DIGITAL WEBERIAN BUREAUCRACY IN THE PLACEMENT OF INDONESIAN MIGRANT WORKERS: POLICY ANALYSIS OF THE SPECIAL PLACEMENT PROGRAM TO TAIWAN (SP2T)

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ABSTRACT

The Special Placement Program to Taiwan (SP2T) is an innovative initiative aimed at streamlining the placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) to Taiwan by bureaucratic transformation in creating a more efficient and cost-saving process. This study analyzes the principles of Digital Weberian Bureaucracy (DWB) concept introduced by Muellerleile and Robertson such as intelligent efficiency, sizing-up objectivity, and remotely rationality in the implementation of SP2T, utilizing the Indonesian Migrant Worker Protection Computerized System (SISKOP2MI). The research focuses on how digitization can address issues like overcharging in worker placement and the complicated process. The study used qualitative methods, including interviews with the 4 (four) candidates of SP2T and P2P, representatives of stakeholders, and document studies of regulations and reports related to SP2T. The findings highlight that he implementation of SP2T has been successful, reducing placement costs and speeding up the process compared to P2P; however, collaboration among stakeholder must be enhanced in creating a consistent placement quota. The study recommends promoting SP2T proactively to Taiwanese companies and improving coordination with training centers and vocational schools to increase labor supply. Furthermore, facilitating Chinese language training for migrant workers by BP2MI before departure can better prepare them for working in Taiwan. This study also provides contribution by expanding and enriching the DWB concept, that the DWB must be supported by the human transformation, like innovative strategies from the stakeholders.

KEYWORDS	*Digital Weberian Bureaucracy; SP2T; Indonesian Migrant Workers*

INTRODUCTION

In facing the development of information technology and environmental changes, one form of adaptation by the bureaucracy is through digital transformation. According to Gao & Tan (2020), digital bureaucracy allows the government to control and check the policies of the government below it, thus building a Weberian-style administration with technological support. Lekkas & Souitaris (2023) highlight the Weberian nature of the bureaucracy through the behavior of top-level bureaucrats as initiators of strategic change and lower-level bureaucrats as agents of change who formulate rules that bring together technological developments with social development. Thus, bureaucratic digitalization produces bureaucratic algorithms that can improve the ability to handle institutional and policy complexity to improve social problem solving Vogl et al. (2019). Digitalization aims to develop a less flexible and hierarchical Weberian bureaucracy by increasing efficiency and inclusive and unbiased public value creation (Johansson et al., 2023). Ultimately, the digitization of bureaucracy is expected to promote social justice for all citizens. Borry & Reuter (2022)

Faedlulloh & Yulianto (2023) stated that Weberian bureaucracy can be a big challenge in digital transformation. The results show symptoms of the continued dominance of the Weberian bureaucracy in the Indonesian bureaucracy. This bureaucracy is slow in making decisions, especially in times of crisis. In addition, the bureaucracy is often tied to protracted procedures in public services despite the government's repeated campaigns for digital transformation.

Regarding the reframing of bureaucracy in the digital era, (Muellerleile & Robertson, 2018) follow the opinion expressed by Weber, namely "technology as a spur to bureaucratization". As the focus of the conceptual idea, the authors propose three main points that make up the concept of Digital Weberianism Bureaucracy. First, smart efficiency is the result of the expansion of digitalization resulting in real-time automation of machines and the internet that does not require human decisions to maintain its efficiency. Second, objectivity judgment is a neutral assessment of the results of massively automated applications and platforms using separate algorithms that do not require human decisions to further maintain their objectivity, avoiding political interests. Third, remote rational is the transformation of social structures in the digital world that are encoded through servers and cloud computing, turning into user accounts and IDs to form a new digital reality that remains remotely supervised and controlled.

The concept of *Digital Weberian Bureaucracy* has then been studied in "*Digital Weberianism Bureaucracy: Alertness and disaster risk reduction (DRR) related to the Sunda Strait volcanic tsunami*" Meilani & Hardjosoekarto (2020). This article is an exploratory report on the 2018 Sunda Strait tsunami disaster risk

reduction (DRR) study, using Robertson's (2018) Digital Weberianism Bureaucracy (DWB) concept. The findings of this study illustrate the weak integration of early warning and rapid information system applications developed by national disaster agencies, resulting in failure to achieve disaster risk reduction.

