

Coalition in the Implementation of Social Protection Policy for Indonesian Migrant Workers: A Study in East Java UPTP3TKI

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ABSTRACT

Implementation is the most pivotal process of public policy as well as the indicator that measures how successful a policy is. Implementation is dynamic and complex; not only is it technical, but implementation is also political in nature. Therefore policy actors and networking are vital because they determine direction and how complex implementation of a policy is in the field; they also predict upcoming challenge that may arise as the impact of the implementation. Implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian workers is one example where active participation of policy actors within subsystem of a policy is required. The policy is established and implemented in East Java Technical Implementation Unit for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers (UPTP3TKI); the government institution is the setting of the study. Purpose of the qualitative study is to describe system of value that motivates policy actors to create networking in the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian workers. It focuses on implementation of policy actor coalition. The findings reveal that the policy actors as the subsystem of the policy are the Ministry of Labor, Immigration institution, PPTKIS, insurance agency, the Department of Labor and Transmigration, head of the villages, non government organization, agency, Indonesian workers and their families as well as countries where Indonesian workers go to work. The policy actors develop networking in which belief system among the policy actors is developed based on the core belief. However during the implementation, external policy actors that emphasizes on individual and/or group interest affect the networking and the belief system. As the consequence, the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian workers has yet been optimum.

Keywords: *implementation of policy, coalition, social protection*

1. INTRODUCTION

Various cases where migrant workers become the victims receive a lot of attention. Fakhruddin et al (2003) who conducted a study about the mental health of Indonesian female workers reveal that 48.82% of 222 respondents that became the subjects of the study suffer from confusion and anxiety. As migrant workers, Indonesian employees working foreign countries encounter various problems. Iqbal (2005) who conducted a study on Indonesian workers in Indonesian Embassy shelter in Lumpur describes that only a small percentage of the workers or 12.63% feel secure; 61.05% feel sad, 21.05% feel confused and 3.16% are angry. 90% of the respondents in the shelter suffer from depression, lost meaning of lives, and experience tremendous amount of sorrow and pain. Indonesia should be responsible for Indonesian workers especially for those working in foreign countries and establish social protection policy. Chaves (2007), Kumar & Li (2009), and Cooke (2011) conducted studies of which purpose is to analyze role of a country in social protection for migrant workers.

In general, Suharto (2009: 42) social protection as a set of social protection and social welfare programs of which goal is to eliminate poverty and vulnerability. Social protection should have at least 3 (three) purposes, namely 1) prevent and reduce risk of severe and continuous misery for human being (workers), 2) improve ability of the high-risk groups to have better financial condition as well as to end their misery and socioeconomic instability, and 3) allow individual living in poverty to improve their standard of living so that poverty will not be passed on from generations to generations. Examples of social are accident, death, health insurance as well as insurance for senior citizens (Irawan, 2011: 24). Social protection is achieved by expanding labor market, eliminating any risks that may cost one's life and improving one's ability to protect himself/ or herself against any risk that may cause him/her his/her job or income.

Social protection for migrant workers becomes the responsibility of the government. As a policy, it is expected that social protection affects security and welfare in a better way. To establish social security to overcome various problems of Indonesian migrant workers, Indonesian issued the 2004 Regulation number 39 (UU 39/2004) about Placement and Protection for Indonesian migrant workers. In the verse 5, 6, and 7 of the regulation, it is stated that government is responsible for managing, maintaining, implementing and supervising Indonesian migrant workers. It is expected that the government should prepare Indonesian migrant workers starting from pre-departure in Indonesia, working in foreign countries until they return back to Indonesia. Function of a country to provide social security is closely related to role of the government in policy implementation rank. Implementation of social protection policy for workers refers to implementation of policy as vision of a country (Irving as cited in Sutedi, 2009:32). Sophisticated pattern of interaction between elements shows that number of policy actors or organizations (participants) in the interaction is not the only policy actor affecting the implementation of a policy; it is also affected by various complex variables. The variables involve various individuals and organizations; each of them is interacting to each other.

