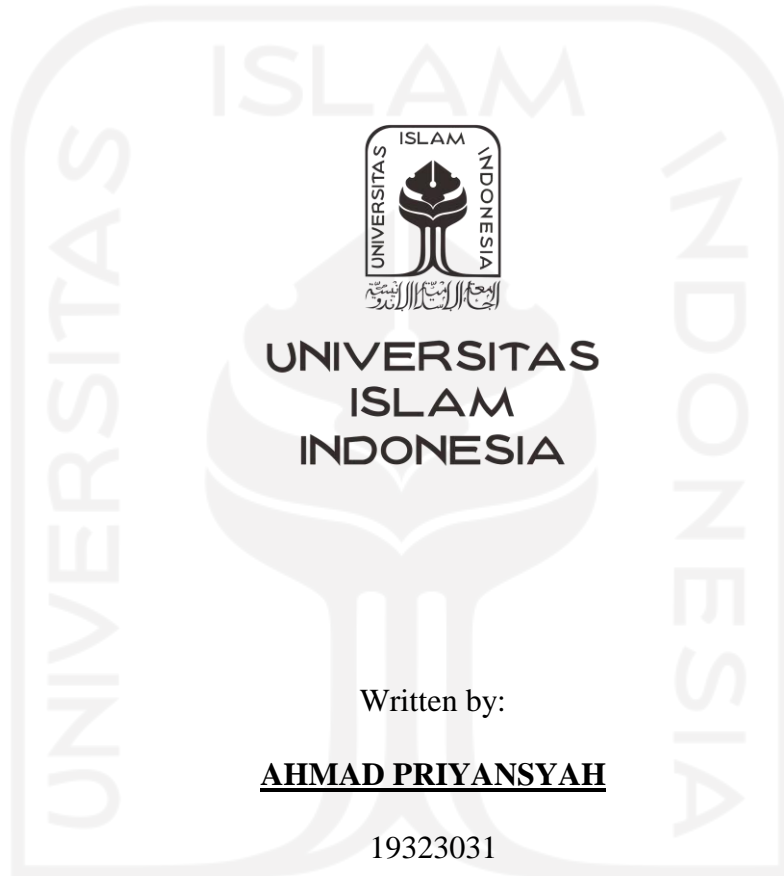


**THE DECISION MAKING ANALYSIS ON ONE CHANNEL SYSTEM BY  
INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT 2014-2018  
UNDERGRADUATE THESIS**



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FACULTY OF PSYCHOLOGY AND SOCIO-CULTURAL SCIENCES  
UNIVERSITAS ISLAM INDONESIA**

**2023**

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Proposed to the Department of International Relations  
Faculty of Psychology and Socio-Cultural Sciences  
Universitas Islam Indonesia  
As a partial fulfillment of requirement to earn  
Bachelor Degree in International Relations



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Date

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## STATEMENT OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

### STATEMENT OF ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

I hereby declare that this undergraduate thesis is the result of my own independent scientific work, and that all material from the work of others (in books, articles, essays, dissertations, and on the internet) has been stated, and quotations and paraphrases are clearly indicated.

No other materials are used other than those contained. I have read and understood the university's rules and procedures regarding plagiarism.

Making false statements is considered a violation of academic integrity.

*8 February 2023,*



*Ahmad Priyansyah*  
*Student's signature and full name*

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# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

Migrant workers are a social phenomenon happening due to social problems in a country. Poverty, limited access to jobs, and high numbers of international mobility have encouraged Indonesians to be migrant workers (Ahsan 2019). Based on Paragraph 1 Article 2 of Indonesian Law number 18 of 2017 regarding the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, Indonesian Migrant Workers are defined as every Indonesian citizen who is going to work, is working, or has been working by receiving wages outside the territory of the Republic of Indonesia (Setkab 2017, 6).

The data by Division of Data Processing and Presentation of National Agency for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers shows that there are 2.023.451 Indonesian migrant workers from 2011 to 2014, 47% of them are in informal sectors (Badan Nasional Penempatan Dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia 2014, 2). Most migrant workers departed in 2014 coming from rural and low-income communities (Patunru and Uddarojat 2015, 1). Increasing income has been the main pull factor why people decided to become migrant workers. Based on data released by the Research Development and Information Center of National Agency for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, 27,86 billion dollars sent in remittances by Indonesian migrant workers from 2010 to 2013 (Badan Nasional Penempatan Dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia 2013, 37).



Saudi Arabia has become the main country of destination for Indonesian Migrant Workers. The first phase of Indonesian Migrant Workers was sent to Saudi Arabia in 1975 after the occurrence of Boom Oil which caused an increasing number of workers (Geerards 2008, 361). The group consists of 25 people and increases every year. Indonesian migrant workers choose Saudi Arabia due to several reasons. The first reason is easy access to go on a pilgrimage, especially for workers in Mecca or Medina (Kementerian Agama Republik Indonesia, 2009). The Head of Manpower Placement Development at the Karawang Regency Manpower and Transmigration Service, Ayi Muhtar, stated that around 200-300 Karawang inhabitants chose Saudi Arabia for this reason.

A higher salary compared to other countries also attract workers especially seeing it in the top 5 countries with a high number of salary. The number of remittances sent from Saudi Arabia is higher compared to other middle east countries reaching USD 2,763,000 in 2015, USD 2,914 million in 2016, USD 2,556 million in 2017, and USD 3,887 million in 2018, and USD 3,803 in 2019 (Statistik Ekonomi dan Keuangan Indonesia 2019). This is the biggest contributor to remittances followed by Malaysia and Taiwan in 2016 (Databoks 2016).

Saudi Arabia's failure in using their domestic workers has been the reason why they need Indonesian migrant workers. This factor has become one of three national problems faced by Saudi Arabia. Therefore, migrant workers are the solution of this issue. The international workforce (6.141.489) is higher than the national workforce (4.926.184).

Indonesian migrant workers are divided into formal and informal sectors. In fact, female workers dominated informal sectors, while, male workers dominate the

formal sector. Most female workers working in the informal sector are pushed by the characteristic of women who often do housework like sweeping, cooking, and washing (Puspitasari et al. 2016, 213). The implementation of Islamic law in Saudi Arabia regulating women to stay and work at home has become another a burden for women to work in formal sectors.

The huge number of Indonesian migrant workers' contributions to the Indonesian economy were not followed by appropriate policies in protecting them in Saudi Arabia. Before the era of the Jokowi presidency, this country became the Indonesian migrant workers' destination with the highest number of problematic workers (Praditya 2014). From 2010 to 2013, 63.362 workers had to face problems, the highest compared to other destination countries (Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia 2013, 25). These problems are divided into 16 aspects such as unilateral layoffs, forced labors, tortures, and murders. Some problems happened to female migrant workers such as sexual harassment, pregnancy, and bringing children.

Deaths of Indonesian migrant workers occurred several times during the Yudhoyono presidency, such as Susilawati who died in the city of Mecca (Tempo 2009). Her family argued that they did not have much contact with her and she always asked to return to her hometown due to his employer's rude behavior. Another migrant worker named Antin Suprihatin who also died horribly after being abused by his employer in Ha'il Province (Kompas 2009). Her body was found with burns and marks of severe abuse.

Indonesian migrant workers also have to face legal problems. Satinah was sentenced to the death penalty after killing her employer who repeatedly tortured

her (Suhendi 2014). Ironically, the Indonesian government only found this legal after five times trials without assistance from the Indonesian Embassy in the next two trials (LBH Jakarta 2014). Even though she was released after the government was willing to pay diyat of 21 billion Rupiah, the Satinah case is a representation of how slow the SBY presidency regulating the protection of Indonesian migrant workers.

The non-procedural steps and trainings conducted by stakeholders lead to the failure in protecting Indonesian migrant workers. A problem occurred after the non-functioning of the Indonesian migrant workers' insurance consortium formed by the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration. One of them was the attempt to repatriate Ai Suhartini bint Udin, who suffered from brain hemorrhage and was treated at the Ahmad Abanani Hospital (Purwoko 2010).

Therefore, due to those problems, Joko Widodo promised to prioritize Indonesian migrant workers' protection during the 2014 presidential election. It was declared through the establishment of nine priority programs, known as NAWACITA. The protection of Indonesian migrant workers includes the fourth point, to bring back the state, to protect the entire nation and to provide a sense of security to all citizens (Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informasi 2017). This point means that the Jokowi presidency will protect the rights and security of all Indonesian citizens in foreign countries. He also signed the Satinah charter about the government's obligation to protect migrant workers from departure, and years of working to return to Indonesia (Amin 2014).

The presence of NAWACITA and Jokowi's commitment in protecting migrant workers was not able to solve migrant workers' problems in Saudi Arabia.

It can be seen through statistics noted at least 2.500 illegal migrant workers departed for Saudi Arabia in 2017 whereas the Indonesian government was barring migrant workers' departure (Setiyani 2017). Other cases such as inhuman treatment in the working place, abnormal working hours, and treatment of workers' life due to several legal processes also occurred during the Jokowi presidency (Linggasari 2018). Jokowi's presidency also tries to make one channel system to ensure the improvement of placement and protection mechanism regarding Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. This policy is expected to be a problem solver through strict regulation on placement mechanism and the changing of contract system for migrant workers.

Several researches have discussed the protection of Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia such as discussion related to ratification on the convention on protection of the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families (Saleh et al, 2020). Other researchers discuss the Indonesian government's diplomacy to protect Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia (Pangestu et al, 2020). There is no specific research discussing the making of one channel system to protect migrant workers during the era of the Joko Widodo presidency in Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the author discusses an analysis of one channel system making to protect migrant workers during era of the Jokowi presidency in order to discover why the policies have been made to protect Indonesian migrant workers.

## 1.2 Research Question

Based on the background, the authors would like to analyze the policies of President Joko Widodo to protect Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. The research question in this study is **Why did President Joko Widodo make one channel system to protect Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia (2014-2018)?**

## 1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are as follows:

1. Discovering what Joko Widodo's policies to protect Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia as during his presidency from 2014 to 2018.
2. Analyzing the reason behind president Joko Widodo's one channel system on the protection of Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia through decision making as the theoretical framework.
3. Analyzing Jokowi's administration responsibility to formulate one channel system for Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia.
4. Observing what has actors do to make one channel system to protect Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia through diplomacy, law making, forming agencies and other procedural aspects.