The concept of Digital Weberianism Bureaucracy is also discussed in (Muhammaditya et al., 2022). analyzing institutional divergence according to Beckert by measuring the reframing of the three constitutive principles of Digital Weberian Bureaucracy (DWB). This study suggests that computer literacy and programming languages are essentials that future bureaucrats as social actors must improve to achieve digital transformation success. Therefore, the characteristics of DWBs (intelligent efficiency, objectivity, and remotely rational) need to be enhanced by various forms of training, education, and certification of expertise for administrators.

In general, challenges in digital bureaucracy are expressed by various researchers. (Mutiarin et al., 2024) revealed that bureaucracy requires technological support and strong commitment from leaders. In addition, the bureaucracy needs to build a broad and coordinated partnership ecosystem, with the main point being the ability to adapt quickly and be responsive to problems. Hajar (2023) found several factors in the implementation of this digital bureaucracy, namely: (1) Availability of an integrated system, (2) Placement of human resources according to their fields and abilities, (3) Sustainability of the program, and (4) Periodic improvement of infrastructure (software and hardware) as needed. In Maulana et al. (2024), it was revealed that although Electronic Based Government Systems (EBS) promote collaboration, there are challenges associated with integration within the framework. Although there is significant collaboration between government agencies (G2G), the development of digital government systems still faces the problem of silos and fragmented efforts.

From these various studies, it has been studied on how the implementation of DWB and the challenges faced. The novelty in this research is to examine how Digital Weberian Bureaucracy in government services in the placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI), especially in the implementation of the placement program to Taiwan, namely the *Special Placement Program to Taiwan (SP2T),* which involves two countries, namely Indonesia and Taiwan.

The SP2T program is an innovation in placement services. This program was originally implemented by BP3MI (Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Service Center) Jakarta. In fact, BP2MI through UPT BP2MI DKI Province managed to enter the top 15 in the 2020 Top 99 Public Service Innovations organized by the Ministry of PAN and RB. The innovation is an original innovation and is not an adaptation or replication from another context. The SP2T Embedded business process is a novelty and innovation from an independent scheme by adding a

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government facilitation function that has never been implemented before (MENPANRB, 2020).

Digitalization of bureaucracy in the implementation of the placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers using the Computerized System for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers (SISKOP2MI) carried out by BP2MI (Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency). BP2MI or the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency, hereinafter abbreviated as BP2MI, is a non-ministerial government agency tasked with implementing policies in the service and protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers in an integrated manner (Law Number 18 of 2017 concerning the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers and followed by Presidential Regulation Number 90 of 2019 concerning the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency). The definition of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) according to Law Number 18 Year 2017 is every Indonesian citizen who will, is, or has done work by receiving wages outside the territory of the Republic of Indonesia.

Computerized System for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, hereinafter referred to as SISKOP2MI, is an administrative service system for the placement and protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers. SISKOP2MI is intended to provide more effective and efficient placement and protection services for Indonesian migrant workers. (Regulation of the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency of the Republic of Indonesia Number 7 of 2023 concerning the Computerized System for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers). Article 2 explains that Sisko P2MI realizes the implementation of placement, protection, and empowerment services for Indonesian Migrant Workers through strengthening cooperation, coordination, integration, and synchronization with relevant ministries/agencies. One of the services of Sisko P2MI is the placement service for prospective Indonesian Migrant Workers / Indonesian Migrant Workers. Through SISKOP2MI, prospective migrant workers can view information on overseas job vacancies and register to various placement countries according to their qualifications.

There are 3 (three) countries with the highest number of PMI placements based on BP2MI data, namely Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Malaysia. Taiwan was once the highest placement country in 2023, totaling 83,216 out of a total of 274,965, or around 30% of the total of more than 25 placement countries.

Table 1. Three Highest Placement Countries for Indonesian Migrant Workers in 2021-2024

No.	Country	2021	2022	2023	2024
1	Taiwan	7.789	53.483	83.216	84.581
2	Malaysia	563	43.163	72.260	51.723
3	Hong Kong	52.278	60.096	65.916	99.773

The number of foreign migrant workers (PMA) in Taiwan from Indonesia is the highest. Dominated by domestic workers with a percentage of 65% of the total number of PMI in Taiwan. Meanwhile, 35% of them are migrant workers who work in the formal sector. Job opportunities for migrant workers in Taiwan are very large. However, there are several obstacles and challenges in the placement of Indonesian migrant workers to Taiwan. First, there is no G to G cooperation in the field of labor as a joint legal umbrella. Second, there is no communication facility/media that informs the labor market between the two countries. Third, the promotion of workers and their competencies has not been optimized.BRIN (2024)

According to Law No. 18/2017, Indonesian Migrant Worker Placement Companies (P3MI) have the duties and responsibilities of: seeking employment opportunities; placing Indonesian Migrant Workers; and resolving the problems of the Indonesian Migrant Workers they place. As a placement organizer that dominates the migrant worker placement scheme, the existence of P3MI plays an important role. According to Law No. 18/2017, the Indonesian Migrant Worker Placement Company (P3MI) has the following duties and responsibilities: seeking employment opportunities; placing Indonesian Migrant Workers; and resolving the problems of the Indonesian Migrant Workers it places. In 2024, the number of placements through P3MI is 236,375 or 79.47% of the total placements, with details in the following table.