Implementation of social protection for Indonesian migrant workers is sophisticated because various policy actors participate and variables interact. Policy actors participating in the policy implementation develop coalition and networking in order to create social protection. The policy actors are public and private institutions in Indonesia and abroad. Public policy actors in Indonesia are public apparatus working in public institutions in villages, regions, municipality, province and the central government as well as employees of Indonesian embassy or other official representatives. Furthermore, private public policy actors in Indonesia are private agencies for Indonesian migrant workers (*PPTKIS*) and insurance companies. On the other hand, private policy actors in foreign countries are agencies for Indonesian migrant workers and landlord/ landlady as the users. Implementation of social protection policy also involves government of the foreign countries where the workers work. It is expected that coalition of policy actors in the implementation of social protection policy will guarantee security and welfare of the Indonesian migrant workers and their families starting from pre-departure, placement and upon their return to Indonesia.

The implementation has yet been optimum. As an example, informal migrant workers such as housemaids will find difficulties to obtain reference letter from their employers or other institutions (Indonesian embassy) as the requirement. As the effect, insurance company will not respond their claims. The data of East Java Technical Implementation Unit for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers (*UPTP3TKI*) shows in 2010 there are 1.479 claims for insurance, but only 587 of them is granted; the

remaining 892 claims have yet been finalized. The data matches the data of the National Bureau for Placement and Protection of Indonesian migrant workers (BNP2TKI) shows that since October 2010, the consortium of insurance agency has collected 192 billion rupiahs of insurance premium. 13 million rupiahs or 5.6% of them have been cashed to pay for insurance premium of the migrant workers. It implies that collaboration between the government and private policy actors has yet been optimum and solution is needed urgently.

Policy actors being involved in the implementation of policy basically affect the methods to optimize policy. The number of policy actors as participants in the implementation of social protection policy shows how complex interaction between the policy actors is to develop networking called advocacy coalition. Carlsson (2000: 506) states that policy actors in advocacy coalition consists of authorities or agency, individual or groups, researchers and others that share particular belief system (set of foundation, cause-effect assumptions and perception towards problems) and the individuals who appoints certain level of important position in an event from time to time. In short, approach the advocacy coalition uses in developing networking involves policy actors from various public and private institutions in various levels of organizations (Sabatier, 1988).

Consensus of methods to achieve particular is the underlying basis for coalition among policy actors in the networking (Sabatier, 1988: 142). Belief system between the policy actors and the government or private institutions start when government designs policy, budget and personnels from government institutions. Referring to Howlett & Ramesh (1995: 126) there are 3 (three) belief systems that becomes the foundation of the interaction between the policy actors namely (1) *common belief* or *deep/normative core*; (2) *core of belief system*; and (3) *external fpolicy actors*. Trust developed based on the external fpolicy actors may change easily. Therefore, various problems during the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers can be seen based on perspective of the correlation between policy actors that develops networking in advocacy coalition between the government and private institutions or the society. When common belief in this case core policy becomes the basis in advocacy coalition, implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers can be optimum.

2. RESEARCH METHOD

The study is a qualitative study because it attempts at understanding social issues or humanitarian based holistic overview, reporting information from informants in detail and write scientific reports based on the facts (Creswell, 2010:4). The underlying reason for conducting the study is process and activity in implementation of social protection policy. More particularly, the study focuses on coalition between policy actors in the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers in East Java Technical Implementation Unit for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers (UPTP3TKI *Jawa Timur*). Observations, interview and documentation are data collection methods. The informants are government employees, private institutions and Indonesian migrant workers. The interactive model is the technique of data analysis. (Miles, Huberman, and Saldana, 2014). To test validity and reliability of the data, credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability tests are carried out.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Sabatier and Mazmanian (1983) explain that development of bottom-up implementation is linear in controlling status quo with the assumption that everything is *cateris baribus*, is also static and does not give any opportunity for change in policy. Higher authority (central, perspective of central elites) frequently neglects role of local or private policy actors in policy subsystem. On the other hand, bottom-up model developed by Hjern and Porte (1981) emphasize on pivotal role of local policy actors in order to develop more accurate strategic policy development and have more freedom to analyze various local issues. Disadvantage of the bottom-up approach is the approach tends to focus on policy actor activities too much that it puts aside some fpolicy actors affecting policy actor's behavior and perception immediately.

Based on both models, Sabatier (1986) developed advocacy coalition model. Based on the model, implementation is one part of policy subsystem activity of which result is not only successful implementation of a policy but also change towards the policy itself. Policy actors in policy implementation are from public and private organizations who actively analyze and criticize substance of the policy altogether, have a set of belief system of which goal is to realize similar purposes. One important aspect of advocacy coalition is

correlation between policy actors and to strengthen networking or coalition in the locals based on the belief system. Thus, according to Sabatier (1986), successful implementation of a policy can be optimized as long as the policy is carried out by various policy actors especially the local ones. The local policy actors are networking policy that develops advocacy coalition based on the same belief system more particularly in the core policy. Belief system between policy actors from the government and private institutions is developed when the government starts designing policy, budget and personnel from public institutions.