## 1.4 Research Scope

The author will investigate Indonesian policies to protect migrant workers in Saudi Arabia during the era of the Jokowi's presidency from 2014 to 2018. This period is determined following high number of cases in Saudi Arabia, 3.542

workers from 2014 to 2016 (BNP2TKI, 2016) and 2.614 workers from 2017 to 2018 (BNP2TKI, 2019). Jokowi's failure is shown through the execution of Zainal Misrin, Zaenab dan Karni (Hendartyo 2018). However, Jokowi's administration is not always failed to protect migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. It can be seen through his success in protecting Satinah from death penalty (Susanto 2018). Jokowi's policies to protect Indonesian Migrant Workers through the implementation of Law and to optimize Indonesian agency and diplomacy are interesting to be discussed especially his commitment in protecting migrant workers during the presidential campaign in 2014. This thesis only discusses the issue until the 2018 as the year of one channel system making.

### **1.5 Literature Review**

Several research have discussed the protection of Indonesian migrant workers. The first research is conducted by Rosalyn Theodora Tamba (2019). This research discusses the ambiguity of the Indonesian government's policy to protect Indonesian migrant workers. This research uses data from agencies which are involved in managing Indonesian migrant workers' protection such as BNP2TKI, Labor Attache, and Migrant Care. It is interesting to find how the author strengthens his research by comparing Indonesian and Saudi Arabian cultures which become one of the main obstacles in protecting migrant workers. Those cultures are perceptions of slavery, the way of communication, intonation, and language barriers. The author strengthens his research by comparing Indonesian and Saudi Arabian cultures and law which become one of the main obstacles in protecting migrant workers.

Research conducted by Sidik Pangestu, Henike Primawanti, and Tom Finaldin (2020) explains Indonesian workers sent to Saudi Arabia after the moratorium and diplomatic effort performed by the Indonesian government to protect those workers. “Diplomasi Indonesia Dalam Meningkatkan Keamanan Pekerja Migran Indonesia Di Arab Saudi”. This research explains Indonesian workers sent to Saudi Arabia after the moratorium and the diplomatic effort performed by the Indonesian government to protect those workers. In the era of the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono presidency, Indonesian diplomacy in protecting migrant workers was performed through a moratorium in 2011. President Jokowi reimplemented this policy through the Decree of the Minister of Manpower Number 260 of 2015. The authors found out that Indonesian citizen protection and protecting the country's foreign exchange are the reasons to resend Indonesian workers. In terms of internal aspect, resending Indonesian workers give to Indonesian such as decreasing the number of unemployment, creating job opportunities, decreasing the number of poverty, and improve people's living standards.

Indonesian moratorium policies are elaborated further in research conducted by Jihan Djafar Sidik and Witri Elvianti (2018). The moratorium is conducted to influence and urge the Saudi government to sign MoU to protect Indonesian domestic workers. To explain the moratorium clearly, the authors try to illustrate the migrant workers' problem in Saudi Arabia which still adopts the Kafala principle. Kafala has given employers the power to abuse Indonesian workers such as economic abuse, psychological abuse, sexual abuse, verbal abuse, and physical abuse. Researchers use national interest theory with a qualitative approach to

analyze this case. Authors argue that the moratorium is the government's effort to show their commitment in protecting Indonesian workers at a high level.

Research conducted by Ali Ismail Shaleh and Raihana Nasution (2020) analyzes the protection of Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia by observing this country's position in the international convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant workers and members of their families. The different status between Indonesia (ratified) and Saudi Arabia (unratified) towards this international convention becomes an obstacle in protecting Indonesian workers. Unfortunately, the occurrence of diplomatic steps was not able to accommodate workers' privacy rights. Therefore, this research suggests both countries' governments to implement protective policies based on the International Convention on the Protection of The Rights of All Migrant Workers And members of Their Families.

The articles above have discussed a lot of aspects of Indonesia's protection of migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. However, there is no literature explained clearly about Jokowi's policy and the integration of the Indonesian stakeholders' program to protect Indonesian migrant workers during the first era of the Jokowi presidency.

## **1.6 Research Framework**

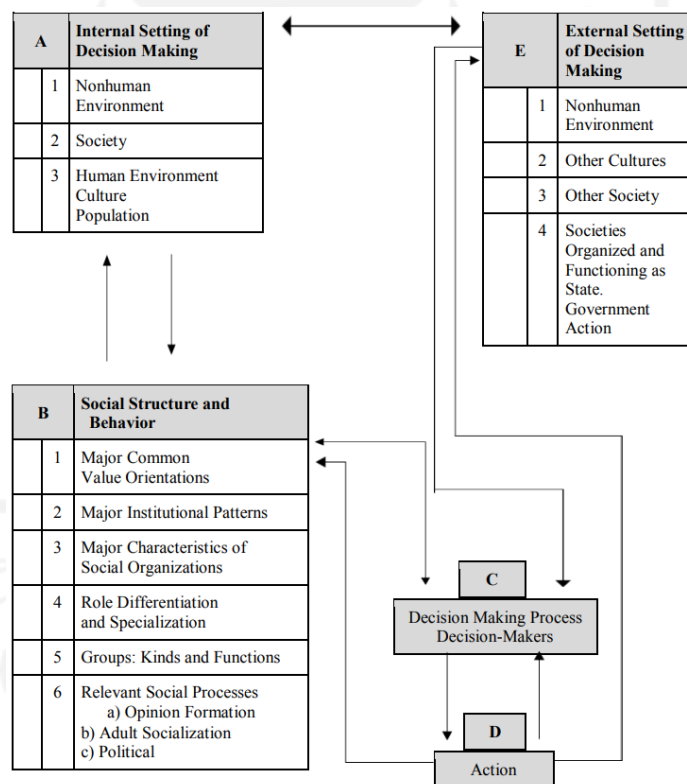
In this research, the author uses Decision Making Process formulated by Richard C. Snyder, H. W. Bruck and Burton Sapin to analyze how Indonesian government make one channel system to protect Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. In the book Foreign Policy Decision – Making, decision making in



the organizational scope is defined as a “course of action based on the project” (Snyder et al. 2002). It means that this approach will focus on the system or factors of decision makers to react on several topics or problems they have.

In his idea, Snyder argues that decision makers are only taken from government officials. They should understand several aspects such as situation, flow of information and determination of risks to get a satisfying result of the policy. He noted five important points noticed in analyzing decision making that will be described through diagram below:

Diagram 1.1 The Decision Making Model



Source: (Snyder et al. 2002, 64)

A. Internal setting of decision making.

According to Snyder, the first point that a government should notice is the internal setting of decision making. This point consists of three sub points namely nonhuman environment, society and human environment (Snyder et al. 2002, 61).

- Nonhuman environment is defined as a physical environment of a country without involving human that influencing it in driving its foreign policy. It can be domestic politics, public opinion and geographical position (Snyder et al. 2002, 61).
- Society is a group of people living in a country that determine the country's foreign policy (Snyder et al. 2002, 128).
- Human environment discusses about how a group of people can involve in the issue based on their personal background (Snyder et al. 2002, 128-133). The involvement of this group of people is not only as policy makers but also policy objects.

B. Social structure and behavioral structure.

This part examines the importance of social structure on decision makers background as they come from a social condition that always changes (Snyder et al. 2002, 78). This pillar is divided into six points namely:

- Major common value orientation that discusses social values adopted by decision makers that can influence them on the decision-making process (Snyder et al. 2002, 128).
- Major institutional patterns determine how institutional pattern can influence decision making process and how it will be conducted (Snyder et al. 2002, 61).

- Major characteristics of social organization talks about the characteristics of local organization that can help to make the idea clearer and apply the policy more easily (Snyder et al. 2002, 33).
- Role differentiation and specialization help to maximize policy making and implementation through dividing each actor's role in the policy and put them into different authority. The aims of specialization to ensure that all policy makers can conduct their duty well.
- Group kinds and Function determines how people can be divided into group and show the duty of each group in their policy (Snyder et al. 2002, 126).
- Relevant social progress discusses about how social process can be relevant during the policy implementation through share on public opinion, political and adult socialization (Snyder et al. 2002. 2002, 138).

#### C. Decision-making process - decision making.

This part examines further the internal and personal aspect of the decision makers. It consists of three different parts known as the sphere of competence, information and communication, and the motivation (Snyder et al. 2002, 23). The sphere of competence seeing the capability of decision makers on formulating their policy. Information and communication determine how flow of information and communication can ease the policy making process. The motivation of these people can help to know how big their desire is to discuss and implement a policy.

#### D. Action.

This factor sees further the connection between internal and external settings on the decision making especially other countries' condition and policy (Snyder et al. 2002, 54). It is very important for decision makers to determine their policy based on internal and external sectors so that it can be well implemented. Actions are categorized as action or reaction towards policy that threaten a state interest.

E. External setting refers to factors beyond the border of a country that influence their decision making (Snyder et al. 2002, 60). External setting connects a country's policy to other country in terms of the problem they have. What is decided by the decision makers is very important in external setting. Snyder argues that external setting has several determinants:

- Non-human environment: This determinant influence country's foreign policy seeing the occurrence of problems either in international scope or other country (Snyder et al. 2002, 75).
- Other culture: It is defined as a culture happened in other country that can become a reason why a country conducts a policy to respond it (Snyder et al. 2002, 128).
- Other society: This point talks about other country's society who can become a source of problem and should be responded by a country's policy.
- Society organized and functioning as state, government action: This point refers to the condition of international government and organization on influencing a country's policy (Snyder et al. 2002, 61).

Condition is defined as a state's effort to solve problems happening and affecting other countries to be more responsive.

As a state that consist of government, society, cultures and obligations to follow international norms, Indonesia is also categorized as part of the subject for this theory. It is strengthened through Indonesian protection on Migrant Workers that has a lot of influence from domestic politics, international organization, the occurrence of massive problematic migrant workers' cases and even the law and cultures of Saudi Arabia as the receiving country.