Table 2. Number of Indonesian Migrant Workers Placement in 2024 based on placement scheme

Skema	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	Mei	Jun	Jul	Agu	Sep	Okt	Nov	Des	Jumlah
P TO P	21.668	19.508	23.139	24.416	24.883	15.628	18.268	17.535	16.524	18.162	16.114	**20.530**	236.375
PERSEORANGAN (MANDIRI)	1.569	1.517	1.672	1.580	2.106	1.805	2.240	2.033	1.791	2.071	1.822	**1.560**	21.766
PERPANJANGAN PK LUAR NEGERI	2.893	1.866	3.053	2.669	2.216	2.096	1.991	1.797	1.793	1.776	1.782	**1.525**	25.457
G TO G	937	1.047	639	898	695	863	676	1.554	400	758	1.251	**817**	10.535
PERPANJANGAN PK DALAM NEGERI	119	92	130	202	136	146	148	120	110	127	290	**719**	2.339
UKPS	25	45	21	38	82	97	72	157	117	139	47	**122**	962

However, the high number of placements is also followed by the high number of complaints received by BP2MI. Placement with the P to P scheme or through P3MI, is prone to *overcharging* practices that are very detrimental to PMI and prove that even procedural PMI is not immune from problems caused by irresponsible parties. Even based on BP2MI complaint data in 2023, this *overcharging* case is also the 3rd highest ranked case.

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Figure 1. Indonesian Migrant Worker Complaints in 2023 Based on 5 Highest Case Categories

In the Decree of the Head of the Indonesian Migrant Workers Agency number 50 of 2023, concerning the Placement Fee for Indonesian Migrant Workers placed by Indonesian Migrant Worker Placement Companies to individual employers in Taiwan, it has been regulated that the *agency* service fee component for placement to Taiwan is a maximum of 20,000 NT, which is approximately 1 (one) month's salary. But in reality, there are many cases of *overcharging* experienced by Indonesian migrant workers, although BP2MI has taken strategic steps to deal with this problem.

This eventually led to the birth of SP2T, where the P3MI function in placement to Taiwan was replaced by the Taiwanese government, through the DHSC (*Direct Hiring Service Center*). In this placement through DHSC, it is only available for formal sector CPMIs, both new and those already in Taiwan for contract extension. For informal sector workers, there are only *direct hiring* services for contract extensions without returning (Focus Taiwan, 2024). The SP2T program is an alternative placement that does not burden PMI in terms of cost and process, which was launched in 2020. The placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers through the Special Placement Program to Taiwan (SP2T) Scheme is a new breakthrough in the placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) through Taiwan's Direct Hiring Service Center (DHSC) (Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency, 2020).

This innovation in placement allows migrant workers to be free from placement fees and also shortens the process. However, when comparing the overall placement to Taiwan with the SP2T program, the number of placements is still very far apart, as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 3. Comparison of number of P to P and SP2T placements 2021-2024

PLACEMENT SCHEME	2021	2022	2023	2024
P to P (P3MI)	629	43.976	60.939	58.519
SP2T	0	35	20	27

From the comparative data, it is known that in creating job vacancies, the DHSC together with the KDEI must make more efforts to encourage an increase in the number of vacancies, so that this program can become an alternative to formal placement to Taiwan at a low cost and fast time. It is also interesting to know the causes and then find the right solution.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is qualitative research. (Sugiyono, 2018) defines qualitative method as an approach to investigating natural phenomena based on positivist philosophy. In this method, the author acts as the main research instrument, and the findings prioritize the interpretation of meaning over broad generalizations. Explained by (Cresswell, 2018)2019, that qualitative research generally includes information about the central phenomenon explored in the research, research participants, and research locations. In this study, the main phenomenon is the Digitalization of the Weberian Bureaucracy in the implementation of the Special Placement Program to Taiwan (SP2T).

Qualitative research was chosen because it can answer research questions, especially explaining in depth how the principles of Digital Weberian Bureucracy in the implementation of Special Placement Program to Taiwan (SP2T) based on the information that has been collected.