Howlett & Ramesh (1995: 51-59) state that policy actor is policy subsystem in policy networking that involves organization of the international system, organization of the society, and organization of the state. Furthermore, the experts divided policy actors into 5 (five) elements namely (1) elected officials either executive, legislative or judiciary, (2) public officials or appointed officials in the bureaucracy, (3) interest group, (4) research organization, and (5) mass media. All of them are interacting and developing coalition to give argumentation that approves or reject one particular policy. Based on Howlett & Ramesh (1995: 126) belief system, the foundation of correlation between political actors, consists of 3 (three) types of belief namely (1) common belief or deep/normative core that refers to trust and similar perception towards purpose of a policy based on similar knowledge of public issues the political actors are interested in, (2) core of belief system that is belief system based on the same perspective about nature of human behavior and some conditions wanted by human being, and (3) external policy factors that involves money, skills, number of constituents or supporters, legal authority, general consensus, inflation rate and culture. The belief system developed based on external factors is relatively easy to change.

Implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers involves the government, private institutions and the society. The findings of the study show that coalition among political factors from government institutions is developed based on the same belief system particularly the core policy. In the implementation of the policy, all of the political actors refer to the 2004 Regulations number 39. In the regional level, the government carries out, supervises and evaluates the placement and social protection for Indonesian migrant workers starting from pre-departure, placement and upon their arrivals home. However, in reality the political actors from the government institutions have different core of belief system so that there is a gap between one government institution and another; as the effect, the role of core policy to unify them weakens. Meanwhile the actors from private institutions are heavily influenced by external policy factors and are money-oriented, although they try to obey the regulations. On the other side, the actors from private institutions have stronger orientation towards business and as the consequence, power of core policy is also getting weaker. The society represented by non government organization as the one to support the implementation of the policy for Indonesian migrant workers do not really support the core policy. Non government organization members are volunteers and tend to play a role as broker that bridges the gap between the government and private institutions. Non-government organization answers to some sponsors that mostly are independent and is influenced by external policy factors that decreases their trust for other political actors. As the implication, non-government organization position is getting less significant and does not work up to their potentials or capacities.

Implementation of the 2004 Regulations number 39 about social protection for Indonesian migrant workers has yet met the expectation. One interesting aspect to analyze is the implementation of the policy is dynamic, and requires political actors to perform various functions, roles and commitment. Julia Connell & John Burgess (2009:415) describe that protection is transnational issues and connects different countries so that the implementation of social protection does not run effectively unless one country work together with another country. Fang Lee Cooke (2011:103) argues that ineffective function of workers, absence of social protection system and ineffective implementation of related regulations show that majority of workers have yet been protected and are in a disadvantageous position. Meanwhile, regulation that protects informal workers is shown through different roles of institution based on relational and institutional approaches. Countries where migrant workers work tend to show discrimination especially towards blue-collar workers (Jens Hainmueller & Michael J. Hiscox, 2010:2). Management of stakeholder approach is the effort that can overcome the issue; the approach is carried out through 1) working partners, 2) consultation, 3) information, and 4) control (Viney, 2006: 2-3). In this case, stakeholders play an important role because they have different resources for example power, personal law, funding, information, organization, consensus, time, infrastructure and political support.

The findings also show that the political actors from the government in the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers are head of villages, head of regions, Department of Labor and Transmigration, Technical Implementation Unit for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers, Department for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers, Immigration, Police Department and attaché or government representative in foreign countries. The private actors include *PPTKIS*, insurance company, *PRCTKI*, *BKLN*, *LSP*, and users. The actors from the society are migrant workers and their family, non-government organization, agents, the users and other related individuals/ groups. Implementation of social protection policy subsystem develops policy networking that involves both the actors and interaction between the actors. The interaction is limited to system of value where the belief system of the actors becomes the basis. Policy networking in one policy subsystem can be analyzed based on coalition between political actors in the networking. Policy subsystem is policy networking that consists of several advocacy coalitions that are different from one another based on trust or system of value and belief system as well resources they have. Based on the data, Sabatier & Mazmanian (1991)'s theory of Advocacy Coalicy Framework is the means of analysis as well as tool for solving various issues by emphasizing on coalition and synergy. All actors have some sort of responsibilities to face complexity of policy implementation so that policy subsystem that initially separated bureaucracy, interest group and politician partially develops integration into wider networking.