### **1.7 Provisional Argument**

Based on the decision-making theory, Indonesian government implemented migrant workers' protection due to several problems and reasons. In the internal setting, the government cannot utilize and pay much attention on the aspects like society and human environment who are triggered by problems of Indonesian migrant workers in the receiving countries. It is worsened by the absence of Indonesian government's assistance to provide employment and comfortable work place that can minimize number of migrant workers.

In the second aspect, social structure and behavioral structure, the Jokowi's presidency is unable to maximize role of social structure. It can be seen through the institution and role of stakeholders that cannot be utilized well. Indonesia has migrant care, BP2MI, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration that cannot integrate well to solve this problem. The pattern of institution is very important to make sure that all stake holders can collaborate and conduct their role appropriately.

During the decision-making process, such problems occur more frequently. It has been known that Indonesian decision-making process mostly involve politician who mostly do not understand the issue they encounter. Sphere of competence is questionable during the decision-making process. The action of the government on the implementation of the policy is also confusing.

Other thing that should not be forgotten is the external setting following the culture and society of Saudi Arabia. Most people there used to with slavery issues. Therefore, they see migrant workers as if their “belongings”. This leads to difficulties in protecting of migrant workers. *Kafalah* as the Law of Saudi Arabia that also becomes an obstacle protecting Indonesian migrant workers.

## **1.8 Research Method**

### *1.8.1 Type of the Research*

This research used the qualitative method. This method is defined as a method to elaborate further data and information on certain phenomena through pre-given and making a new distinction (Aspers & Corte 2019, 18). The author will elaborate data from news articles, government websites and documents and journals to observe how Jokowi’s administration implements policies to protect migrant workers.

### *1.8.2 Subject and Object of the Research*

The subject of this research was Indonesian government lead by President Jokowi from 2014 to 2021. The object of this research was Indonesian policies such as moratorium of sending Indonesian migrant workers to Saudi Arabia, the

establishment of Law number 18 of 2017 regarding the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, one channel system and diplomacy with Saudi Arabia government from 2014 to 2021.

### *1.8.3 Method of Data Collection*

This research used a literature study. It was implemented by analyzing data from books, journals, news portals, and Indonesian authority documents such as BNP2TKI, BP2MI, Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesian Ministry of Manpower, and Migrant Care.

### *1.8.4 Process of the Research*

The research process was conducted by collecting and analyzing data. The data was used to answer research questions on Indonesian policies to protect Indonesian Migrant Workers in Saudi Arabia.

## **1.9 Thesis Outline**

### **CHAPTER I : Background**

It consists of background, research question, objectives, significance, scope, literature review, and theoretical framework.

### **CHAPTER II : Internal Factors.**

The author discuss about one channel system starting from the making process until several dialSogues and steps during the improvement of this policy. This chapter is also filled with discussion about reasons behind policy making based on internal settings of decision making and social structure & behavior aspect.

### **CHAPTER III : External Factors and Countries Action.**

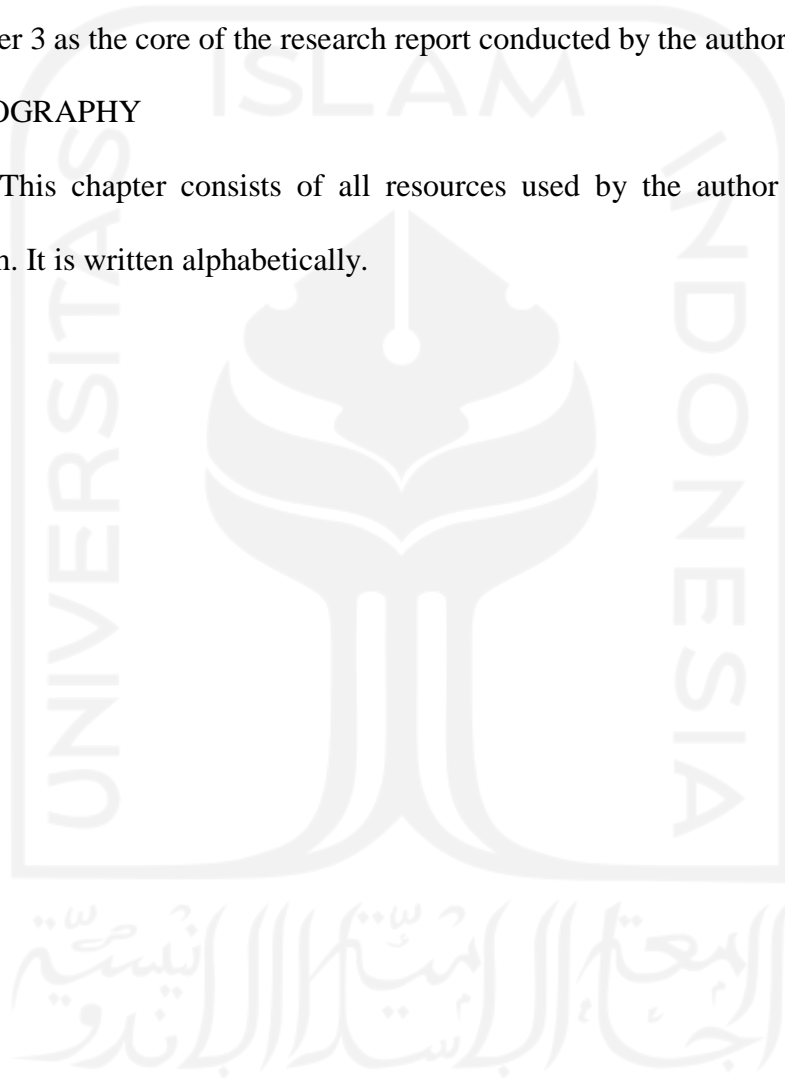
This chapter discusses about external factors that influence the making of one channel system. It consists of external settings of decision making, decision making process and Action.

#### CHAPTER IV : Conclusion & Suggestions

This chapter contains the author's conclusion from discussion in chapters 1 – chapter 3 as the core of the research report conducted by the author.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHY

This chapter consists of all resources used by the author to write this research. It is written alphabetically.





## CHAPTER II INTERNAL FACTORS

### 2.1. One Channel System

In the beginning of his presidency, Jokowi decided to conduct moratorium on sending Indonesian migrant workers through the Minister of Labor's Decree number 260 of 2015 concerning the termination and prohibition of sending Indonesian migrant workers for domestic sector in Middle Eastern countries (*Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan* 2015). This policy was made in line with the many problems experienced by domestic workers and the weakness of protection in middle eastern countries. However, this decision does not prevent workers who have started working in Saudi Arabia to continue their work or extending their contracts.

The application of this moratorium does not stop the occurrence of problems regarding Indonesian migrant workers. It can be seen through the increasing number of illegal migrant workers during the moratorium. Based on Migrant Care survey, 2644 people departed as illegal migrant workers around March 2015 – May 2016. Nine hundred and sixty-four of them departed to Saudi Arabia through pilgrimage, family visit and visa re-entry (Malik 2017). The departure of illegal migrant workers led to another problem following their unregistered status in Indonesian Embassy and the general consulate. This policy also was not able to protect migrant workers who were still in Saudi Arabia from any kinds of problem such as torture and late of receiving salary payment.

This condition has led both Indonesian and Saudi Arabian government to formulate new policies to maximize the protection of Indonesian migrant workers

that will protect their labor-related rights through placement scheme and contract revision (Akuntono 2017). This new policy is known as one channel system. This system is issued after the signing of bilateral cooperation between Indonesian Minister of Labor with Saudi's Minister of Labor and Social Development in 2018 (Reisha 2018). The signing of this bilateral cooperation is done as the follow up of both ministers' meeting in Jeddah on 2017. In order to formalize both ministers' bilateral cooperation, Indonesian Minister of Labor issued Decree of the Minister of Labor of the Republic of Indonesia Number 291 of 2018 regarding guidelines for the implementation and protection of Indonesian migrant workers in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia through the one channel system.

Indonesian Minister of Labor stated that this bilateral cooperation is formulated to solve migrant workers' problems such as violence, sexual harassment, non-payment of wages, exploitation, and threats of the death penalty that affect public perception (Fanany 2018). It also aims to control relationship between employees and employers to minimize abuse of power performed by employers especially following the implementation of *Kafalah* system in workers' contract.

This one channel system will integrate both countries through an online platform starting from spreading the information, registration, selection, placement, and the return of Indonesian migrant workers (*Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan* 2018). However, the implementation of this policy will not change government's policy regarding the moratorium on sending Indonesian migrant workers to Saudi Arabia. Therefore, the sending of migrant workers must be based on demand and restricted to several sectors such as housekeeper, babysitter, family cooker, elderly

caretaker, family driver and child care worker. Those workers will only be sent to Jeddah, Madinah, Riyadh, Damam, Qobar and Dahrhan in the Eastern Region of Saudi Arabia.

Difference between new and old placement system can be seen firstly through recruitment process that is shifted into online integrated system allowing both the Indonesian and Saudi Arabian authority in supervising, monitoring and evaluating this process. Wages payment system is diverted through banks to control the delay of payment. This system also provides call center that can be accessed by migrant workers for 24 hours a day and is available in Indonesian language (Fanany 2018). The difference also lies in the *Syarikah* and *Kafalah* principle adopted in those two systems. New placement mechanism uses *Syarikah* principle allowing placement agencies to have control and have responsibility to Saudi's authority during the placement scheme. On the other hand, *Kafalah* acknowledges full control of employees to employers. This allows migrant workers to be better controlled and avoid crimes that are commonly committed by employers such as abuse, late salary payment and work contract problems.

The implementation of one channel system has been done through follow up meetings conducted by Indonesian and Saudi Arabian government. The first step they took was conducting a meeting between Indonesian Minister of Labor and Deputy Minister of Labor and Social Development of Saudi Arabia on September 1, 2019 (Nisa 2019). Both parties discussed about the preparation steps in implementing one channel system such as integration of system, project socialization and private agency selection who will participate in this pilot project.

The bilateral meeting of both countries held on September 16, 2019 agreed on several points such as the implementation of pilot project began on October 1, 2019 and extension the application document until April 2020. This meeting was also able to establish joint task force to monitor and evaluate the implementation of one channel system. Any kinds of dispute settlement will be conducted by this joint task force as the implementation of one channel system.