Data collection techniques in this study used a number of data collection techniques including literature studies, documentation, and interviews, with the following explanation:

1. Literature Study

In this research, the literature study focused on understanding the basic concepts and theories related to the Weberian Digital Bureaucracy and the procedures for the placement of Indonesian Migrant Workers, especially in formal placement to Taiwan.

2. Documentation

In this study, a number of documents related to the object of research, such as reports, regulations, and statistical data were inventoried as supporting analysis.

3. Interview

The researcher used interviews directly with participants and also through zoom. In this research, direct interviews were conducted with CPMI, ASAF, BP3MI while through zoom, namely KDEI.

According to (Cresswell, 2018), in general, data analysis in research is intended to interpret information / data in both written and pictorial form. Data analysis activities consist of several stages of the process carried out systematically. Based on this, the data analysis process in this study will be carried out through the following stages:

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1.Data Preparation Stage

At this stage, actions are taken to process and prepare data for later analysis. The steps taken include transcribing the interview results, then classifying them according to the source of information and the material presented.

2. Data Reading Stage

In the next stage, the data is read to get a general understanding, then reduce the data.

3.Data organization stage (coding)

Coding activities are carried out by compiling interview data and related information by collecting parts of the data based on certain themes or categories, *"Intelligent efficiency", "Sizing Up Objectivity", and "Remotely Rational".* This coding process was done manually without the help of software.

4.Data interpretation stage

The final stage of the process is to interpret the data and organize it, drawing out the essence of the data, then comparing it with existing literature and other supporting information.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

In the implementation of SP2T, there are main actors involved, namely BP2MI (Directorate of Non-Government Placement in Legal Entity Employers), BP3MI, KDEI, and DHSC. In the Presidential Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia No. 90 of 2019 concerning the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency, BP2MI or the Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Agency, hereinafter referred to as BP2MI is a non-ministerial government agency tasked with implementing policies in the service and protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers in an integrated manner. Then BP3MI (Indonesian Migrant Workers Protection Service Agency) is a technical service unit of BP2MI in the regions.

According to the DHSC's official website (https://dhsc.wda.gov.tw/en), the agency was established on December 31, 2007, as part of Taiwan's Ministry of Labor to provide various channels for employers to hire migrant workers and reduce the burden of foreign workers to work in Taiwan. The main concept is to simplify service processing procedures into a single contact, and assist employers to hire migrant workers themselves. The DHSC has served more than 180,000 employers since its inception, and earned praise and trust over the years

In its official website, (https://www.kdei-taipei.org/), KDEI is an institution that has a vision to realize economic cooperation between Indonesia and Taiwan that is beneficial to national interests in global development. In 1994, through Presidential Decree number 48/1994 dated July 7, 1994 KADIN was upgraded to the Indonesian Trade and Economic Office (KDEI) in Taipei as a non-governmental economic institution under the guidance of the Minister of Trade

The workforce recruitment process involving 2 (two) countries takes place through a computerized system called SISKOP2MI. SISKOP2MI is the official website of BP2MI to register as an Indonesian migrant worker and get access to applications to work abroad. Meanwhile, the selection process is directly carried out by users in Taiwan using the *zoom meeting* application. In P3MI placement, SISKOP2MI is also used, but it is used by P3MI to obtain SIP2MI. P3MI submits an online application to the Head of BP2MI through SISKOP2MI by attaching the Placement Cooperation Agreement document endorsed by the representative, *Job Order*, Draft work agreement, and draft placement agreement. Meanwhile, the recruitment process is still carried out directly by P3MI. However, in SP2T, prospective PMIs independently register via SISKOP2MI. So that in this scheme, it minimizes extortion practices in the field.

This program was originally implemented by BP3MI (Balai Pelayanan Pelindungan Pekerja Migran Indonesia) Jakarta. Even BP2MI through UPT BP2MI DKI Province managed to enter the top 15 in the Top 99 2020 Public Service Innovations organized by the Ministry of PAN and RB. The innovation is an original innovation and is not an adaptation or replication from another context. The SP2T Embedded business process is a novelty and innovation from the independent scheme by adding a government facilitation function that has never been implemented before (MENPANRB, 2020).

SP2T expands government intervention as the private element of P3MI and agencies in creating job vacancies for migrant workers in Taiwan is replaced by DHSC, in collaboration with KDEI. This aims to increase government control and efficiency of the placement process as it eliminates placement fees, and even overcharging practices that have burdened prospective migrant workers. All relevant parties can be connected through SISKOP2MI, as shown in the following image of process flow.