In order to create social protection for Indonesian migrant workers, pattern of collaboration and participation of several actors when the workers are in Indonesia or working foreign countries is of necessity. Role of the government to provide social protection for Indonesian migrant workers in foreign countries lies in the hand of Indonesian embassy. The task automatically becomes the responsibility of the attachés as the representative of the embassy. A surprising fact in the field reveals the lacking responsibility of the attachés in carrying out the task. The cause is the process of recruitment of the attachés working in Indonesian embassy. The attachés have very little and limited competence to deal with issues related to migrant workers.

Government internal role is carried out by the National Bureau for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, Department of Labor, and officers in village and regional level as the ones carrying out administrative services as the requirements for Indonesian migrant workers. Optimizing role of government should be conducted in several levels namely (i) government institutions in the village and regional level should be able to minimize some deception as early as possible; therefore, active participation of the migrant workers and *PPTKIS* through *PRCTKI* are needed. The deceptions are usually related to some documents that become the requirements for the migrant workers to work in foreign countries; (ii) Department of Labor whose role is related to registration and identification of Indonesian migrant workers and supervision of shelters for the immigrant workers. Careful identification of the documents is a must in order to prevent unprocedural migrant workers from Indonesia; (iii) Technical Implementation Unit for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers (*UPTP3TKI*) as the representative of the Department of Labor in provincial level of which role is related to placement and protection for Indonesian migrant workers. The Technical Implementation Unit for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers (*UPTP3TKI*) has very vital role during pre-departure, placement and upon the arrivals of the Indonesian migrant workers home. During placement, Pada proses prapenempatan, the Technical Implementation Unit for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers (*UPTP3TKI*) conducts supervision towards *PPTKIS*, *BLK*, health facilities and *LSP* (Institution for Professional Certification). During placement, it works together with Indonesian embassy (attachés) to provide some protections for Indonesian migrant workers who have been treated poorly by their landlords/ landladies and those who have been treated unfairly at work (harassment and other violent acts). When the migrant workers return to Indonesia, the institution should also give some assistance for the workers. One of the examples is to have a counter in Terminal 2 of Juanda airport where Indonesian migrant workers can ask for social protection.

Participation from private institutions is also needed in order to have successful implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers. Political actors from private institutions are *PPTKIS*, agency, and insurance company. The role of the private institution is related to operational implementation of social protection for Indonesian migrant workers; thus, it is expected that they refer to the regulations in carrying out such tasks. However, in reality the private institutions such as *PPTKIS* turn into brokers in a relatively short time. They many times lie to the immigrant workers about salary and ironically they work together with officers from the village or region to alter some data belong to the migrant workers or even

provide false documents for the workers. Similar to the government, the role of the private institution is not limited to assisting Indonesian migrant workers for their departure to work in foreign countries. Agency located in foreign countries as the representative of *PPTKIS* has pivotal role to provide social protection for the migrant workers. Unfortunately, Indonesian embassy has yet been selective to select which agencies are responsible and trustworthy ones. There is a large number of fault agencies and fault *PPTKIS* that are unable to provide sufficient social protection for the workers. Besides, the number of agencies is pretty small. Furthermore, optimizing role of insurance company is also needed particularly to reassess the amount of insurance premium to be paid for the migrant workers. The amount of insurance premium for Indonesian migrant workers should be suitable with how much benefit the workers receive from the premium. Insurance company should have mutual relationship with the immigrant workers instead of taking advantage of them.

Besides government and private institutions, social protection for Indonesian migrant workers also requires public participation. It has been the responsibility of Indonesian government to improve public participation because the public has yet had any participation. One of the solutions is to ask participation of non-government organizations for dealing with various issues related to protection for Indonesian migrant workers. Based on the elaboration, it can be identified that each group of political actor has its own roles in the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers. Referring to the 2004 Regulations number 39, actors consist of government and private institutions. Role of the government is to supervise, develop regulation and give some training within national and regional level. The government has yet been able to perform the role as supervisor which affects several institutions (*PTKIS* and *TIK*) of which responsibility is to take care of some injustice the migrant workers experienced.

