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## **The Communication Flow in the Protection of Indonesian Female Migrant Workers through the Migrant Worker Family Community (KKBM)**

By Moh Faidol Juddi<sup>1</sup>, Susie Perbawasari<sup>2</sup>, Feliza Zubair<sup>3</sup>

### **Abstract**

The purpose of this study aimed to explain the flow of communication in Indonesian female migrant workers' protection by the government through the Migrant Worker Family Community (KKBM). The method used in this study was qualitative with a case study approach. The existence of Indonesian female migrant workers has contributed to state revenues of up to US\$ 10.97 billion in 2018. This income is higher than the state income of the mining sector. The amount of income provided by female migrant workers to the country is not proportional to the protection services they receive. Most female migrant workers and families preferred to keep the case they face and would report it when it becomes a crisis. Some claims faced by female migrant workers conflict with an employer because of unpaid salaries and inappropriate work. It happens because female migrant workers and families do not know the flow of the case reporting scheme. The pathway for protecting female migrant workers involves a variety of government agencies and private companies. Each institution has its protection program, such as the National Agency for Placement and Protection of Indonesian migrant workers (BNP2TKI), the Ministry of Manpower, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Indonesian Migrant Workers Distribution Company, without explicit coordination between each institution. One of the aspects of protection strategies through the BNP2TKI is to create the Migrant Worker Family Community (KKBM) as a bridge in providing protection services directly to female migrant workers and families. The program is run bottom-up by involving Ex-migrant workers as the driving force (CO); one of them is like in the Cirebon district. Government communication with female migrant workers and families through Cirebon KKBM is carried out in a multi-step flow communication by combining direct communication and media. The KKBM communicated directly to female migrant workers (candidates) and families to socialize programs supported by pamphlets regarding job vacancy, people's business credit submission procedures, information about the BP2TKI's regulation, and other supporting information. The results of the assistance are then reported by the provincial government (BP3TKI) via telephone or WhatsApp Group and required meetings. Unfortunately, the KKBM socialization process was hampered by the busy activities of the KKBM activists and the government, which focused on the success of this program on the KKBM's CO with a minimal budget and supporting facilities...

*Keywords:* Communication flow, Indonesian female migrant workers' protection, KKBM.

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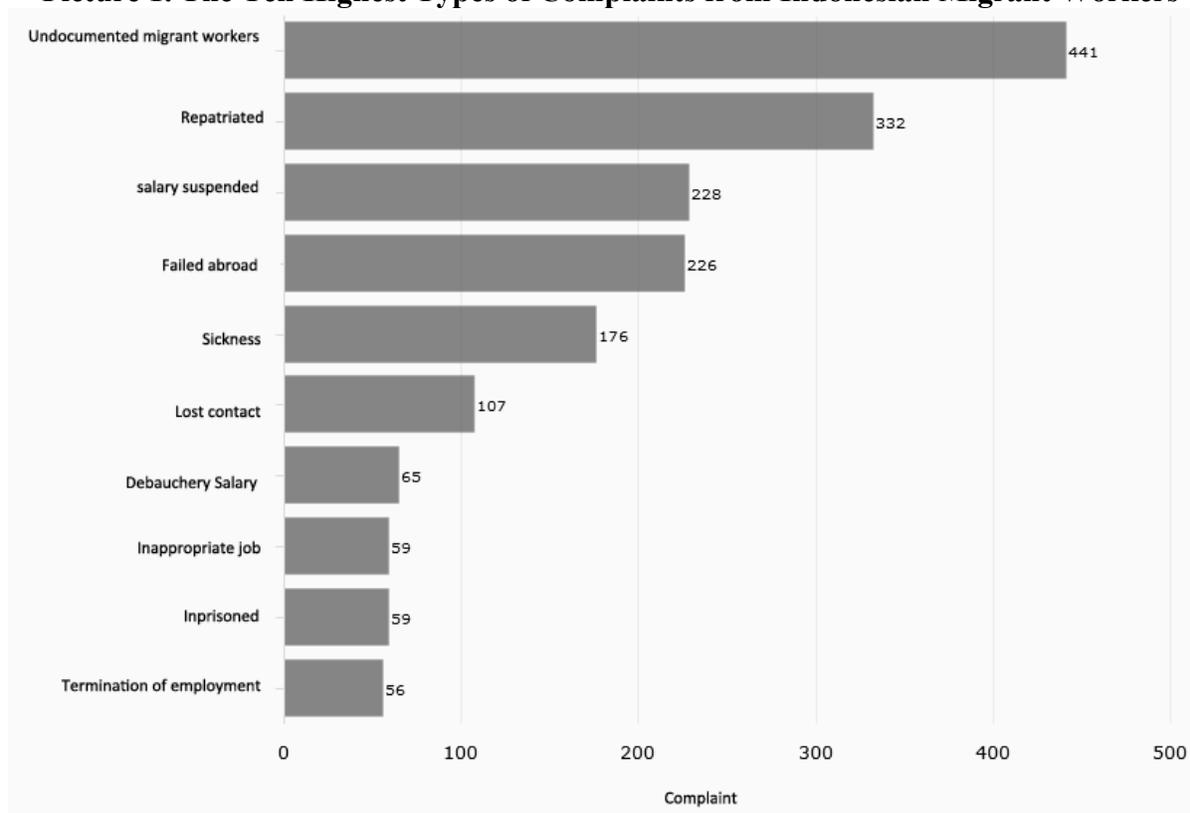
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## Introduction