The Saudi Arabia's government has shown their commitment through the signing of 42 *Syarikah*, updating pre-departure orientation materials for Indonesian migrant workers and ensuring that the crisis center hotline is accessible 24 hours and is available in Indonesia language. Indonesian government has also shown their commitment to implement one channel system by appointing 55 Indonesian Migrant Worker Placement Companies (P3MI) to carry out the placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers in the kingdom of Saudi Arabia through a one channel policy (*Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan RI* 2019). The appointment of these companies was officially performed through the signing of Decree of the Director General of Labor Placement Development and Expansion of Employment Opportunities in 2019.

In the second term of the Jokowi presidency, the new Labor Minister, Ida Fauziyah, held a meeting with the Ambassador of Saudi Arabia to Indonesia, Esam A Abid Althagafi, in her office on February 3, 2020. In this meeting, both parties discussed about preparation on the implementation of one channel system through the recruitment of Indonesian Migrant Worker Placement Company (Binapenta & PKK 2020). In this occasion, Ida also mentioned that Indonesian government keep improving the regulation to show their commitment on the protection of Indonesian

migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. The spread of Pandemic Covid-19 in 2020 has delayed the implementation of one channel system's pilot project because Saudi Arabia banned the entry of migrant workers (Noveria & Romdiati 2022).

The implementation of this pilot project was planned to start in 2021 through the departure of 280 migrant workers to Saudi Arabia in February 2021 (Direktorat Binapenta & PKK 2021). Director General of Labor Placement Development and Job Opportunity Expansion (Binapenta and PKK) has prepared the implementation of this pilot project through the meeting with the Association of Indonesian Migrant Service Companies (APJATI) to ensure the readiness of Indonesian Migrant Worker Placement Companies (P3MI) in implementing this pilot project. This meeting also aimed to ensure the readiness of Saudi's placement agency. However, this implementation had to be banned again after Saudi Arabian government banned the entry of people coming from 20 countries include Indonesia due to the pandemic Covid-19 (BAL 2021). This condition is used by Indonesian government to evaluate and prepare more things to start implementing this pilot project through integrative system, position evaluation of Indonesia, establishment of joint task force and update of technical agreement between two countries which has been expired before being fully implemented (Karunia 2022). This joint task force is responsible to evaluate, monitor and discuss all kinds of problems have occurred in the connection with the implementation of this pilot project. They will conduct the meeting every three months and whenever they need it.

## **2.2. Internal Setting of Decision Making**

### *2.2.1 Nonhuman environment*

The nonhuman environment is a factor which influence the policy makers regarding domestic politics, public opinion and geographical position of the state itself (Snyder et al. 2002, 61). In this analysis, the author only defines how domestic politics and public opinion has biggest influence on the making of one channel system as it drives Jokowi's presidency well. The exclusion of geographical position happens to focus the discussion only on political condition and public opinion that occurs following it. Those factors have big impact because it drives Indonesian government to decide what kinds of policies they are going to take especially during the transition from previous to newest administration era. This condition is filled with a lot of numbers of political tension, interest and public opinion to get people's sympathy either during or after the presidential election process.

It can be seen through growth of assertive nationalist during the presidential campaign. The emergence of assertive nationalist follows problems that occurs during SBY's presidency that cannot protect Indonesian migrant workers well. This condition is reinforced by the emergence of criticism and demands to Indonesian authority concerning the protection of Indonesian migrant workers abroad. The criticisms arose during the SBY Presidency were utilized as one of the hottest topics discussed during the presidential campaign and debate in 2014. Both couple of candidates offered their solution to protect Indonesian migrant workers. Joko Widodo offers the improvement in placement management to protect Indonesian migrant workers from pre-departure and recruitment process (Jibi 2014). He also

strengthened his commitment to protect migrant workers through *NAWACITA* and the *Satinah* charter as one of driving points for his government's agenda.

Therefore, a lot of public opinion occurs on demanding new government to manage better policy regarding the protection of migrant workers abroad especially in Saudi Arabia. This condition is followed by the urgency of raising Indonesian national dignity through policies that reflect Indonesia's need to be assertive in its national interests, including emphasizing the need to place itself firmly in global. It encourages Jokowi to establish policies to protect Indonesian migrant workers such as moratorium on sending migrant workers and continued with one channel system. Therefore, the policies managed by Jokowi's administration aim to protect Indonesian migrant workers to maintain national dignity before other countries especially Saudi Arabia (Masithoh 2018).

The urgency of protecting Indonesian migrant workers during the reign of President Jokowi was getting stronger with the dissatisfaction of the Jokowi - JK government on their early governance (Masithoh 2018). This arose due to domestic issues that cornered this government such as the feud between the Corruption Eradication Commission and the National Police, rising prices of basic goods and the increase in of criminal acts. Therefore, a policy was made to increase the level of public satisfaction and to be accepted by Jokowi's supporters and the opposition by increasing the protection of Indonesian migrant workers. At first, the Jokowi government chose a moratorium on sending Indonesian migrant workers to the Middle East, but this did not go well as various problems emerged, such as illegal migrant workers, domestic unemployment and frequent acts of violence against migrant workers.

### 2.2.2. Society

Society is defined as a group of people who live in the country and have power to determine how a country will drive their foreign policy based on the policy's suitability with society (Snyder et al. 2002, 128). In this case, the author highlights the members of *Koalisi Indonesia Hebat* (KIH) as the main supporters of the Jokowi - JK government throughout 2014 - 2019. It can be observed that members of the DPR who are members of the coalition pay considerable attention to the protection of Indonesian migrant workers (Mulya 2015). This can be seen from the unified support of members of the People's Legislative Assembly from PDI-P, GOLKAR, PPP towards increasing the protection of Indonesian migrant workers abroad, especially those who do not have laws protecting migrant workers in their countries.

The position of members of KIH to support the improvement in Indonesian migrant workers' protection occurs through their understanding that our dependence on migrant workers' remittances is not equal with number of physical, verbal and psychological impact that should be experienced by migrant workers. Those elite politics agree that the protection of migrant workers also talks about nation's dignity that should be protected. Therefore, this coalition has strong desire to improve Indonesian migrant workers' protection.

Totality of KIH in improving the protection of Indonesian migrant workers was inseparable from the support provided by this community group in the 2014 presidential election (Rofiuddin 2014). In Central Java alone, at least 500 Indonesian migrant workers supported the Jokowi-JK pair who are members of the Jokowi Foreign Exchange Hero Winning Team. This relationship was strengthened



when the declaration was held at the PDI-P Regional Leadership Council office. This was then followed by a statement from the Jokowi-JK spokesperson for the West Java region who claimed that all overseas migrant workers had also made a commitment to win the Jokowi-JK pair which was coordinated by the Association of Indonesian Migrant Service Companies (APJATI). Therefore, it is not strange seeing the support of KIH member to improve the protection of Indonesian migrant workers during Jokowi's presidency because migrant workers have given good contribution for KIH's position in the parliamentary and presidential election.

### *2.2.3 Human Environment (Culture and Population)*

Population is defined as behaviour of the citizen in a country that creates problems and determines what kinds of activities can be taken by decision makers to deal with it (Snyder et al. 2002, 133). The population of Indonesia in this policy is taken from migrant workers are mostly with low economic level, low educational level and jobless group. Those groups of people are really easy to be recruited as migrant workers due to their social - economic condition and high risk of being of violence victims either during the placement or working process in their receiving countries.

The occurrence of low educational level workers happens following the easiness of migrant workers' qualification required. Actually, this condition has eased Indonesia to send migrant workers to go and work abroad. It can be seen through number of Indonesian migrant workers sent abroad during the Jokowi presidency which reached 1.017.045 in elementary level (BNP2TKI, 2019). They are categorized as part of low-skilled labours who mostly work in domestic sectors. The massive number of migrant workers coming from low educational level is

understandable because this educational level also contributes to high amount of unemployment in Indonesia. Throughout 2015-2018, numbers of unemployment from low educational level have reached 7.321.743 (BPS 2017). The director of BNP2TKI, Nusron Wahid, mentioned that it happens due to massive gap between employment by the number of labour force that has reach about 1,2 – 1,3 million of labours. In 2017, the number of labour force in Indonesia has reached 128,06 million people with total 121,02 million employees (BPS 2017). It is strengthened by the fact that they are totally unemployed with no side jobs to do. Therefore, they departed to Middle Eastern Countries like Saudi Arabia just to get a job and meet their daily needs.

Economic condition also supports the involvement of migrant workers in the process of protection. This is happening considering the number of migrant workers coming from low economic condition that leads them to work abroad. This factor is strengthened through the willingness of Indonesian migrant workers to be paid with lower number of salary than local people. On the other hand, it creates problem because domestic sector with lower skills do not require strict qualification that should be fulfilled and often becomes an opportunity for agents to send illegal migrant workers.

The community of Indonesia also acknowledge that migrant workers as Indonesian economic hero to raise Indonesian economy through sending remittances every year. It can be seen through Agency of Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers' data showing that each year Indonesian Migrant Workers sent 2 billion USD only during the moratorium (2015-2017) and increased

to more than 3 billion US Dollar in 2018 (*Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia 2019*).

The absence of Indonesian policy to strengthen regulation regarding protection of Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia during the moratorium period has also created a lot of problems. This policy has been able to stop sending migrant workers legally but followed by the emergence of illegal workers. The officer of Indonesian Solidarity on Women, Nindy Silvie stated that after the implementation of Moratorium policy, the number of illegal migrant workers increased throughout 2016-2017. It happened because Indonesian government only stopped the sending of migrant workers without conducting policy to improve the sending and protection of Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia (Susanto 2017).