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Figure 2. SP2T Process Flow

With the above process flow, the time required for SP2T placement is quite fast and efficient, through the SISKOP2MI. Before announcing SP2T vacancies, the parties involved zoomed in to agree on a timeline as a reference in implementing the program. All stages of SP2T implementation were carried out based on the agreed timeline. The following is an example of a timeline, where each stage of SP2T implementation has been determined by the length of the process.

Table 4. Timeline of SP2T in 2023, PT Ho Yu (2023)

Activities	No.	Activity Stages	Duration
JO Publication	2	DG. PNP ASAF verifies labor request and submits approval to DEPUTI ASAF.	1 HK
		a. DEPUTI ASAF can approve/reject labor requests.	1 HK
		b. JOs approved by DEPUTI will be published in SISKOP2MI in realtime for a period of 3 HK.	5 HK
Create Applicant Account, Apply and Application Verification by BP3MI	3.1	a. CPMI creates an applicant account in SISKOP2MI b. CPMI completes the data in SISKOP2MI c. CPMI applies for available vacancies	N/A
	3.2	a. BP3MI verifies the applicant's documents b. When the application is returned, then the applicant can correct the inappropriate documents	6 HK

		c. When the applicant does not meet the requirements, the application is rejected d. Applicants get a notification on the system	
Candidate Selection	4	a. DHSC submits the list of applicants who pass the document verification to the Employer.	1 HK
		b. The Employer determines the candidates to be selected and informs the DHSC.	1 HK
		c. DHSC schedules the selection of candidates in the system, candidates get notifications	1 HK
	5.1	a. Fingerprinting and photo taking of candidates by BP3MI Officers b. Selection between Employers and candidates with the intermediary of DHSC and Dit. PNP ASAF directly at BP3MI (Bandung / Semarang) c. BP3MI officers fill in the candidate's attendance status in SISKOP2MI	1 HK
	5.2	a. The Employer determines the candidates who pass the selection process and informs the DHSC. b. DHSC provides notification in the system for accepted candidates	1 HK
TOTAL TIME REQUIRED UNTIL THE CANDIDATE PASSES THE SELECTION / SELECTION IS ACCEPTED			18 HK

*HK = Working Day

As for the registration requirements, they are also not difficult. However, there are some additional skills that will be required according to the needs of the company, such as the ability to lift weights, the ability to hook, and so on. In the P2MI Sisko page (https://siskop2mi.bp2mi.go.id/), the general requirements are as follows:

1. Indonesian citizens and permanent residents of Indonesia
2. Gender: male and female
3. 20 to 30 years old
4. High school/vocational/equivalent or diploma or university graduate
5. Height: 160 to 178cm
6. Weight: 50 to 75kg
7. Must not be color blind (partial or total)
8. Not pregnant for female applicants

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Based on data collected from BP2MI, the total number of PMI who have been dispatched in the SP2T program from 2019 to 2024 is 110 people. At this time there are only 5 Tawan companies participating in this SP2T program.

DWB principles in SP2T

Intelligent Efficiency

In (Muellerleile & Robertson, 2018) it is explained that the accelerated collection and filtering of information in "*real time*" is a driver in efficiency that results in savings in both time and finances. However, just because information is available quickly does not mean decisions become easier. Acceleration is only possible if any of the data collection, processing, and presentation processes have been automated to eliminate or at least filtered through a system of abstract categories to present a limited number of options to human decisions.

Based on the understanding previously explained, *intelligent efficiency* when associated with the SP2T program, can be explained through the use of digitalization, especially SISKOP2MI in making time and cost savings in the placement of migrant workers to Taiwan. As previously stated, the SP2T process is faster and less costly than the conventional Private to Private PMI placement. From the results of interviews obtained from a prospective PMI from Lampung, with the initials "A", stated that the costs incurred to be able to work in Taiwan were 80 (eighty) million to the agency for placement fees, and outside of these costs there were still deductions from salaries every month.

"The parents prepared eight tens (80 million). There is still a salary cut too, 8 thousand, or four 4 million for 6 months for China Trust Bank loans, don't know what for. The 80 million was given to the agency. "

Similarly, a migrant worker who had previously worked abroad, initials "AM", said that he also spent more than the stipulated placement fee.

"For me (in 2015), the cost was a payroll deduction. We took photos, bought uniforms and paid for them. It's not just me, it's everyone. If the salary deduction is 19 (million) for 7 months, so about 2 million per month."