The number of Indonesian migrant workers continues to increase every year. For the period June 2017 to June 2019, there are a total of 110,873 Indonesians who migrated to work abroad. 77% of this number are females who work in the domestic sector residing at the employer's house (BNP2TKI, 2019, p.1-3). The government sees the domestic migrant worker's distribution to the person-to-person scheme (living with a employer) as a trigger for female migrant worker's problems abroad. This issue already exists because of the conflict between migrant workers and their employers, and there is no legal framework that protects migrant workers (Muwahid, 2017; Varia, 2011; Vlieger, 2012). Domestic work includes household chores, such as cooking, serving food, house cleaning, washing, caring for children, and caring for an elderly (ILO, 2011).

The majority of denunciations that come to the government are cases of domestic migrant workers, such as not being paid, salaries below standard, termination of contracts unilaterally, overstaying, to fraudulent employment opportunities (BNP2TKI, 2019, p. 31). The efforts to protect and to handle the problems of female migrant workers involve adequate information flow and coordination between parties (Iqlima, 2017). The parties engaged in migrant workers protection include the government, insurance consortium, and a migrant worker placement agency. The migrant worker protection also involves several state institutions or ministries including The Centre Placement of Indonesian migrant Workers (BNP2TKI), Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration, Ministry of Education, and Ministry of Finance. However, the implementation of the migrant worker protection has not been running well and there has been overlap in policy-making (Kristina, 2017).

**Picture 1. The Ten Highest Types of Complaints from Indonesian Migrant Workers**



Source: (BNP2TKI, 2019, p.31)

The protection and empowerment of Indonesian migrant workers are performed through two channels: the government and a migrant worker placement agency. The communication flow between a migrant worker placement agency and Indonesian migrant workers in a foreign country is carried out through several migrant worker recruitment agency companies in the destination country in order to socialize the latest policies. It is performed through various media with foreign agent companies before being forwarded to Indonesian migrant workers. After that, Indonesian migrant workers contacts the company's agent in the country where they work to handle complaints. In this case, distortions occur when Female migrant workers makes complaints directly to a migrant worker placement agency, or even, to the Consulate General of the Republic of Indonesia (KJRI) or equivalent institutions and the Manpower and Transmigration Office if complaints are not responded to by agency companies and a migrant worker placement agency (Juddi, Perbawasari, & Zubair, 2019).

For the communication in migrant worker protection and empowerment, the Indonesian government's channel is carried out through BNP2TKI. This is technically run by the Regional Indonesian Workers Placement and Protection Services (BP3TKI) in each region (Panjiwijaya, 2018). It manages the distribution of information from the government and migrant worker's complaints to the government. Practically, migrant workers complain about the cases they faced through many doors, such as the BNP2TKI, the Ministry of Manpower and Manpower and Transmigration, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This happened because of several reasons: the oblivious of female migrant workers in the flow of communication and complaint mechanisms, the limitation of responsibilities between institutions in handling migrant workers cases, and the unclear complaint mechanism (The Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, 2016).

The application of communication and coordination channels in female migrant workers' protection has not effusively well implemented. The central government and regional governments have been tugging to one another. Furthermore, the Regional Manpower and Transmigration Office (Disnakertrans) and a migrant worker placement agency were not cooperative in assisting the government in solving female migrant worker's problems. The standard operating procedure (SOP) is also not implemented effectively (May, 2013). Besides, The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) has not been able to provide maximum protection to female migrant workers. ASEAN is not consistent with the recognition of the existence of migrant workers because the ASEAN Economic Community facilities have been limited to professional, educated and trained workers making migrant workers are only considered as objects. Whereas, the contribution of migrant workers is very significant, both for the country of origin and the destination country (Taufik, 2014).

The capacity of female migrant worker's protection policy reveals the limitations of decision making in the presence of strong authority. The dominant supremacy does not entirely belong to the government but also is owned by the private sectors (insurance consortium and a migrant worker placement agency). Under these circumstances, the protection of female domestic migrant workers being still strong with business motives. The rights listed in female migrant worker's advocacy laws are still frequently violated by countries user. Many of those who work in the informal sector do not get the right to maximum rest periods and annual leave (Siregar & Syofyan, 2014). This ineffectiveness is seen in terms of the definition that does not cover either all professions or migrant worker's family member. On the other hand, the role of a migrant worker placement agency in the law has not been optimally stated: the insurance obligation burdens Prospective migrant workers and female migrant workers, the portion of the role of relevant government agencies has not been structured well (Subhan, 2012).