The ban on workers' departure using a work visa is countered by using pilgrimage visa because the moratorium does not influence people's travel for pilgrimage reasons. Therefore, a lot of people go to Saudi Arabia with pilgrimage visa but ended up as migrant workers. Indonesian Ministry of Law and Human Rights admit this modus as the biggest supporting factors of illegal migrant workers (Gunadha 2017). Agents also contribute to the occurrence of Indonesian illegal migrant workers' departure. In 2017, Indonesian police have arrested at least 10 agents who have departed 148 illegal migrant workers to Middle Eastern Countries (Sohutorun 2017). They operated their service by establishing fake pilgrimage agents. Those workers will work in several sectors and cities once they arrive in Saudi Arabia. Departure of illegal migrant workers is dangerous because it is

usually followed by problems like people smuggling, organ smuggling and fraud (RadarJogja 2017).

On the other hand, when we talk about the culture it relates with behaviour and language spoken by Indonesian migrant workers. In his book, Snyder define culture as a bearer that can determine policy making process (Snyder et al. 2002, 128). The bearer in this condition relies on language capability that should become main communication skills owned by Indonesian migrant workers. Unfortunately, due to their low educational level, Indonesian workers are having difficulties in language acquisition and cultural adaptation which should be their main capital to work abroad. However, being migrant workers is not only about working but also cultural adaptation that should be done. The first homework of Indonesian migrant workers is regarding language adaptation which is quiet hard to do because most of them do not speak English or Arabic. This condition is very fragile because it can be utilized by employers or placement agencies to hire them with bad contract system or sell them through people's smuggling. The inability of Indonesian migrant workers to integrate with new culture in Saudi Arabia has been a factor of several abusive moments or their bad performance during working (Monica & Theodora 2019, 37-38).

To conclude this part, the author argues that the population and culture in human environment are two integrated points. They are linked with each other especially talking about the adaptation of Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. This condition talks about how Indonesian migrant workers try to work properly there but unfortunately they cannot adapt well due to limited language capability. If it is analyzed deeper, the absence of good English capability occurs

following low educational level of Indonesian migrant workers. therefore, those two points cannot be separated easily even though it does not have any correlation with economic factors as another part of population.

### **2.3. Social Structure and Behavior**

#### *2.3.1. Major Common Value Orientations*

Major common value orientations in Snyder's decision making is defined as norms in the society that can affect the verbal formulations and how decision makers are going to perceive the problematic things in the world through their policy (Snyder et al. 2002, 128). The protection of Indonesian migrant workers during the reign of President Joko Widodo was oriented towards values of national pride and dignity, especially regarding domestic helpers sent by Indonesia. This was stated by Jokowi during Hanura Party's annual national meeting in 2015 when he mentioned that the sending of domestic workers should be stopped because this brought embarrassment to the government in front of other countries like Malaysia (Jumasani 2015). It was very embarrassed because sending migrant workers in domestic sectors prove the inability of Indonesia to provide high skill labours who will compete in the labours market. The message of Jokowi regarding nation's dignity was able to stimulate his staff such as minister of labours and head of national agency for the placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers. It showed through commitment to maximize role of job training agency that will be specified for migrant workers so they can upgrade their quality to work in formal sectors (Wahono 2015).

The discussion towards national dignity also occurs after people's bad perception towards migrant workers. It happens because migrant workers are always connected with the stigma of low-class workers in everyone's minds (BNP2TKI 2019). This perception arises when people think of a maid whenever they hear the word Indonesian migrant workers. The change in the designation of Indonesian workers to Indonesian migrant workers in Law number 18 of 2017 was also made as an attempt to change this negative stigma. It is in line with Jokowi's plan to lift Indonesian dignity especially through migrant workers. Therefore, his administration also facilitates the protection of Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia through channel system to eradicate those bad perceptions and build good image of Indonesian migrant workers with certain requirement and certification before departing to Saudi Arabia.

Taking national dignity regarding the sending of low skilled labours as major common values of Indonesian government to make one channel system cannot be separated from policy's new points and schemes. As we can see, Indonesian government try to send more qualified and certified migrant workers through training and stricter qualification especially when we mentioned about types of jobs offered in one channel system. Those six job sectors can only be accessed after numerous training and certification process conducted by migrant workers' candidate. It is very different from the old scheme that has no strict qualification and certification to be fulfilled. The training system offered by placement agency is only to ensure migrant workers can work properly not to select them well like in one channel system.

The national dignity also talks about the existence of a country to protect Indonesian migrant workers abroad. It strengthens the urgency of protecting migrant workers because when they are unprotected it shows that the country is not able to safe his people's life condition even when he is abroad. It is mentioned by Jokowi in his presidential debate on 2014 that he is going to improve the management of migrant workers' protection as one of his point to raise Indonesian dignity in front of other country.

Besides the national dignity, the major common values of Indonesian government to protect migrant workers also occurs following the humanitarian issues. In this condition, nation should present to protect all of Indonesian citizens wherever they are even abroad. This point is mentioned in the fourth paragraph of the opening of Indonesian Constitution of 1945. It was mentioned that "*Kemudian daripada itu untuk membentuk suatu pemerintah negara Indonesia yang melindungi segenap bangsa Indonesia*" which means Indonesian government should present to protect Indonesian citizens wherever they are as an obligation. As the basic law of Indonesia, what is mentioned in the opening of Indonesian constitution 1945 become a mandatory duty that should be done by every Indonesian president who is in administration era. This condition is also translated by Jokowi to protect Indonesian people especially migrant workers wherever they are through his NAWACITA especially in the 4<sup>th</sup> point mentioning about the protection of Indonesian citizen abroad (Kominfo 2015).

This data shows that major common values orientation on the making of one channel system as a policy to protect migrant workers consist of two things namely national dignity and humanitarian duty. National dignity is raised by

President Jokowi through his vision on providing better skilled labours and protection system for migrant workers. On the other hand, humanitarian duties come as the follow up of what has been mentioned in Indonesian constitution on 1945 and adopted by Indonesian government.

### *2.3.2. Major Institutional Patterns*

Major institutional patterns are defined as interaction patterns between the institution that can determine state actions regarding their policy (Snyder et al. 2002, 35). In this research, the author takes interaction between three Indonesian bodies with high responsibility on Indonesian migrant workers' protection namely Ministry of Labours, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and National Agency on Indonesian Migrant Workers' placement and protection (change to Indonesian Migrant Workers Placement Agency) (MigrantCare 2015).

The Ministry of Labor is obliged to improve migrant workers' skill to ensure that they can work well in receiving countries like Saudi Arabia. This ministry also has duties to conduct bilateral meeting and agreement with Saudi Arabia's authority to manage policies regarding the protection of migrant workers (Andika 2017). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is responsible to protect Indonesian citizens abroad include migrant workers. Protection is conducted through Indonesian Embassy and General Consulate in Saudi Arabia. The National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (BP2TKI) is an institution mandated to protect Indonesian migrant workers abroad based on Law number 39 of 2004 (MigrantCare 2015). This institution cannot work alone because they work as a project executor and they are responsible to the Minister who control Labours



affairs (*Peraturan Presiden Republik Indonesia Nomor 81 Tahun 2006 Tentang Badan Nasional Penempatan Dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia 2006*).

The interaction patterns between those institutions can be seen through their collaboration and working scheme as they work together in several cases. Ministry of Labors and Ministry of Foreign Affairs work together to manage diplomacy and negotiation with Saudi's government to ensure that new protection system for Indonesian migrant workers can be implemented. The diplomacy is also facilitated by Indonesian embassy and general consulate in Saudi Arabia. Besides that, those institutions also work together in providing good protection and improved through the making of one channel system. One of points to be highlighted in one channel system is the improvement on emergency call center in Indonesian Embassy and General consulate that is expected to present better and faster problem solving whenever Indonesian migrant workers having problems. This issue is later on being forwarded to the Ministry of Labor to manage what kinds of mitigation process they are going to do based on the problems.

The next is about interaction between Ministry of Labors with the National Agency on the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. In this mechanism, the Ministry of Labors works together with National Agency on the Placement and Protection of Indonesian migrant workers to provide good placement and protection mechanism. The needs of collaboration between those two bodies occurs because they have same duty to ensure that Indonesian migrant workers can work properly and safely. Moreover, the existence of one channel system aims to strengthen this collaboration through regulating right and duties of each party. This new placement system also tries to provide better regulation on

placement agency to ensure that no more fake agency that can send migrant workers in illegal scheme.

### *2.3.3. Major Characteristics of Social Organizations*

The characteristic of social organizations in decision making is defined as an analysis to specify social organizations' behaviour and type regarding what they are doing during policy making (Snyder et al. 2002, 33). In this case, the author takes the association of Indonesian migrant workers that often conduct their action on demanding the improvement of migrant workers' protection. Their existence on demanding this point cannot be separated from the condition of Indonesian migrant workers itself especially the domination of domestic workers. They are vulnerable to becoming victims of crime because this sector does not require high expertise and complicated administrative documents. This condition has led domestic migrant workers to be victims of crime such as abuse, sexual harassment and human trafficking (Sali 2016). Several cases have happened to Indonesian migrant workers with legal status such as a female migrant worker from Sukabumi who was tortured by her employer in 2016 and could not be repatriated because she needs permission from the employers (Iman 2016). Another female migrant worker from Sukabumi also experienced the same incident in 2017 (Rohman 2017).

The characteristic of social organization who always demand the improvement of migrant workers' protection has indirectly pushed Indonesian government to improve protection policies. It can be seen through numerous demonstration and petition published by those social organization asking for better protection system. Protest regarding the improvement of migrant workers' protection also happens following massive number of cases during the

implementation of moratorium on sending migrant workers. Therefore, those social organizations come out with their critics and demand.

#### *2.3.4. Role Differentiation and Specialization*

Role differentiation and specialization talks about the specific authority of each actor to be involved in the decision making of policy. Analysing it deeper, specialization means that there is a vertical relation regarding delegation to level of authority and horizontal relation on the boundaries of each actor's power (Snyder et al. 2002, 77). In this case, the author take relation between Indonesian government with private sector during the decision making. Vertical relation is about how government delegates their authority to send Indonesian migrant workers to placement companies. The boundaries happen regarding the position and power of each actor in placement process. However, placement companies are only able to send migrant workers abroad without any diplomacy power to protect them whenever problems happen.