The establishment of the 2010 East Java Governor Regulations about responsibility and function of the Technical Implementation Unit for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers (*UPTP3TKI*) gives some overview about regulative role the government has to develop social protection program for Indonesian migrant workers. However the social protection for the migrant workers only worked effectively in Indonesia; it has yet provided some sort of protection once the workers was in foreign countries. The government has conducted some programs for Indonesian migrant workers prior to their departure to foreign countries. Taking care of placement and protection for Indonesian migrant workers in foreign countries becomes the authorities of the central government. However, in doing so the central government should work together with the local government and private institutions. All actors should be capable and committed to provide social protection for the workers in foreign countries.

Private actors involve in the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers are *PTKIS* (*PRCTKI*), insurance companies and banks, *BLKLN*, *LSP*, and health facilities. They start working from recruitment until departure of the migrant workers. Establishment of agency is one form of private institution's responsibility towards Indonesian migrant workers in foreign countries, even though the agency has yet provided optimum protection for the workers. The 2004 Regulations number 39 has yet had any description about the role of private institutions explicitly while in fact they have particular roles in the establishment of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers. Another actor with particular roles in the establishment of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers is non-government organization. The organization is a non-profit organization of which function is to defend and protect interest and need of Indonesian migrant workers and focuses on Human Rights. In conclusion, non-government organization refers to organization established by an individual or group that voluntarily provides particular service for the public without expecting any consequence in return.

Non-government organization has power and advantage in diplomacy as well as bargaining power over the government. In general, non-government organization focuses on advocacy/ protection for Indonesian migrant workers in foreign countries. Some non-government organizations develop networking with other non-government organizations in other countries. There are non-government organizations that provide advocacy/ protection for the rights of migrant workers in international level. The advocacy and protection the non-government organization provides is generally society-to-society. Non-government organization also presents aspiration of the workers to the government in order to describe some issues which may affect government policy politically.

Related to labor force, the real actor is Indonesian migrant workers themselves. Due to limited resources they have, the workers have very weak position in policy-making process. Social protection is expected to provide reinforcement to ensure the migrant workers' rights. Various condition and situation

that happen repeatedly are real examples and function as input for the authorities. Mass media and non-government organization have their own sensitivity to respond to problems of the Indonesian migrant workers.

There is an opportunity to change the policy during its implementation even after particular decision has been made. It happens because there is perception and belief that the policy cannot be implemented due to various issues and considerations. Alesch and Petak (2001) reveal that when facing certain reality, there are some adjustment and different interpretation during implementation of certain policy. Leadership, relationship between stakeholder, context, resources, decision and actions in various level is the key element in policy continuum until the implementation. Love (2003:2004) states that it requires a lot of time to achieve expected results. Progress needs to be made and evaluated in order to describe outcome as well as success or failure. Implementation of a policy requires coalition from government, private institutions and the society. The coalition is coalition among actors needed in each of the stages starting from pre-departure, placement and upon the arrivals of Indonesian migrant workers home in order to create social protection for Indonesian migrant workers.

Pre-departure is the stage to prepare required documents and skills of Indonesian migrant workers. The stage requires collaboration from particular actors namely village government, *PRCTKI*, *BLK*, *BPN2TKI*, Department of Labor, and the Technical Implementation Unit for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers (*UPTP3TKI*). The following stage is placement which starts once the migrant workers arrive in foreign countries. It requires collaboration from Indonesian embassy and private institution (*PPTKIS*). The last stage takes place upon the arrival of the migrant workers home. The stage requires collaboration between the government and private institutions. Based on the elaboration, it can be concluded how important it is for all of the actors to develop coalition in order to create social protection for Indonesian migrant workers. One important suggestion is to ask insurance company for participating in all of the stages. Clear information about advantage of insurance is important to be given to Indonesian migrant workers.

Policy implementation is not limited to managerial issue which is limited to relationship between manager and employees or activities in one institution. Implementation of public policy develops until government domain and between government institutions from the legislative to the executive until the administrative unit. Implementation of a policy is a decision-making process where actors are the key for continuation of the implementation. The key actors will get critics and pressure most of the time from interest groups. They should have motivation, access towards information and balance of power and resources between stakeholders. That way the actors have huge influence towards process of policy implementation. Implementation of the 2014 Regulations number 39 about Social Protection for Indonesian Migrant Workers is one effort of the government to create social protection. In the implementation of the policy, the role of the actors is pivotal. Actor is the key element towards successful implementation of a policy besides resources, instrument and networking. Many times, the role of actors becomes parameter of successful implementation during formulation, implementation and evaluation of a policy.