The female migrant workers protection strategy by the government is carried out in some ways, including (1) regulation, by issuing female migrant workers placement and protection laws, (2) institutional, implemented by clearly dividing the central and regional authorities in the female migrant workers placement and protection system, (3) actions in various forms, among others (Suparno, 2008):

- Carrying out presidential instructions related to the reform of the female migrant worker's placement and protection system policy by simplifying the bureaucracy and alleviating the cost burden borne by migrant worker applicants.
- Improving the quality of female migrant workers with training skills, language skills, and mental preparation.
- Enhancing bilateral relations with female migrant workers placement countries.
- Forming a female migrant workers placement and protection service center.
- And some other series of activities.

Female migrant workers protection efforts also involve a variety of local institutions in the community. The next problem is how to raise the awareness of solidarity among the stakeholders of migrant workers. It is often stated that the migrant worker's movement is not above solidarity awareness. The scope of the movement is limited to pragmatic and practical issues so that such movements will not last long in the long-term goal of change (Yuniarto, 2015). As a result, the problem of migrant workers remains complex and difficult to disentangle because it is easily manipulated by dominant parties, such as a migrant worker placement agency, agents in the destination country, and the government, who take advantage of the process of sending migrant workers abroad. The asynchronous communication flow from the government side can be seen between BNP2TKI and the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration, which has a work program and information system that is almost the same but runs independently and there is no coordination with each other (Nuraeni, 2018).

The protection of female migrant workers has been so complicated because involving cross sides, these are from Indonesia and the destination country. In addition to a strong commitment, a good communication system is needed; starting from the division of labor, communication models, communication lines, outreach, to the coordination system must be designed as well as possible. The government and stakeholders must find a win-win solution instead of prioritize their respective interests. The government has strived to maximize the protection of female migrant workers through various predetermined programs. However, the communication in the program implementation between government agencies has not been able to accommodate the problem of migrant workers well, and each government agencies have lousy communication with each other (Festyani, 2018). Even though the state had received a very high income from remittances of migrant workers that had reached US\$ 10.97 billion, equivalent to 153.58 trillion Rupiah in 2018 (Anggit, 2019; BNP2TKI, 2017; Khalidi, 2018; Mafruhah, 2011). The amount of state revenue from these remittances is higher than the primary state revenue from the mining sector, which stands at 46.6 trillion Rupiah (Ramadhan, 2019).

At the same time, the government has always been constrained in concerning program socialization, both to the regions and to female migrant workers directly. This circumstance implored the government to establish the Migrant Worker Family Community (KKBM), which have technically driven by the BP3TKI in their respective regions since 2017 (Ara, 2018). The protection effort directly involves the female ex-migrant workers in Community Organizer (CO)

and has a range of work that covers the entire Cirebon district. The establishment of KKBM has targeted almost all potential regions of female migrant worker suppliers in Indonesia until 2019.

**Table 1. Data on Placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers by June 2017-June 2019**

	<b>District</b>	<b>Total</b>
1	Indramayu	5.960
2	Cirebon	3.158
3	Lombok Timur	2.766
4	Cilacap	2.844
5	Ponorogo	2.393
6	Blitar	2.247
7	Malang	1.926
8	Lombok Tengah	2.190
9	Kendal	1.874
10	Subang	1.698

Source : (BNP2TKI, 2019, p.5)

Eleven KKBM's have established under the auspices of BP3TKI Bandung in West Java province. Several programs in West Java KKBM have been running according to the potential of each region for more than two years. Some of them have succeeded in improving information services in female migrant worker's protection and empowerment. However, some KKBM needs to attempt to develop the program harder, such as KKBM in the Cirebon district. According to the government's statement, the protection advocate provided by the KKBM of Cirebon district to female migrant workers has not been optimum, based on the government output target. This condition occurs because there are no female migrant workers or their families who directly complained about their cases to the KKBM. This study expects to find out how the flow of communication in the protection of female migrant workers by the government through the KKBM Cirebon district. This article aims to describe the communication flow and propose to evaluate the Cirebon Regency KKBM role in the female migrant worker's protection.

### Literature Review

The communication flow in organizations defined into two types (Blundel & Cameron, 2005; Pace & Faules, 2006) : (1) vertical communication, organizational communication flows reciprocally from one level to another level higher or lower. (2) horizontal communication, which is carried out by two parties having the same position or are at the same level in their organization. Horizontal communication is needed to save time and accelerate action. A great flow of information in an organization is supported by a good socialization process that is carried out without going through bureaucratic procedures (Kholiq, 2010). Communication within the organization serves to expedite the management process, also functioned as an organizational bridge with the external environment. The media using in the communication process takes forms in using the telephone, internet, email, and mass media (Yudistiro, 2006). A healthy flow of communication can assist organizations in distributing messages appropriately within an

organization and influencing the performance of organizational members. Communication styles used in organizations include one-way communication, two-way communication, structured communication, dynamic communication, the relinquishing style, and the withdrawal style (Tubbs & Moss, 2000).