Considering this condition, Indonesian government tries to formalize the relation and boundaries between two actors through the establishment of one channel system to ensure that there is a clear boundary and task delegation that should be taken by each party. This placement system regulates well the authority of private sector during recruitment process, migrant workers' protection in receiving countries and even duty during and post-repatriation process. Those steps are done to ensure that the delegation and boundaries of authority between two actors can be done well when one channel system has been implemented. It happens following massive number of Indonesian migrant workers facing problems but sending companies do not have any authority and duty to protect them.

Differentiation talks about basis authority between superior and subordinate actors especially regarding their ability to give order, instruction, and commands (Snyder et al. 2002, 97-98). In this analysis, the author uses different position of Indonesian government and private sectors regarding their ability. The government at least have two roles towards the protection of Indonesian migrant workers which all of them can be conducted through the authority of making order and command in the policy (Aziz and Sudiarawan 2022, 418). The first protection is preventive or educative. This protection is carried out by making a legal instrument to protect the safety of migrant workers, for example by drafting laws, bilateral and multilateral agreements with other countries and improving placement mechanisms. The second protection is curative or repressive which is carried out through the establishment of Crisis Center in receiving and sending countries to solve various employment problems, ensuring the safety of migrant workers while working through the use of insurance to create or update the policy when necessary. Government institutions involved in protecting migrant workers consist of Ministry of Labours, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and National Agency on the Placement and Protection of Migrant Workers. The making of legal instrument, placement mechanism and updating policies can be done by government due to their existence as superior actor who can drive the policy very easily through their order. On the other hand, the private sector is defined as subordinate power whose main authority is only to implement their duty in accordance with the interests and policies established by the government (Kristina and Jumali 2018). Roles played by the private sector includes the roles in placement and protection through Indonesian migrant worker placement agencies.

Differentiation has helped the easiness to drive this policy even since the making process. It can be seen on how Indonesian government as the superior actors become policy makers through managing points exist in this policy. However, their policy making is followed with the adoption of private sector as subordinate actor to establish several duties like placement and protection process.

#### *2.3.5. Groups: Kinds and Functions*

Groups of actors in decision making can be analyse at least through different point of view namely kinds and functions. Kinds mentioning about the activities being conducted by actor groups during policy making (Snyder et al. 2002, 93). While, functions mean the responsibilities and objective of actors in the decision making from very general to more specific ones. It can be actors' duties in the policy or position as intelligence report that can influence policy's points (Snyder et al. 2002, 126).

In this research, the author takes to kinds of groups namely Indonesian government and non-governmental organization based on each functions in decision making. The Indonesian government's function comes as bilateral agreement negotiator, policy maker and even controller. It can be seen through central and regional government's role that actually has been started before one channel system exist. However, in the old placement system the placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers is dominated by the central government. They conduct all process of recruitment, placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers with limited access and assistance by the regional government. Unclear roles of those two authorities have burdened Indonesian authorities to protect Indonesian migrant workers. The central government has a lot works to

process the recruitment, placement and protection of migrant workers. They only contact with the regional government if there is death penalty, torture and other bad things experienced by Indonesian migrant workers so the news can be delivered to migrant workers' family.

This condition has enforced Indonesian government to make one channel system with one of its points regulating the separation of power and authority of each party to ensure that better protection system can be implemented. It can be seen through the access of regional government to conduct the recruitment process on data collection, selection and even legal certainty for the migrant workers. They also will have roles in repatriating migrant workers through resettlement process. While, central government still has authority and power to control policy making and implementation through their diplomacy, making order and settling condition duties.

Non-Governmental Organizations are also important group in one channel system as their public opinion and demand can influence the protection of migrant workers. The author takes the example of NGOs such as Migrant Care and regional migrant worker organization either inbound or outbound. Those organizations are part of parties that can give consideration regarding the protection of migrant workers through their public opinion, discussion and sometimes demonstration action in protecting migrant workers (Alawiyah 2020). One thing that should be noted is they also have their own statistics and data to record how far Indonesian government has formulated the policies to protect migrant workers. For example, when Zaini Misrin and Tuti Tursilawati were executed for death penalty in 2018, those non-governmental organizations present on demanding Indonesian

government to improve their policy on migrant workers' protection. Therefore, their function as social controller is very important during policy making.

### *2.3.6. Relevant Social Process, Opinion Formation, Adult Socialization and Politics*

Relevant social process is defined as the process that happens during decision making which has dominant influence especially in the point of opinion formation, adult socialization and politics (Snyder et al. 2002, 138). Even though consist of three different points, the author only analyzes it through opinion formation and politics which has significant influence on the one channel system making process through all political events starting from presidential election until Jokowi's presidency era.

Public opinion regarding the urgency of Indonesian migrant workers' protection arose after increasing problems happened to Indonesian migrant workers abroad. It arose during the presidential debate between Jokowi – JK and Prabowo – Hatta before Jokowi started his administration era (HUMAS 2014). Public perception sees Indonesian government is unable to protect migrant workers because they should experience death penalty, torture and even get illegal status. Therefore, one of the hottest issues to be discussed during the presidential campaign and debate is protection on migrant workers. This condition is responded by Jokowi through the signing of NAWACITA and Sarinah Charter that will focus his governance to protect migrant workers (Harahap 2014).

Political process that happens during the making of one channel system is taken from the raising of demands to Indonesian government regarding the protection of migrant workers which always enforce Jokowi's presidency to



establish better protection system. These demands come from various parties since the beginning of President Jokowi's administration. In 2015, an online petition appeared demanding President Jokowi to immediately implement a policy to protect Indonesian migrant workers. The petition entitled "*Cukup bagi Mereka*" stems from the suffering of the repeated executions of Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. The executions that happened to migrant workers in 2018 led to a response from Migrant Care who were calling for improvement in the protection of Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia through demonstrations (Mazrieva 2018).

Jokowi's commitment to carry out this promise was repeatedly stated at the beginning of his administration. This was then implemented with a moratorium on sending Indonesian migrant workers to the Middle Eastern countries and the enactment of Law number 18 of 2017 regarding the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. Unfortunately, these two policies have not been able to solve the problems of Indonesian migrant workers which are marked by the many cases that still occur, both illegal sending and problems at workplace. One of critics discussed the lack of certain point of view towards crucial aspects regarding protection on female migrant workers who tend to be victims of violence especially in Saudi Arabia (Susilo 2017). Criticism also came from Regional Coordinator of Indonesian Migrant Workers' Post of Struggle in Saudi Arabia, Sharief Rahmat who saw Indonesian government did not improve migrant workers' protection regarding non-procedural migrant workers and the involvement of private agencies in placement mechanism (Putri 2017).



The presence of public perceptions, petitions and demonstrations become social process that finally lead to the making of one channel system. This condition also shows indirect relationship between the public and the government in the formation of policies to protect of migrant workers. This can be seen through Jokowi's way in accommodating this problem in his campaign agenda and implementing it in policies even though he should implement many policies to fulfill his commitment on the protection of migrant workers.



## **CHAPTER III**

### **EXTERNAL FACTORS**

#### **3.1 External Settings of Decision Making**

##### *3.1.1. Nonhuman Environment*

Nonhuman environment in external settings is understood as the problems that happen in other countries that can influence policy making process (Snyder et al. 2002, 75). In this case, the author takes the absence of an appropriate protection system for migrant workers in Saudi Arabia (International Trade Union Confederation 2017). Therefore, migrant workers in this country are highly vulnerable to become victims of forced labor with unpaid wages, withholding passport and short rest time with average of 63,7 hours of weekly work. This condition is exacerbated with abuse, torture and harassment activities performed by their employers.

Saudi Arabia's government tries to improve the protection of migrant workers through the implementation of Saudi Arabian Labor Law regarding wages, working time and labors' relations with their employers. Unfortunately, this regulation does not provide a regulation for domestic workers who mostly work and become victims of violence in Saudi Arabia. This condition is solved through the establishment of the new domestic worker regulation regarding rest time, accommodation, monthly, annual and two years paid leave. However, those points are not enough because domestic workers still need to work at least 15 hours in a day and following their employers' order based on Islamic teaching (Human Rights Watch 2015). The last point is highly vulnerable to exploitation and abuse because

it means that domestic workers must follow their employers' order no matter what, especially through the implementation of *Kafalah* contract system.

In this *Kafalah* contract system, the employer acts as a sponsor who bears all costs incurred by migrant workers starting from the recruitment, working period until the migrant worker's return to Indonesia. Instead, the employer has direct and full access to workers which includes permits to enter and exit Saudi Arabia, change employers and permission to return to their country of origin (Iswara 2020). This contract system has received great attention from Human Rights Watch due to power imbalance between employers and employees (Human Rights Watch 2008). It happens because workers' visa and legal certainty depend on their employers. This phenomenon creates huge gaps between two parties that leads to violations of human rights and restrictions on workers' employment.

### *3.1.2. Other Cultures*

The same thing as mentioned in the chapter two, culture is defined as bearer between two different groups that creates problems and should be handled with the existence of a new policy (Snyder et al. 2002, 128). In this section, the author discusses about other culture that happens in Saudi Arabia as main factors why Indonesian migrant workers often become victims of violence, harassment and torture performed by their employers. It is about the views and culture of slavery that Arabs have had since ancient times which has remained imprinted to this day (Monica & Theodora 2019, 37). This culture of slavery has been instilled in Saudi Arabian people's mindset to follow patriarchal customs and Hambali tradition in this country for centuries (Human Rights Watch, 2004). In ancient times, people who worked as domestic workers were associated with the status of slaves in the

community. Therefore, it is not surprising that migrant workers are reluctant to report the problems they face to face at the workplace to the employers or to the agencies as they are afraid to lose their job.

Actually, the slavery practice in Saudi Arabia has actually been banned since 1962 that was strengthened by Saudi Arabia ratification in two ILO conferences regarding Forced Labour namely, the 1930 Forced Labour Convention dan the 1957 Abolition of Forced Labour Convention. However, the ratification of those Laws is not enough to stop violence towards Indonesia migrant workers especially domestic workers because Saudi Arabian government do not provide specific Law to protect those informal workers in their Labor Law. The status of a migrant worker as a slave is “formalize” through the implementation of the *Kaffala* in the placement system in Saudi Arabia.