Government as one of the actors in the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers is responsible for managing, maintaining, carrying out and supervising placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers in Indonesia and foreign countries. The government may delegate some of the authorities and/or tasks to the local government based on the regulations. In carrying out the task and responsibility to improve protection for Indonesian migrant workers abroad, the government is supposed to 1) ensure that rights of the migrants workers are fulfilled regardless whether they join the program for their departure to the foreign countries or they go there independently, 2) supervise the placement of Indonesian migrant workers, 3) establish and develop information system for the placement of Indonesian migrant workers in foreign countries, 4) diplomatic effort to ensure that rights of the migrants workers are fulfilled in the country where they are working, and 5) give protection for the migrant workers during pre-departure, placement and post-departure.

The actors from the government institutions develop advocacy coalition based on belief system in the common belief that is similar perception about the need for policy about Indonesian migrant worker's protection manifested in the policy core. There is different value system between the actors in the core of belief system (belief system based on similar perspective towards human nature and expected condition) that causes difference in the system itself. Actor's core of belief in the subsystem is in the form of individual need that is self-worth as one of the actors in the subsystem which in this case is represented by the Technical

Implementation Unit for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers (*UPTP3TKI*). The core of belief is organizational and professional value in the form of *ex-officio* from the position in public organization. The purpose of both of the factors is to make the actors part of managerial team/ organization that specifically takes care of functions of service in the placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers. The reality shows that the establishment of one of the two institutions is laden with political interests. Authority as external factor is manifested in organizational ego that involves as few unauthorized actors as possible. During the interview, the informants give provocative answers and are cynical.

Based on the findings, other external factors that indicate coalition of the actors are two institutions that has authorities to take care of the Indonesian migrant workers namely the Minister of Labor and Transmigration and National Bureau for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. The Ministry of Labor and Transmigration is the regulator, while the National Bureau for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers is the executor. In the development, the Ministry of Labor and Transmigration also takes care of technical issues related to Indonesian migrant workers. At the same time, National Bureau for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers surpasses its function since it frequently becomes the regulator. As the effect, there is misunderstanding between the institutions that causes unharmonious relationship between the two.

Based on the explanation, it can be identified that all of the actors along with their roles in the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers. Based on the 2004 Regulations number 39, the actors consist of the government and private institutions. The government is responsible for supervision, regulation and development. Goal of the supervising role is to make sure the implementation of the policy is on the right track in national and local levels. Direct supervision is carried out during the pre-departure stage that is to supervise any activities in the *PTKIS*'s shelters. However, the government cannot supervise the stage intensively because *PTKIS* is very reserved. As the effect, the supervision is not more than a formal activity and does not analyze the roots of the problems. Another obstacle the government experiences is that there is some sort of relation between *PTKIS* and the migrant workers to cover up the truth. As the consequence, the government cannot get the actual description of what happened on the field. Similar phenomenon takes place towards the cost structure more specifically financing framework for insurance in Indonesia.

Rule as regulator is carried out by the government to design and validate various regulations related to social protection, for example the regulation about placement and protection for Indonesian migrant workers in foreign countries as formulated in the 2008 East Java Governor Decree number 122 about the tasks and functions of the Technical Implementation Unit for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers (*UPTP3TKI*). The decree is effective in Indonesia only; however, it is not applicable once the migrant workers leave the country. Another role of the government is to conduct some training for the migrant workers before their departure. The training is called *Pembekalan Akhir Penempatan (PAP)* and other service like counseling and advocacy when the migrant workers deal with some issues in foreign countries where they work. As an addition, the government also makes some efforts to improve the competence of the migrant workers by giving some training on how to manage their budget.

Taking a closer look at the 2004 Regulations number 39, it can be seen that there has yet been a regulation that states the role of private institutions explicitly. However, the private institutions are very dominant in the implementation of the social policy protection. There is a chance for an adjustment during the process of implementation even after one policy has been established, cancelled or put aside from the agenda. It happens because of the assumption and belief of the actors that implement the policy; they argue that the implementation of a policy cannot be conducted since there are various issues and consideration that emerge. Alesch & Petak (2001) reveal that when faced with certain reality, policy implementation stage experiences some adjustment and different interpretation. Leadership, relationship between stakeholders, context, resources as well as decision and actions in all elements are the key elements along the continuum of the policy until the policy is implemented. Love (2003:2004) adds that it takes a long time to achieve the expected results. Progress has to be made and evaluated in order to describe the expected outcome and failure, if any, as well as the factors responsible for the failure. Implementation requires coalition from all of the elements in the process and evaluation is needed for each of the elements.