Protection can be interpreted as a place of security, actions, or other things to protect (Business Dictionary, 2013; KBBI, 2016). A development could be successful if it can raise the rank of the people as much as possible to the order of a decent economic life. The general welfare of the community is a core of development (Merriam-Webster, 2013; Siagian, 2005; Sumodiningrat, 1999; Suryono, 2004). Soepomo (Khakim, 2003) stated that protection of Indonesian migrant worker could be divided into three types: (1) financial welfare, constituting labor protection in the form of adequate income, (2) social security, add up to stability in the form of work health insurance and freedom of association and protection of the right to organize, (3) technical protection, constituting protection in the way of work security and safety. Regardless of the profession, people of Indonesia have the same fundamental rights, namely the right to life, the right to be free, and to be protected. Legal protection and community empowerment is an absolute right for every citizen and is an obligation that must be carried out by the government (Hasan, 2016).

The Migrant Worker Family Community (KKBM) is a community that comes from the migrant workers to the migrant workers (bottom-up communication). The Indonesian Government formed this community for people from one or several villages/sub-districts that are side by side in the context of providing information and advocacy services to migrant workers applicant/female migrant workers (on going)/ female ex-migrant workers and families (Kepala Badan Nasional Penempatan Dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia, 2017). Community Organizer (CO) is a group of people who are given the duties and responsibilities in providing information and advocacy services to female migrant workers and families. the Regional Indonesian Workers Placement and Protection Services (BP3TKI) is a technical implementing unit under BP3TKI which has the task of providing ease in processing all protection documents and solving female migrant workers problems in an organized and integrated manner in its work area. The BP3TKI working area covers all districts in every province in Indonesia.

### **Postmodern Feminist Theory**

Women have different characters and interests, just like men do. Women cannot be generalized and dictated unfairly (E.W., 2006; Grant & Wilkinson, 2009). Gender performance theory is a critique of structuralism that has diverse backgrounds related to feminist theory as a theory of social categories, identification, and agency. Judith Butler (Salih, 2007) stated that there is no gender identity behind gender expression. Character manifested in a performative manner, repeated until a "genuine identity" is reached. According to Charlotte dan Anne Scoot (Krolokke & Sorensen, 2006), gender is not limited as a source of identity and language, but rather as a consequence of semiotic practices. Gender is a performative sign with the impact of deviations from the adaptation and negotiation patterns of a subject's position. Understanding gender interacts in terms of race, class, sexuality, entities, and nationality. Each individual plays a role in gender performance with imitation and subversive rhetoric (Byrne, 2000; Helen Sauntson, 2019).

This concept exists not for an emancipatory agenda, but as a support for female migrant workers and families as an oppressed group. Their voices need to be heard through advocacy communication. The female migrant workers protection by the Indonesian government through

the KKBM is a bottom-up protection concept. However, the program implementation needs to be further criticized, whether it has been performed following the basic concept of empowerment or is still top-down. The existence of female migrant workers is profitable to many parties, both government and private, that involved in it because of the extensive money. Yet, the protection and empowerment program that given to migrant workers are still half-hearted in the implementation.

## Research Methods

This article used a case study approach to explore social realities and contemporary limited systems through a detailed and in-depth data collection process. The instrument used in this study was intrinsic to a case that focuses on the case itself with a unique situation in it. Data was taken from letters, memorandums, agendas, proposals, research results of evaluation results, reports of an event, clippings, articles, diversity of services, maps, rosters, survey data, diaries, and calendars. Also, the data collection was done through open-ended interviews with several informants from BNP2TKI, BP3TKI Bandung, KKBM COs of Cirebon Regency, female migrant worker's families in Cirebon regency. Data analysis began by transcribing the interview results that have been recorded into written form. Then, data reduction involves organizing the data and determining the types to be used, conducting the data coding process, and streamlining data that is not related to research. Intertwined analysis, which is a specific and unique case analysis, was done by making explanations for analyzing case study data by making explanations about the case in question.

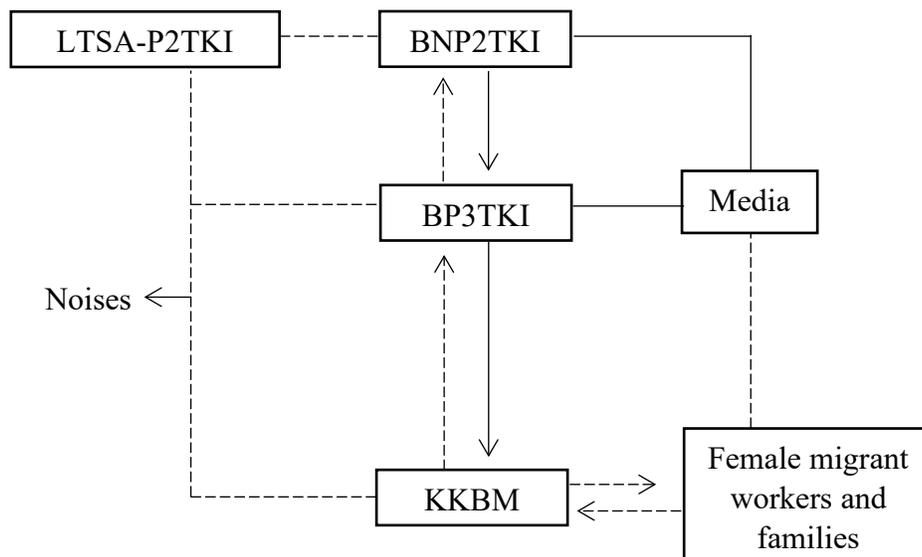
The validation was done through triangulation and member check. Triangulation helped researchers to check the validity of data through measurement and comparison of data. In member check, the researcher checked the members involved in the case study research and reacts in terms of point of view and their situation to the data that has been organized by the researcher. Triangulation served to check the validity of the data that uses something else outside the data for checking or comparison of the data. Triangulation was done by confirming interview answers from KKBM to BNP2TKI, and vice versa. Some interview data will be reconfirmed to interviewees via telephone or text message.