### 3.1.3. Other Society

Other society in external setting means a group of people in other country who becomes one of factors of policy making through numerous problems that they lead to happen. In this research, other society is taken from Saudi’s people who really depends on migrant workers following lack of local workers for several informal and domestic sectors. This country hosted 12,2 million migrant workers in 2017 in which most of them work as domestic workers (Department of Economic and Social Affairs 2017). This condition happens due to rapid technological and economic development in this country that leads to the unwillingness of their society to work in low level job sector (Ramadhani 2022). It is supported by the occurrence of rich families in Saudi Arabia and the perception that domestic sector is only provided for workers with low position in the society.

The occurrence of illegal migrant workers during moratorium cannot be separated from the willingness of Saudi Arabian local people to pay large amounts of money to get them (Wiwoho 2017). This situation is utilized by agents/broker to get benefit from the placement process through sending great number of illegal migrant workers. Local people want to pay large amounts of money for illegal migrant workers because they prefer to employ Indonesian migrant workers who has similarity in culture and religion. They also think that Indonesian migrant workers are more disciplined compared to workers from other Southeast Asian Countries.

This condition has increased demands on the supply of domestic migrant workers from Saudi's government to Indonesian government. Therefore, Saudi's government has asked Indonesia to reopen the sending of migrant workers to that country through some dialogue and diplomacy. The desire to resend Indonesian migrant workers to Saudi Arabia is delivered by Saudi ambassador to Indonesia, Osamah Mohammad Al Shuibi. He mentioned that sending migrant workers to Saudi Arabia will give benefits to both countries. Indonesia will be able to increase number of GDP through remittances and Saudi Arabia will be able to fulfill demand on migrant workers (Wiwoho 2017).

#### *3.1.4. Societies Organized and Functions as State. Government Action*

This aspect as defined as the position and actions of a state towards the world and certain issues that are happening (Snyder et al. 2002, 61). In this point, the author tries to highlight the actions of Saudi's government who seems conducting useless things to protect migrant workers. The discussion is started with Saudi's government efforts to improve the protection of migrant workers

through Saudi Arabian Labour Law (SALL). However, this regulation is only able to regulate formal migrant workers' protection without issuing central issues in domestic workers especially employers' control over the employees (Human Rights Watch 2015).

In fact, Saudi Arabia's law is unable to protect migrant workers when it comes to respect, promote and realize their rights (International Trade Union Confederation 2017). This condition is exacerbated by the finding of Human Rights Watch that migrant workers are highly vulnerable to forced labour and slavery due to the exclusion of domestic workers from the Law. As a receiving country, Saudi Arabia should also provide detail information regarding a formal contract between the employers and employees that should be highlighted as the important point to improve workers' protection (Human Rights Watch 2008). Unfortunately, the standard contract for migrant workers in Saudi Arabia is unavailable which leads to miscommunication regarding contracts' points like contract duration, wages and working duration. Another rights Saudi Arabia's government cannot protect is the safety of migrant workers that is showed through much physical, verbal and sexual violence that happen. All these problems occur due to the exclusion of domestic workers from this law instrument. For example, the implementation of a fine of SR 20,000 (USD 5,333) for employing children under the age of 15 as forced labour is not applicable to domestic workers.

Actually, Saudi Arabian government is responsible to protect migrant workers under important international instruments such as Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and its Protocols ("CEDAW"), the International Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of

Racial Discrimination (“ICERD”), ILO Convention No. 100 on Equal Remuneration; ILO Convention No. 105 on the Abolition of Forced Labour; ILO Convention No. 29 Concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour; and ILO Convention No. 111 on Non-Discrimination in Employment and Occupation (International Trade Union Confederation 2017). Unfortunately, Saudi Arabia does not show a good progress to follow those international treaties on their protection policy for migrant workers. It is because Saudi Arabia’s authority argues that the contradiction between the convention’s regulation and Islamic law eliminate the state’s obligation to obey all international treaties’ points.

### **3.2. Decision Making Process – Decision Making**

#### *3.2.1. Competence*

The competence is defined as actors’ totality during policy making process regarding their job specification to ensure that the policy can be made well (Snyder et al. 2002, 91). Joko Widodo has a competence to establish a policy regarding Indonesian migrant workers’ protection following his existence as a pro-people leader (Masithoh 2018). He shows himself to care and understand problems of people from middle to low economic level such as migrant workers. This image is one of factors why a lot of Indonesian migrant workers give their support to him and hope that he can solve their problems well. Therefore, he gives solution to rearrange Indonesian migrant workers’ placement system to ensure that Indonesian citizens can still fulfil their needs from this sector.

The competence of Indonesian government also comes through the national agency on the placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers’

involvement during the formulation of this system. As the director of BNP2TKI, Nusron Wahid, has stated that his party has initiated to make a new placement system to ensure the safety of Indonesian migrant workers (Akuntono 2017). They see the urgency of this system after seeing complicated system happens during the implementation of moratorium policy on Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia. The competence also is showed by Indonesian Ministry of Labour which work very cooperatively awith Saudi's Ministry of Labour and Social Development the navigator on sign the technical arrangement document in 2018. Those parties keep continuing their involvement during the preparation and placement process through several follow up actions such as the establishment of new institutions, follow up meetings and even evaluations.

### *3.2.2. Communication & Information*

Communication and information is defined as the process of delivering message among decision makers to ensure that the policy is made with appropriate steps and based on mutual understanding. The process of communication can be done orally and written through casual or serious method (Snyder et al. 2002, 106-108). There is no certain and fixed method on decision makers' communication because each of them can deliver their message whenever they want especially those with higher authority.

The communication regarding the protection of Indonesian migrant workers is conducted by President Jokowi with Minister of Labour and head of National Agency for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant workers. It can be seen how Jokowi called them in 2017 and discussed the acceleration of the revision of UU number 39 of 2004 concerning the Placement and Protection of Indonesian



Migrant Workers Overseas (PPILN) (Nasution 2017). This was then followed up with further concrete steps by the minister of manpower through negotiations and the signing of a technical arrangement of one channel system to protect Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia.

In addition to formal communication between Jokowi and his ministers, Jokowi's desire to protect Indonesian migrant workers since the beginning of his reign was also interpreted by the Minister of Manpower, Hanif Dhakiri, as a duty that must be carried out (HUMAS 2015). "*Melihat penderitaan TKI yang bekerja di luar negeri tentu harkat dan martabat kita sebagai bangsa tercabik-cabik. Saya kira itulah yang dirasakan Bapak Presiden. Saya juga merasakan hal yang sama.*" (Seeing the suffering of TKI working abroad, of course our dignity as a nation is torn to shreds. I think that's what the President feels. I also feel the same way)." Said Hanif in 2015.

The communication aspect also happens between central and regional government to protect migrant workers. Previously, there is no strong authority can be used by regional government to protect Indonesian migrant workers. The next communication scope covers the presence of state institution in the national and regional level. In the national level, communication between Ministry of Labours, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Agency of Placement and Protection on Indonesian Migrant Workers should be done. Communication between three states' institution is very important to manage their role well and ensure the effectiveness of one channel system.

Indonesian government also communicate with private sectors regarding protection of migrant workers. The presence of good communication between two

sectors is very important especially seeing the mandate of Law number 18 of 2017 regarding the role of private sectors. This Law mentions that private sector attends to conduct training, placement and protection to Indonesian migrant workers abroad (*Undang-Undang Republik Indonesia Nomor 18 Tahun 2017 Tentang Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia, 2017 2017*). Private sectors mentioned in this Law is not only limited to Indonesian agencies but also Saudi's agencies which is known as *Syarikah*. Then, those communication points are translated into one channel system especially regarding private sectors' rights and requirement during the placement process.

### 3.2.3. Motivation

Motivation is used to define a decision maker's action regarding his personality, behaviour and values that can ease the process of analysing a country's motivation regarding a policy making process (Snyder et al. 2002, 114). The motivation of decision makers should be adopted because he will become the main driver of policy itself. As the president of Indonesia, Jokowi's motivation is very important to be analysed especially regarding the protection of migrant workers based on his promise during the presidential campaign on 2014. The willingness of Jokowi's presidency to protect migrant workers cannot be separated from domestic politics. It can be seen how he adopted the issue of migrant workers during the presidential campaign to win votes. He declared it through the 4<sup>th</sup> point of his 9 priority programs, known as NAWACITA. In this point, Jokowi argued that the state should protect the entire nation and provide a sense of security to all citizens as part of nation's dignity (Kementerian Komunikasi dan Informasi 2017).

This commitment is reinforced through the signing of Satinah charter about the government's obligation to protect migrant workers since departure, years of working until returning to Indonesia (Amin, 2014). The name of Satinah is taken from an Indonesian migrant worker who was sentenced to death but was able to get amnesty after several diplomatic process conducted by Indonesian government (Susanto 2018).

In this charter, he promised to protect Indonesian migrant workers abroad through whole migration process as he mentioned (Malau 2014) :

*Saya Joko Widodo, Calon Presiden Rakyat Indonesia, akan jalankan perintah konstitusi membangun Pemerintah RI yang melindungi, Mensejahterakan, mencerdaskan TKI dan keluarganya. Saya tidak akan menyerahkan tanggung jawab itu pada pihak manapun. Pemerintah RI, dalam pemerintahan saya kelak, akan menjadi pemegang kendali utama dengan sistem yang harus dipastikan tujuan utamanya untuk melindungi TKI dan keluarganya. Pihak swasta akan dilibatkan sebagai bagian yang tak terpisahkan dari sistem tersebut.*

The motivation of Indonesian government to protect migrant workers is also based on the commitment to fulfil all aspects of human rights including providing employment for everyone in Indonesia (Kantor Imigrasi Kotabumi 2018). It is followed with commitment to ensure rights, opportunity, and the availability of policies to protect Indonesian migrant workers without any kinds of discrimination. Therefore, Indonesian authorities see the necessity of evaluating all systems regarding the protection of migrant workers showing dignity as Indonesian citizen and nation.

### 3.3. Action

The action of a state on decision making can be defined as a feed back towards problems happen in its internal and also what is happening in other countries (Snyder et al. 2002, 54). Decision makers try to show their reaction regarding those social phenomenon, problems and countries' policy through good and effective policy.