In 2017, Indonesian migrant worker organizations in Taiwan complained about the rampant overcharging of placement fees. The overcharging was charged to prospective migrant workers in the range of Rp 22 million to Rp 48 million (detikNews, 2017). In practice, the placement carried out by P3MI is very minimal government intervention, and is only limited to granting SIP2MI extensions. SIP2MI (Surat Izin Perekrut Pekerja Migran Indonesia), is a permit granted by the Head of the Agency to P3MI which is used to place prospective Indonesian Migrant Workers. This makes illegal levies against PMI increasingly difficult to eradicate

because private agents hold full power in the management of PMI, starting from recruitment, selection, training to placement (Fatmasiwi, 2019).

Sanctions against overcharging have been regulated in Permenaker 7 of 2020 concerning Procedures for Imposing Administrative Sanctions. Administrative sanctions are an effort to provide legal protection for PMI who are victims of *overcharging*. Even the imposition of administrative sanctions in the form of temporary suspension of part or all of the business activities of placing Indonesian Migrant Workers to P3MI is carried out so that P3MI who overcharges feel deterrent because if P3MI is sanctioned its business cannot run for three months.

According to Farid Ma'ruf, as the SP2T coordinator at BP2MI, the difficulty in eradicating this overcharging practice is when it is not identified because the process is carried out "*under table*", where an agreement has been made between PMI and P3MI, even after socialization by BP2MI. Therefore, SP2T is an alternative placement program to Taiwan without having to pay placement fees, so as to eliminate the practice of *overcharging*.

Based on an interview with an SP2T selection participant from Serang Regency at BP3MI Banten, it was revealed that from the entire selection process until employment, no placement fees were charged. The costs incurred were only for personal documents, such as passports, visas, and others. In fact, the process was relatively fast because from the beginning of registering to leaving for Taiwan was only about 2 months. The same thing was also expressed by several SP2T selection participants at BP3MI, that what made them interested in this program was the absence of placement fees. And they hope that SP2T vacancies can be increased, because the number of enthusiasts continues to grow and really helps CPMI.

According to an interview with Mr. Kadir, Labor Analyst at the KDEI, there are three important advantages of SP2T:

SP2T (Special Placement Program To Taiwan) offers several significant advantages over traditional placement methods involving P3MI or agents. These advantages include reduced costs, elimination of middlemen, and a more transparent and efficient process.

1. **Elimination of Middlemen**: SP2T eliminates the need for a third placement agency, which often adds costs and complications to the migrant worker placement process. By adopting a direct placement system through the Direct Hiring Service Center (DHSC), SP2T enables direct interaction between workers and employers, resulting in greater transparency and efficiency in the placement process.
2. **Significant Cost Reduction**: Through the implementation of SP2T, the cost of placing Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan has been reduced. This is

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a significant reduction from what could have previously been a much higher cost, providing substantial financial benefits to migrant workers.

3. **Innovation in Public Service**: SP2T has been recognized as one of the top 99 public service innovations in 2020 by KemenpanRB. This success and recognition indicates the potential application of similar systems in other countries, signaling that SP2T is not only effective but also a model that can be adapted and applied in various international placement contexts.

Efficiency in the SP2T program can be done through SISKOP2MI, where related parties, namely PMI, KDEI, DHSC, BP2MI, and BP3MI can connect with each other and get real time information through their respective SISKOP2MI accounts.

Meanwhile, based on information from BP2MI, the cost components in SP2T are as follows.

Costs covered by CPMI:

- In Indonesia:

Passport, SKCK, Local Transportation

- In Taiwan:

Health insurance, employment insurance, food and housing expenses, allowance, labor union, other expenses

Costs borne by the Employer:

- Departure Ticket, Visa, Medical Check Up, and PMI Social Security

Sizing Up Objectivity

In (Muellerleile & Robertson, 2018), Objectivity leads to the use of numbers and quantification, with its relatively neutral nature, giving legitimacy to governance mechanisms in neoliberal market societies. This is similar to how relative autonomy gives legitimacy to bureaucracy in the view of Weber and his political institutions.

Where the modern bureaucratic or industrial apparatus achieves its political legitimacy through the separation of political desires and passions through professionalization on the one hand, and its commitment to procedural neutrality on the other. On the other hand, objective algorithms are relatively autonomous from human influence, and thus resist corruption by economic or political power. Statistical modeling is essential for the development of the modern bureaucratic state, where it seems that almost everything is evaluated based on numerical indicators, benchmarks, rankings, and rankings

Objectivity that leads to neutrality can be seen from the SP2T selection process, which is carried out directly by Taiwanese companies based on the need for the jobs offered. Through information about PMI received through SISKOP2MI, the Company can conduct a ranking selection to select some of the

best candidates to be able to take the interview test. Then, through interviews conducted through zoom meetings, witnessed by BP2MI, BP3MI, KDEI, and DHSC, Taiwanese companies can assess and select, without any intervention from any party, and the results are announced again through SISKOP2MI.

