the Indonesian government needs to enhance the program's effectiveness by strengthening the quality of nursing education and training, particularly in language skills and soft skills, as well as expanding cooperation with a wider range of destination countries to optimize labor absorption. Furthermore, equal access to the program is essential to ensure that overseas employment opportunities are not limited to particular groups. Theoretically, this study demonstrates that bilateral cooperation based on the G to G triple win framework does not always deliver equal benefits for all parties, as outcomes are heavily influenced by domestic capacity and human resource readiness. Therefore, the concept of a win-win solution in international cooperation must be understood in a more contextual manner, considering the dynamics of implementation and the respective interests of each country.

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