The actors from the private institutions are *PTKIS (PRCTKI)*, insurance company, banks, *BLKLN, LSP*, and health facilities. Each of them has their own tasks and responsibility. *PTKIS* through *PRCTKI* recruits

potential migrant workers which followed by the pre-departure. The role of private institutions is to conduct trainings, aptitude test and medical check-up. Besides that, they also responsible for maintaining some fund belong to the migrant workers from the banks and contact the insurance companies that will provide some insurance until the migrant workers's departure to foreign countries. Furthermore, the migrant workers become the responsibility of the agency until they arrive at their landlords/ landladies' houses. The private actors develop advocacy coalition networking. The belief system is developed based on trust in the common belief. However, the core of belief that becomes the underlying coalition between actors is too solid so that motivation to boost the business is getting stronger. The external belief system gradually becomes stronger and develops networking of which orientation is profit during the placement of Indonesian migrant workers. The core policy is only used as means to develop networking in the implementation of social protection for Indonesian migrant workers.

The core of belief and the external factors the private actors have can be described based on the result of observation that the Indonesian migrant workers are treated poorly in the shelter. The migrant workers are treated like housemaid without salary. They also have to pay cost structure based on the amount of cost structure in the countries where they are working. The migrant workers should be treated properly as training participants because they had pay for facilities provided by *PPTKIS*. *PPTKIS* argued that the job the migrant workers are supposed to do in the shelter is part of training program to develop and improve skills. It can clearly be seen that core of belief system in the form of authority, role and ambition does not go hand in hand with the government actors which is oriented to service and have spirit and motivation in giving social protection. Not only is the private institution the working partner of the government, but it also controls the activities related to the management of Indonesian migrant workers. A company responsible for Indonesian migrant workers' recruitment or "Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia" (*PJTKEI*) as well as the insurance companies are money-oriented institutions. From the perspective of management of organization, the "Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia" (*PJTKEI*) has some facilities sufficient for supporting education and training program for Indonesian migrant workers. In taking care of the migrant workers, the private institution is not supposed to be money-oriented only but also to provide sufficient service and give significant contribution towards improving the welfare of Indonesian migrant workers.

Besides government and public institutions, public support is required to create social protection which is now becomes the "homework" of the government. Government role in developing social protection for the Indonesian migrant workers has yet been optimum. One of the solutions is to invite non-government organization as facilitator and mediator in the implementation of social protection. Generally, it can be said that public participation as the actor in the subsystem coalition is based on the belief system in the common belief that is the importance of social protection policy. The Indonesian migrant workers do not have particular motive to develop coalition in the implementation of social protection. The effect of trust in the policy core is Indonesian migrant workers are relatively passive and can compromise in any situation. As the result, they do not have the common belief so that social protection is considered as an obstacle to send migrant workers abroad. Starting from the socialization conducted by the officers, the community has basically prevented the implementation of the social protection itself.

On the other side, participation of private institution in management and protection of Indonesian migrant workers is heavily influenced by business purpose. Protection and service for Indonesian migrant workers is frequently based on financial advantages. Meanwhile, the government as the one responsible for providing social protection for the migrant workers performs its tasks and responsibilities based on rules and rigid procedures. However, there are some government officials work together and develop private institutions to get as many profit as possible. Coalition between the officials and private institutions is increasing. Meanwhile, non-government organization supports government program to provide service and social protection for Indonesian migrant workers. The non-government organization is relatively free from any pressure or social interest and able to put pressure so that the actors create sufficient program and social protection for Indonesian migrant workers. However, the non-government organization does not have any authority to do something that exceeds their capacities.

Non-government organization as non-formal actor has belief system in the common belief that emphasizes on the importance of social protection. The core of belief the non-government organizations have aims at creating social protection. Non-government organization as the actor has huge opportunity to be policy broker in the policy subsystem that has various conflicts of interest. It also has opportunity to be

primary actor of the policy similar to the findings of Ellison A. Briant (1998:2)'s study. However role of non-government organization in the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers gradually decreases due to external factors that weaken the belief system.