## Results and Discussion

### *Communication Flow in the Protection of Indonesian Female Migrant Workers*

One background in the formation of the Migrant Worker Family Community (KKBM) was because the government saw before female migrant workers went abroad, the first time they had to take care of licensing at the village office. Therefore, the socialization function was started and maximized by the village office. It aimed to reduce the number of cases and the number of female migrant workers that is not following the procedure of departure or known as non-procedural, abroad. KKBM Cirebon services in the protection and empowerment of female migrant workers have a series of communication channels that connect several parties and government agencies. The communication flow of protection of female migrant workers by KKBM Cirebon can be described as follows:

**Picture 2. The Communication Flow Pattern for The Protection of Female Migrant Workers and Families by The Cirebon Regency KKBM**



Communication flow related to services and protection of female migrant workers by KKBM Cirebon defined as bottom-up communication between the government (BNP2TKI) and female migrant workers through the concept of migrant workers to other migrant workers. The vertical communication can be seen from the flow of information between female migrant workers and the government, and vice versa. The communication process flows from a higher level starting from BNP2TKI by forming, making guidelines, conducting, and evaluating the KKBM, then organized by BP3TKI Bandung at the designated location. KKBM Cirebon, as the government bridge, provided information services related to overseas employment opportunities, as well as information about procedures and requirements for working abroad to the applicant of female migrant workers. Besides, KKBM Cirebon also conducted data collection and mapping of the number of female migrant workers, number of ex-migrant workers, number of partners, number of entrepreneurial ex-migrant workers, number of KUR (People's Business Credit) received, and others. Information distribution was carried out by BP3TKI Bandung through KKBM Cirebon related to a migrant worker placement agency and related institutions that supported the placement of female migrant workers.

KKBM is an extension of the government (BNP2TKI/BP3TKI) in handling with female migrant worker's cases, including job info for migrant worker applicants, assisting migrant workers if they have conflict abroad, also for empowering female ex-migrant workers... (ER, Personal interview, March 18, 2019)

The communication flow from the lower to the higher level can be related from the function of the KKBM Cirebon in accommodating complaints pertaining to cases that faced by female migrant workers. Essentially, the KKBM Cirebon is a community focused on advocacy assistance for female migrant worker's protection in the Cirebon region. Most female migrant workers complained to KKBM through their families at home regarding the case they faced. When the KKBM Cirebon got a complaint from female migrant workers through their families, the first step

had taken by the KKBM was to check the completeness of female migrant worker's documents following procedures. After that, the KKBM Cirebon continued the report to BP3TKI Bandung and forwarded it to BNP2TKI, or through the One-Stop Integrated Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (LTSA-P2TKI) for further handling. KKBM Cirebon would not escape the responsibility and continue to advocate the case handling process until it was finished. Female migrant workers also could report their cases to LTSA-P2TKI directly without going through the KKBM.

The LTSA-P2TKI is a body established from a combination of several agencies in one service roof. The counters include the Department of Manpower and Transmigration counter, the BNP3TKI/LP3TKI, the Women's Empowerment Service counter, the Child Protection Service, Population Service, the Health Service, the Regional Police Counter (Polda), the Insurance and Social Security (BPJS) counters, and the Immigration counters. Moreover, LTSA-P2TKI also has other supporting institutions such as banks, female migrant workers placement associations, female migrant workers protection consultations, and job fairs (P3TKI-Jatim, 2019). Harmono (Fahmi, 2018) stated that the basis of the LTSA-P2TKI formation was an effort to restrain the sending of non-procedural female migrant workers abroad by providing convenience services in integrated administration in one place. These services had arranged Certificate of Moving Abroad, a record of passport, passport, Police Certificate of Good Conduct (SKCK), health records, BPJS, professional certification institution (LSP), and the kiosks 3in1.

KKBM Cirebon did not arbitrarily push on the relevant parties in migrant worker's cases. KKBM does not have the authority to intervene in female migrant workers cases if there is no report from female migrant workers or families.

So we are not interfering *PT* (a migrant worker placement agency) at will. It is only in the assistance process. CO is only limited to reports from female migrant workers or families related to their issues. The CO only processes to the village government about the complaint, then continue to LTSA-P2TKI... (BT, Personal interview, April 20, 2019).