The implementation of one channel system in the protection of Indonesian migrant workers during the Jokowi presidency did not happen in a short time. Hence, this was influenced by migrant workers' issues before and after Jokowi was elected as Indonesian president. Public opinion that demanding the improvement of migrant workers' protection during the era of SBY led to migrant workers' protection to be one of the hottest topics discussed during the 2014 presidential campaign. It could be seen through candidates' debate and campaign that lifted migrant workers' issues. For Jokowi, this issue is very important because migrant workers are related to Indonesian dignity, the quality of our labors who mostly work in domestic sectors, and protection to them before other countries. therefore, it was translated into his NAWACITA, nine-priority program, in which one of the pillars talks about the protection of Indonesian citizen abroad including migrant workers. This point is specified through the signing of Satinah charter regarding Indonesian migrant workers' protection. The name of Satinah itself was taken from an Indonesian migrant worker who was sentenced to death in Saudi Arabia.

After being elected as Indonesian president, Jokowi implemented his promise through the moratorium on sending Indonesian migrant workers to the Middle Eastern Country. Unfortunately, this policy was not able to solve migrant

workers' problems, instead it led to new problems such as the rise of illegal migrant workers. It happened because Indonesian government did not provide follow up policy after the moratorium leading to ineffective of moratorium. This condition was exacerbated by large number of unemployment, low educational level of graduates and poverty in Indonesia during implementation of moratorium policy. Indonesian citizens who come from these backgrounds see their limited opportunities to work and earn better livelihood if they remain in Indonesia. On the other hand, Saudi Arabian community have high demands regarding Indonesian migrant workers due to several reasons such as the industrialization in this country, similar culture and their habits of using Indonesian migrant workers. This condition is utilized by several parties to get benefits for instance being an illegal agent to send illegal Indonesian migrant workers during the moratorium era. Those agents earn money based on the number of migrant workers they are able to recruit. Migrant workers are promised a certain amount of money and easy placement procedure. With those factors and the ignorance of migrant worker candidates regarding the moratorium policy, many people go to Saudi Arabia as illegal migrant workers. The issue of illegal migrant workers was highlighted during a meeting between Indonesian ambassador for Saudi Arabia and minister of labor in 2016.

Similar problems have happened to Indonesian migrant workers who have already been working in Saudi Arabia. It can be seen through number of torture, harassment and unpaid wages experienced by migrant workers in Saudi Arabia during this period. The labors' *Kafalah* contract system is one of the factors why those problems happen. In this contract system, migrant workers are part of personal property that also has similar condition with slavery in ancient Arabian

tradition. This is exacerbated with the unavailability of the standard contracts in the protection of migrant workers in Saudi Arabia and the exclusion of domestic workers in the Saudi Arabian Labors Law.

This condition has encouraged Jokowi to pass the one-channel policy which is expected to be able to resolve these various problems. The first problem that this policy tries to solve is illegal Indonesian migrant workers who have been successfully smuggled by agencies sending migrant workers. In the one channel system, placement companies are regulated in such a way, selected and determined by the governments of the two countries through their respective ministries of manpower to ensure that there are no illegal agencies in the placement of migrant workers. This can be seen in the determination of 55 agencies that had a role in the pilot project of the one channel system in 2021. In addition, the selection of agencies sending Indonesian migrant workers also aimed to ensure that these agencies have the quality and capability to protect Indonesian migrant workers. This is inseparable from the many agencies that only act as businessmen sending migrant workers without making serious efforts to protect migrant workers when they have problems.

Elevation of the nation's status, which is the main issue, is realized through stricter regulations regarding the types of work that can be accessed, such as housekeepers, babysitters, family cooks, elderly caretakers, family drivers and child care workers. This is done because the job requires specific certification and skills a migrant worker must have. Therefore, there are no more migrant workers who will work with basic skills such as mopping, sweeping, washing clothes and cooking.

Another change that the Jokowi government is trying to make in terms of protecting migrant workers is regarding the contract of migrant workers. This arises because there is no standard contract in Saudi Arabia so that employers can make the contract they want and it is often disadvantage migrant workers. This was then encouraged by the existence of the *Kafalah* contract system which gave employers great authority to treat their workers. Responding to this, the pattern of the contract was also changed to *Syarikah*, a contract involving a sending agencies from Indonesia and a recipient in Saudi Arabia in making the contract. This aims to avoid massive exploitation that is repeatedly carried out by employers against their workers. This change in the contract system aims to reduce the level of violence, late salary payment to the obligation to exit visas when a worker wants to return to Indonesia. The emergence of an agreement related to the new contract pattern is inseparable from the openness of the Saudi Arabian government to negotiate bilaterally with the Indonesian government.

In addition to the point of view of the substance of the law to be amended, the existence of a one channel policy cannot be separated from the various actors involved, from pre-production to those that will be involved in the implementation process later. The coalition supporting the Jokowi-JK government to grassroots supporters such as groups of Indonesian migrant workers have probably had an impact on this policy making. This cannot be separated from the principles of domestic politics which influence the formation of a foreign policy, especially since the issue of migrant workers is included in one of the priority programs of the Jokowi - JK government through the NAWACITA and the Satinah Charter. Non-governmental organizations also have their role through monitoring and criticisms



they have for Indonesian migrant workers' protection policy. This happens to ensure that all protection policies have been implemented well.

Furthermore, agencies in the Jokowi-JK government such as the Ministry of Manpower, BP2MI, the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia and the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia have their respective roles. The Ministry of Labor plays a key role in the negotiation that is performed to create this agreement with the Saudi Arabian ministry of labour. Furthermore, this ministry become a pioneer in any follow-up discussions and the determination of the sending company that would play a role in the one channel policy. BP2MI as an institution that specifically deals with issues of Indonesian migrant workers has an equally important task of overseeing the negotiation process and the implementation of the one channel policy internally and externally. The Indonesian representative in Saudi Arabia also plays a role in the formulation process, one of which is a meeting between the minister of manpower Hanif Dhakiri and the Indonesian Ambassador to Saudi Arabia conducted in 2016 which mapped out how the problems of migrant workers did not stop after the moratorium, especially illegal migrant workers.

If analyzed deeper, this one channel policy facilitates the roles by the local government and the private sector so that they can again work effectively. Local governments are given a larger division of tasks starting from their role in the recruitment, training, document preparation, assistance of the return process and readjustment which is carried out when migrant workers have returned to Indonesia. Furthermore, the role of the private sector as a sender of migrant workers has not changed much. It is just that the private sector will be more disciplined through the selection of agencies sending migrant workers who will be selected periodically.



## **BAB IV**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **4.1 Conclusion**

This research aims to analyze why the Jokowi presidency implements policies to protect Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia through one channel system. The analysis of this theory uses Decision-Making Theory by Richard Snyder by discussing all five points of this theory namely internal settings, external settings, social structure and behavior, Decision-Making Process and Action.

Author finds out that the implementation of one channel system in the Jokowi presidency cannot be separated from internal and external factors that happens before and during the Jokowi presidency. The occurrence of public opinion questioning migrant workers' protection and Jokowi's promise to elevate national dignity through migrant workers before other countries is the beginning of his policy. Public opinion was given by from Non-Governmental Organizations such as Migrant Care and the Association of Indonesian migrant workers who demanded the Jokowi presidency to improve migrant worker's protection. It was followed up with massive support from Jokowi's coalition and the appearance of his supporters during the presidential election, some of whom are migrant workers. The condition of domestic politics is strengthened through massive appearance of illegal migrant workers that becomes problems during the implementation of moratorium on sending Indonesian migrant workers to Saudi Arabia. Besides, large number of unemployment and poverty in Indonesia during the Jokowi presidency has been utilized by several parties to get benefits from sending illegal migrant workers.

External condition in Saudi Arabian society through high demand on Indonesian migrant and their culture on slavery has raised the urgency of improving

Indonesian migrant workers' protection. This country needs more Indonesian migrant workers because most of their people live in industrial sectors. However, fulfilling Saudi Arabian community's demand regarding migrant workers should be followed up with new policies to ensure that Indonesian migrant workers can work in better sectors and condition especially dealing with slavery and *Kafalah* contract system. Those two factors are the reasons why Indonesian migrant workers always become victims of torture, harassment and unpaid wages. The Saudi Arabia's national law which does not provide protection for domestic workers has raised the urgency of new policies to guarantee migrant workers' safety.

In addition to factors happening in Indonesia and Saudi Arabia, one channel system is also implemented after Jokowi's desire to integrate all parties in Indonesia. Before this policy was made, Indonesian authority did not have clear division of tasks especially regarding central government, regional government and private sectors. Jokowi's presidency tried to make it clearer through dividing those tasks well in one channel system. Regional government is responsible for the pre-recruitment and post-returning of migrant workers, while the central government is responsible to maximize negotiation, policy making and protection during being in receiving countries. On the other hand, private sectors will become placement stakeholders as usual with new task to ensure the protection of Indonesian migrant workers as the contract now is based on *Syarikah* system which gives third party more authority and powers than employers in receiving countries.

## 4.2 Recommendation

This research has discussed the protection of Indonesian migrant workers in Saudi Arabia through one channel system that has become a pilot project between Indonesian Labor Minister and Saudi's Minister of Labor and Social Development. Schnyder's theory of decision-making process is implemented because this policy has not been implemented during the Covid-19 pandemic. Therefore, the author expects that next researchers can elaborate more insights regarding the effectiveness of policy especially when it has been applied and deals with new contract systems, provides better protection and ensures migrant workers' rights such as wages, insurance and their welfare.

The recommendation is also addressed to Indonesian government who does not seem trying to solve problems that have happened before the implementation of one channel system. This policy also appears to be highly vulnerable and unable to provide comprehensive protection, especially to migrant workers who have signed contracts based on the *Kafalah* system before the one channel policy was implemented. Therefore, the government must also add points to rearrange the contracts of all workers who have been in Saudi Arabia so that contracts based on *Syarikah* is not only applied to new workers but also old ones. Indonesian government should also overview and push this policy to ensure the safety of Indonesian migrant workers from legal problems by providing quick response and advocacy whenever some migrant workers should face legal process.

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