Actor coalition in the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers subsystem is initially triggered by belief system between one another or common belief. When a condition is based on individual interest, the belief system faded away and causes different interests. The difference causes arguments and conflict of interest that eventually develops advocacy coalition. The advocacy coalition prevents successful implementation of social protection. For the time being, there is not any broker within the advocacy coalition in the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers.

Based on the argument and analysis, successful implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers post departure process requires pattern of coalition from the government, private institution and also the society. The coalition is needed starting from pre-departure, placement until post departure.

Collaboration among some actors is needed during the pre-departure process. In the earlier stage, the actors are the village government and *PRCTKI*. They have important role because they are the ones providing data and the required documents. The head of village should not manipulate any data. *PRCTKI* should give correct information related to migrant workers and international labor force for individuals interested in working in foreign countries. Thus, in the early stage, public participation to supervise recruitment of Indonesian migrant workers is needed.

During pre-departure stage where Indonesian migrant workers get some trainings from *BLK* so that they have the required skills, medical checkup by *BPN2TKI*, as well as registration and documentation by the Department of Labor. Training for the migrant workers by *BLKLN* as the representative of *PPTKIS* should be carried out based on the regulations. The training should really develop the migrant workers' skills so that the cases where the migrant workers do not have the required skills to work can be avoided. *BLKLN* is the facilitator to create well-competent and skillful migrant workers. On the other hand, medical checkup is conducted by *PPTKIS* through medical facilities appointed by the government indicated by the Decree of the Ministry of Public Health issued by *BNP2TKI*.

Checklist or re-registration is carried out by the Department of Labor in provincial or municipal level. The process should be carried out very carefully since it is closely related to social protection for Indonesian migrant workers in the future. Officers responsible for re-registration should not tolerate any mistake because it will cost the migrant workers in the future. When they have problems, they may not be able to get help they need.

During passport and visa application as well as the final stage of pre-departure process. Having finished the process, the following procedure is *PPTKIS* sends the migrant workers to Technical Implementation Unit for Services, Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers to join the last session of placement process called "Pembekalan Akhir Penempatan" (*PAP*) and print out ID card for Indonesian migrant workers called "Kartu Tenaga Kerja Luar Negeri" (*KTKLN*). When all documents are complete, the migrant workers are ready to go abroad. Last check of all documents is conducted at the airport. Immigration officers at the airport has to be discipline because there are many cases of non-procedural migrant workers or those who do not have complete set of required documents but are still able to work in foreign countries because they bribe the officers.

During the placement of Indonesian migrant workers in foreign countries, the data show that providing sufficient social protection requires a long process and a lot of efforts. The responsibility for protecting the migrant workers in foreign countries lies in the hand of the government (Indonesian embassy) and private institution (*PPTKIS*). Therefore, developing solid coalition among the two is extremely important. The attachés as the representative of Indonesian embassy should be competent and able to deal with any issues related to labor force especially ones related to social protection. Besides that, the role of agency as the representative of *PPTKIS* is also vital. In conclusion, strengthening coalition between the government and private institutions to create social protection for Indonesian migrant workers in foreign countries is essential.

Coalition among the actors should also be developed during post-departure process. The government and private institutions are responsible for the migrant workers until they arrive safely at their houses. In reality, most of the migrant workers do not get proper treatment. *PPTKIS* assumed that their responsibility

has finished once the migrant workers go abroad for working. *PPTKIS* gives counseling and picks up the workers once they return to Indonesia if the migrant workers have financial responsibility for the institution. The government has yet taken significant efforts. Government counseling has yet run optimally. Limited budget also affects government's efforts to provide social protection for Indonesian migrant workers.

4. CONCLUSION

Similar belief system (core policy does not become belief system) is not the basis for coalition between actors in the implementation of social protection policy for Indonesian migrant workers. The majority of private institutions are arrogant, not committed and inconsistent in protecting the migrant workers and as the consequence, the society does not trust them. Doubt and suspicion towards the private institutions weaken the belief system and eventually decrease or even eliminate trust between the actors. The society has yet had active participation formally. The non-government organization as the representative of public interest has active participation as well as obvious contribution in providing social protection. Not only the non-government organization, religious leaders and local public figures also have important role to spread information and advocacy about various risks and other sides of international labor force to the society.

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