However, in the selection process, not everything is assessed by numbers. In the calculation, the numerical score will appear as a selection result, but in the interview process stage, of course, there is still the subjective side of the Taiwanese company conducting the interview to select candidates according to the company's needs. In one of the company's interviews, for example, the company representative asked whether the prospective migrant worker could withstand hot conditions, sweaty hands, and noise (Observation of the interview stage of SP2T at BP3MI Banten, July 2023).

Objective aspects according to (Muellerleile & Robertson, 2018) also include transparency. This transparency principle is reflected in the transparent announcement process, through SISKOP2MI to the selection announcement. However, the problem is that whether CPMI passed or not cannot be explained with a certain number or value, and only the company itself knows about the reason. CPMI only receives information on whether they passed or not in a selection, as shown in the following picture from SISKOP2MI.
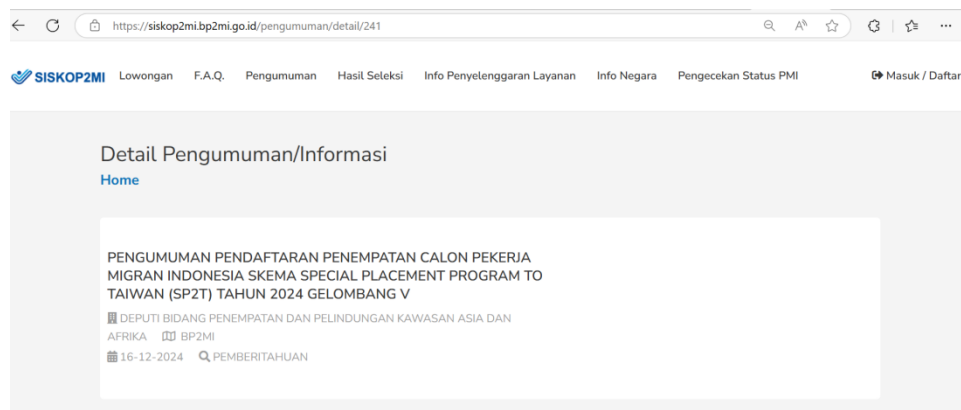

Figure 3. Display of SP2T selection announcement on Sisko P2MI

In the administrative selection process, Taiwanese companies and KDEI check the suitability of documents uploaded in SiskoP2MI with the existing prerequisites objectively. In the next stage, namely the interview, CPMIs who have passed are ranked again by Taiwanese companies, but here there are still values of the subjectivity of the interviewers themselves. This statement is in line with Mr. Kadir's statement,

"First, from the job announced and passed, it is publicly displayed. After the selection, even 50 minutes later, the decision is immediately made. So PMI who

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register, whether they pass or not goes directly to their email and in the process there is no intervention, only the employer chooses."

Other than Taiwanese companies, no party can influence the selection decision, including the DHSC itself, or any other party. This is reinforced by the statement of Mr. Farid, Ma'Ruf,

"DHSC and KDEI have a sisko account, they can see and filter, for example from 50 there are 20 people who pass, then another announcement is made to conduct an interview, then we inform BP3MI to prepare various tests (weight lifting, color blindness, sewing, arithmetic etc.). The interview was conducted in Taiwanese. Those who pass are selected directly through Sisko P2MI, then they send an email and info to BP2MI again."

Based on an interview conducted with Mr. James Jwo as *Vice President of* PT Hoyu Textile CO.,LTD, information was obtained that through the SP2T Program, his company can attract workers who really match the needs of the company and prevent *miss understanding*. During the interview, the company can directly explain in detail about job conditions to job seekers and also assess and select directly, without going through an agency. According to him, this program is also very good because there is no placement fee, so it can help PMI. He said that the average worker from Indonesia also has a fairly good ability, and the ability to speak Mandarin is an added advantage.

Remotely Rationality

Digitalism has weakened the dominance by formal rationality by flattening and opening up socio-economic administrative structures. Equally important, as a result of greater access to knowledge and information, individuals have more opportunities to develop their own substantial rationality, if not influence others by easily disseminating knowledge. On the surface, it does seem that formal rationality, most visible in modern bureaucracies, has come under increasing pressure as widely available information and knowledge have empowered individual creativity, encouraged entrepreneurship, expanded opportunities for social networking, and fostered social diversity.