The flow of communication in the distribution of information to all elements of the organization and stakeholder can determine the climate and values adopted in a service (Rokhmawati, 2017). The KKBM Cirebon communication flow is multi-step flow communication by combining direct communication and media communication (Effendy, 2017). Direct communication had been done by the Cirebon CO KKBM members who were appointed directly by the BP3TKI Bandung to forward the message of protection and empowerment from BNP2TKI to female migrant workers in their area. One such CO is BT, who is a female ex-migrant worker and also a migrant worker right activist from the Cirebon district since 2013. She is widely known by migrant workers from Cirebon and has been trusted by the community in Pegagan Kidul village as an opinion leader (inspiring figure). On the other hand, the KKBM of Cirebon regency also involved ES and RD as the CO, who is a female ex-migrant worker and the village government staff.

The implementor team of KKBM activities in Pegagan Kidul village consists of the Director, Responsible Officer, Chairperson, and COs (CO1, CO2, and CO3). The director and coordinator are held by the BNP2TKI (central government) and BP3TKI (regional government), while the Pegagan Kidul village head fills the chair position. KKBM CO has the responsibility to do the census of migrant workers in the area. This enumeration covers many data, including the

migrant worker numbers, entrepreneurship business units, entrepreneurship business partners, and conducting door-to-door socialization and media communication related to the mechanism, requirements, documents, placement fees, and policies related to female migrant workers. Besides, the KKBM activator was also providing information for female migrant worker applicants related job information, registering to the Manpower Office, a migrant worker placement agency, managing the document requirements, and others. (Kepala Badan Nasional Penempatan Dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia, 2017).

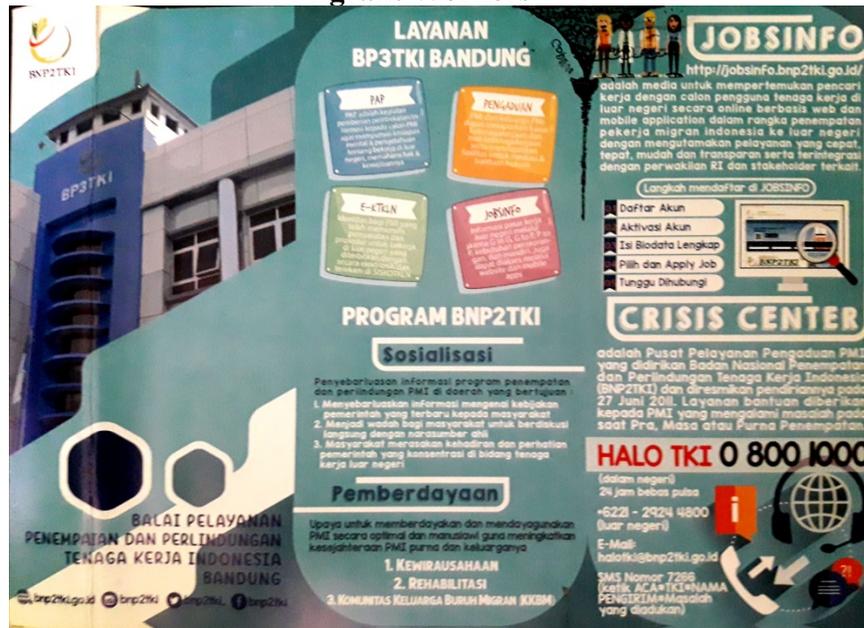
**Table 2. The Data of Indonesian Female Ex-Migrant Workers in The Kapetakan Subdistrict with Return Year 2015-2019**

<b>Village</b>	<b>Number of ex-female migrant workers</b>
1 Pegagan Kidul	140
2 Pegagan Lor	120
3 Kapetakan	55
4 Karang Kendal	40
5 Bungko	Not yet recorded
6 Bungko Lor	Not yet recorded
7 Dukuh	Not yet recorded
8 Grogol	Not yet recorded
9 Kertasura	Not yet recorded
<b>Total</b>	<b>355</b>

Source: The Result of Female Ex-Migrant Worker's Data Collection by The KKBM of Cirebon District in 2019

The presence of new communication technologies could affect changes in information flow within organizations. The distribution of messages by BNP2TKI to female migrant workers was also carried out through the media. Media communication is carried out using channels or means to forward a communication message to receivers that are far away and in large numbers (Rakhmat, 2005). The media chosen by the message distribution to female migrant workers through KKBM are leaflets or pamphlets related to job vacancy information, migrant worker's business kredit, submission procedures, information about BP3TKI Bandung, and other supporting information. These pamphlets are usually distributed by KKBM activists in activities involving female migrant workers and families, or when meeting outside the event. In addition to pamphlets, information distribution is also carried out by BNP2TKI through the official website [www.bnp2tki.go.id](http://www.bnp2tki.go.id), the official Facebook of BNP2TKI and BP3TKI Bandung. Media communication is also carried out by the government in coordination with KKBM regarding the information diffusion updates and reports on mentoring activities.