Rationality in conventional structured and hierarchical bureaucracies, through digitization becomes visibly unraveled and dispersed, the social order generated by information technology brings bureaucratic logic deeper into society. This does not mean that hierarchical organization has disappeared, it is just located in a different form, which is a digital platform system.(Muellerleile & Robertson, 2018)

The utilization of SISKOP2MI can achieve efficiency in the coordination and command flow during the SP2T process. Everyone who wants to apply for an SP2T vacancy can do so directly without having to be registered with a placement

company (P3MI) first. And all parties can monitor the process together in real-time through SISKOP2MI.

The SISKOP2MI makes all parties involved between the Indonesian government, Taiwan and the private sector interconnected without any domination of one another. All parties have equal status, have the same rights in expressing opinions in every discussion or meeting regarding the program. In addition, each party has a SISKOP2MI account, to be able to carry out their respective functions and be connected to each other. Information published through SISKOP2MI is also realtime, and open to anyone who accesses it. Information regarding graduation is also directly informed transparently through SISKOP2MI.

In the SP2T placement process, the entire process is carried out through SISKOP2MI. Starting from *job order* submission and issuance to the final selection announcement process. Digitalization through SISKOP2MI allows all administration to be driven through an application and all parties can connect and monitor the process together.

Digitalization of bureaucracy in SP2T implementation, apart from SISKOP2MI, is also supported by *zoom meetings*, in the timeline discussion and interview selection stages. In contrast to placement through P to P, where P3MI conducts CP2MI recruitment. Based on this, access to technology itself can determine whether someone can get a digital service or not.

Meanwhile, the benefits of SISKOP2MI in creating excellent service in this SP2T placement have been felt by PMI based on interviews during selection at BP3MI Banten and Central Java. They stated that SISKOP2MI had helped in obtaining information on job vacancies and made the registration process shorter, and the biggest benefit was the absence of placement fees that had been burdensome. However, many of them also stated that SISKOP2MI often experienced *system errors,* especially during the opening of registration.

SP2T Challenges

According to the KDEI Labor Analyst, the challenges currently faced are:

- PMI competency is one of the main challenges in SP2T implementation, so improving language skills and proficiency is very important. To address this, a cooperation agreement has been made between BP2MI and several districts/cities, one of the frameworks of which aims to implement the necessary skills improvement programs, including language skills.

In previous experiences when there were vacancies in nursing homes, but there were no human resources who were competent in this matter. Like P3MI, which has a skilled workforce because it has previously been trained for a certain

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time, so that when there is a vacancy it is ready to send its workforce. In overcoming this, KDEI has tried to find *supply* from alumni of German and Japanese G to G applicants who are trained in this matter, but they do not want to because they are used to much higher salaries.

- The next challenge is the limited number of SP2T job vacancies. To overcome this problem, KDEI Taiwan remains optimistic by adding new sector vacancies, namely agriculture and construction, which are currently still in process. In the future, KDEI Taiwan will set up a strategy similar to the Philippines by "picking up the ball" by looking for vacancies to companies in Taiwan through approaches to company associations and *mapping* potential companies that can be included in the SP2T program.

CONCLUSION

The implementation of SP2T as a form of Digital Weberian Bureaucracy is a transformative process in the placement of Indonesian migrant workers that can ease the cost burden that has been a problem for formal migrant workers in working abroad. The idea of SP2T placement is innovative, but it must also be supported by innovative steps that can be created through good collaboration between parties.

Digital Weberian Bureaucracy has helped the bureaucracy increase the speed and ease of service through digitization, but there is still a lack of innovation by related officers so that the placement quota is still very small. SP2T vacancies are still very far in number when compared to placements through P3MI, even the participants are increasing every year. There is a need for regulations that can support the increase in the number of quotas through increased promotion and demand generation by the government. BP2MI in collaboration with KDEI and HSDC can appoint special staff to conduct direct promotion to companies in Taiwan. BP2MI also needs to conduct special meetings through its representatives with representatives of companies in Taiwan to establish cooperation in this program, as well as opinion trails to capture suggestions and input in the collaboration.

In addition, the supply of labor, especially those requiring specialized skills, can be improved by coordinating with training centers and vocational schools in various regions. Therefore, it is important that BP2MI also has data on this supply to be able to answer the needs of the foreign labor market. To prepare themselves to work in Taiwan, the successful selection participants can also be given a short intensive training on basic Mandarin language before leaving for Taiwan.

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