**Picture 3. The Pamphlet as a Distribution Media for BNP2TKI Messages to Female Migrant Workers**



Multy step flow communication is carried out by BNP2TKI for female migrant workers who have many alternatives in receiving media messages, both directly and indirectly. Direct communication means that female migrant workers do not need KKBM activators in delivering and interpreting information from BNP2TKI or other relevant agencies. Communication indirectly is that female migrant workers need KKBM organizer to confirm or understand messages that have been provided by BNP2TKI or other parties through the media. This effort designed to help female migrant workers having that protection information optimally to reducing the number of cases of problematic female migrant workers abroad.

Cirebon KKBM has been required to report to BP3TKI Bandung regarding the assistance activities that were done once a month. Evaluation of assistance and empowerment activities performed once a year together (KKBM throughout Indonesia's districts) in the central government office. The reports are in writing and oral. Written statements contain the results of the implementation of program assistance, obstacles encountered, follow-up efforts, and support for mentoring visits and activities that have implemented in support, further plans, and attachments that containing supporting documents such as pictures, organizational structure, and others. The direct report involved all KKBM organizers in West Java for evaluation and brainstorming to find solutions in solving problems encountered in implementing protection and empowerment activities for female migrant workers in their respective regions. The results of the evaluation and brainstorming joints are expected could be used to solve the problems in each of the KKBM areas in West Java.

### *Communication Noises*

The communication flow and the socialization process are two crucial elements that interrelated with one another. Without socialization, the communication flow cannot run properly, vice versa (Effendy, 2017). The concept of the Migrant Worker Family Community (KKBM) is based on the principle of voluntary. The socialization was carried out by KKBM Cirebon face-to-

face by visiting migrant worker's families one by one. Persuasion communication is done more with informal (colloquial) language.

Yes, it might be more towards familiarity (informal language) as long as the context is accepted by them first. So might not in detail, maybe not all points have been delivered well... (BT, Personal interview, October 1, 2019).

This informal language was related to the choice of simple tongue colloquial that was easily had by female migrant worker's families and female migrant worker applicants. However, the choice of informal language was biased because they do not fully understand the message from the KKBM. Communication activity has been emphasized by the KKBM in the understanding of empowerment programs more than the concept of protection assistance.

On the other hand, the KKBM of Cirebon tried to propose cooperation with the local district or village government in socializing the program. However, there had been no one from them that was willing to assist KKBM in socialization because of the budget matter. The KKBM Cirebon itself has been still unfamiliar amid sub-district or village governments in the Cirebon regency.

The KKBM tried to engage with the local sub-district governments in socializing the program by joining the event that they organized for. Nevertheless, they did not support our proposal. So far, the KKBM budget from the central government has still minimal for socialization activity... (ES, Personal interview, November 25, 2019).

Socialization is a process of imposing values, rules, and community behavior (Maxmanroe.com, 2019). Soerjono Dirdjosisworo (Prakoso, 2017) stated that in a socialization process, there was an accommodation process where individuals are resisting, changing, and adopting the community way of life.

On the other hand, the focus of the KKBM Cirebon activities was more emphasized on empowerment activities through entrepreneurship training. The government pushed the KKBM Cirebon to be able to empower female ex-migrant workers by producing a featured product after the training program. The fact that the government only focused on the program results than the process (Emison, 2006). This communication manner certainly brought intense pressure to the KKBM organizers because they did not have enough experience as an empowerment activator. The average of the KKBM Cirebon organizer education level is an elementary school graduate with limited work experience in domestic work. Strengthening the KKBM organizers skills should be given by the government before putting pressure on them, given the concept of establishing the KKBM as an independent community, which in they will be getting more facilitation by the government in the two years further.

The KKBM of Cirebon regency has a vast locale covered all migrant worker's sending hub areas in the Cirebon district. Meanwhile, the KKBM activators are only three people-centered in Pegagan Kidul village. That only one person, which is BT, was focused on the KKBM activities. Whereas ES, other KKBM organizer, has to manage her time between working as the village administration and the KKBM occupation, and RD must divide her hours by taking care of the family and the KKBM activities. So, the effect that the KKBM socialization function is noised, even in Pegagan Kidul village. The increasingly known of KKBM's name within the government

and private institutions, making the Cirebon regency KKBM activator busy with other activities, such as a corporate social responsibility program, a migrant care conference, and others.

The increasingly renowned of KKBM's track record by the government and the private sector, many of them came to us asking for assistance, for instance, demanding BT became a guest speaker in their events. Instead, she had ever been a speaker in the Jakarta expo as a representative of the Labor Offices, using its Productive Migrant Village (Desmigratif) name ... (ES, Personal interview, November 25, 2019).

The perception of female migrant worker's families related to the KKBM definition is to an empowerment community that is finite on entrepreneurship training meaning. They do not know besides the empowering activity, KKBM also has the responsibility to advocate conflicted women-migrant workers and to socialize regarding job opportunities overseas to migrant worker applicants.

Yeah, we just know. But, I don't really clear what it about. As I see, it is kind of coaching, a training entity... (MS, Personal interview, November 25, 2019).

The KKBM received information regarding female migrant worker's cases from Pegagan Kidul village headman, which got complaints directly from domestic migrant worker's families. For instance, the case of a female migrant worker who worked while studying in Hong Kong, and the death of a migrant worker who worked as a fishing ship crew in South Korea. So far, there is no female migrant workers or families who complained directly to the KKBM of Cirebon regency.

The community organizer's motive also noised the communication implementation of the KKBM in advocating female migrant worker cases. Not all of them activated KKBM programs based on sincerity principles.

Sometimes, we have run the program uprightly. Often the husband asked, What do you get in the seminar (training)? How about backsheesh (allowance) for a person at home? Entrust the children to the aunt (caregiver) that has to provide pocket money (salary)... (ES, Personal interview, November 25, 2019).

Although the KKBM's activities concept is voluntary, the government budgeted for operational, official allowance, and the salaries of each community organizer, wich given every three months for two years. Besides money motive, one community activator also had an interest in prioritizing her fellowships and families. This had triggered miscommunication and conflicts between community organizer which caused one of them leaving the KKBM management.

The government did not know the conflict between the community activator. It was because the government has never seen KKBM activities directly in the field and the government's visit to Pegagan Kidul village only when there are critical moments, such as the opening of the entrepreneurship training event and the Ramadan Bazaar. Protection agenda visits are followed out when there is a big case, such as the return of the conflicted migrant worker's corpse. The presence of the government directly to the field is needed so that the facts obtained are more accurate than just relying on KKBM monthly reports. They are still in a "reading" process and still need help from the government even though the KKBM is a decentralized program, and the

government position is as a monitor (Haryanto, 2018; Manor, 2011). The communication between the government (BP3TKI Bandung) and the KKBM of the Cirebon district was only about the sustainability of the empowerment program through monthly reports that done via telephone and WhatsApp Group (WAG). Direct Reports was held in BNP3TKI Bandung office just for urgent condition.

Overlapping interests and responsibilities in migrant worker's protection come across institutions, both from the government or the private sector. Riding occurs because the Indonesian government does not yet have a regulation that rules the responsibility share of related institutions.

For the empowerment program, there is not yet (there are no official regulations), but we always coordinate each other (between institutions). As Mr. Jokowi statement that we (government) do not need any special rules, so (we) will not develop a small rule that would make it complicated in the application program... (FA, Personal interview, Oktober 22, 2019).

This policy overlapping occurs between BNP2TKI and the Ministry of Manpower, an insurance consortium, and a migrant worker placement agency. This crisscrossing is related to the flow of case complaints and assistance of conflicted female migrant workers abroad.

The number of migrant workers continues to grow every year. However, the progress and reform of migrant worker protection management are moving slowly (Varia, 2011; Vlieger, 2012). The migrant worker protection is an application of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia that aims to bring about welfare for all people. However, there is no specific article related to the protection of domestic migrant workers (Elias, 2013; Natalis & Ispriyarso, 2018). Female migrant workers are placed at the bottom level with unclear working hours and a day off (Cheng, 1996; Elias, 2010; Mmotlane, 2012). Most of them have to take care of their cases without the presence of the government. Not a few of them finally gave up halfway because of the inequality they got.

## Conclusion

Based on a concept, communication on the protection of female migrant workers by the government was done bottom-up through the KKBM with the multi-step flow communication model. The communication process flowed from a higher to a bottom level. The communication flow started from BNP2TKI related to KKBM guidelines and evaluations, then flowing to BP3TKI Bandung as a lower level to execute technical programs, and finally come to the KKBM of Cirebon District as a field implementer who has direct contact with female migrant workers and their families. The KKBM of Cirebon Regency was consisting of a director, person in charge, team leader, and community organizer (CO) consisting of female ex-migrant workers and Pegagan Kidul village government officers. The duties and responsibilities of the KKBM included assisting conflicted female migrant workers, empowering female ex-migrant workers, and providing information and employment opportunity information abroad to migrant worker applicants.

For more than a year, the KKBM Cirebon regency activities had been more focused on the empowering program. The government emphasized the results than the progress in the KKBM's empowerment activities by targeting female ex-migrant workers at Pegagan Kidul village to have a superior product after attending the entrepreneurship training program. The advocating of conflicted female migrant workers was performed more as an extension of complaint from the female migrant worker's families to the Pegagan Kidul village government. There were no female

migrant workers and their families who complain about their cases directly through the KKBM. It was because they do not know the existence of KKBM as a protection advocacy to domestic migrant workers. Besides, the socialization related to the KKBM protection program was not supported by the local sub-district or village government in the Cirebon regency due to budget matter. Moreover, not all the KKBM organizers were sincere in carrying out KKBM programs. Some of them put more emphasized on personal interests. Conflicts between community organizers came because of a miscommunicating that caused one of the activators to walk out from the KKBM of Cirebon district management.

The communication of protection for female migrant workers was run so complicatedly. The success of advocating conflicted female migrant workers through KKBM was not only in the process of interface interaction with the informal language but also the seriousness of the KKBM organizers and the governments, as well as the village government. Eventually, female migrant workers who had conflicted abroad must resolve their cases by themselves without the presence of the Indonesian government. Not a few of them finally gave up in the middle of the fighting process because of the complaint system complexity that involved the governments and the private agencies.



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