

**EMPOWERMENT IN ONLINE
COMMUNITIES: AN INVESTIGATION OF
INDONESIAN MIGRANT DOMESTIC
WORKERS**

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Abstract

This study explores the empowerment processes of migrant domestic workers in the online community context. Indonesian migrant workers' communities were selected as the research settings as these communities experience various problems including exploitation, confinement and isolation.

A review of the literature shows that the term "empowerment" has been adopted in many fields. Consequently, there is not one consistent definition of empowerment. In addition, participation in online communities is increasingly adopted by migrant domestic worker communities to engage in various practices which enhance their wellbeing, awareness of migration challenges and capabilities to take actions towards changes. Although the literature on the Internet and migration is growing significantly, there is little clear understanding about how online empowerment processes work for migrant domestic workers. In addition, there is a need to investigate the phenomenon of empowerment in online communities using a new approach such as virtual ethnography.

Adopting an interpretive paradigm, this study implemented a virtual ethnographic approach to explore the online empowerment processes of Indonesian migrant workers. Data was gathered from online observations and interviews which were conducted by using various online technologies such as telephone, Skype and Facebook chat. The data was analysed using a sequential qualitative approach, including the generation and refinement of categories and the generation of concepts and propositions.

This study described migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities as processes which enhance the capabilities to reach common welfare agenda. Empowerment is contributed by the processes of empowerment at the individual level and community level, which are interrelated. Empowerment at the individual level refers to processes to enhance the capabilities of the individual to take control over migration processes. These capabilities are strengthened by the individual's wellbeing and awareness of migration problems. At the community level, the process of empowerment aims to enhance community engagement. Empowerment processes at the community level are strengthened by the

community's awareness about its power and its ability to take actions towards changes. The results of the study showed that, while each theme has a relationship with the literature, the themes also have new meanings in the new context of online communities and migrant domestic workers.

This study makes contributions at the theoretical level and practical level. At the theoretical level, this study contributes to and updates the literature on migrant worker empowerment and ICT by modelling how the empowerment processes for migrant workers operate in the online community context. The model is unique in terms of demonstrating a clear relationship between the online practices and their outcomes. At the practical level, the findings of this study would be of benefit to policy-makers, online community managers and industry stakeholders by providing an enhanced understanding of the effectiveness of online communities for empowering migrant domestic workers.

This study acknowledges the need for further research to implement the proposed model in different contexts and settings. In addition, future work could be conducted to investigate the processes of empowerment at different societal perspective such as governmental organization perspective and civil society organization perspectives.

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List of Abbreviations

ATKI	Asosiasi Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (Association of Indonesian Migrant Workers)
PJTKI	Perusahaan Jasa Penyaluran Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (Indonesian Migrant Workers Recruitment Agency)
BNP2TKI	Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (National Board of Indonesian Migrant Workers Placement and Protection)

Statement of Original Authorship

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

QUT Verified Signature

Signature:

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This virtual ethnographic study aims to explore the empowerment processes for Indonesian migrant domestic workers who participate in online communities. The social networking site, Facebook, was selected as the virtual research site because of its ability to facilitate people's sharing of their lives and connection with others (Hei-Man, 2008). These capabilities make Facebook popular among Indonesian communities. Indonesian migrant domestic workers were selected as the research participants because this community is perceived to be vulnerable. Indonesian migrant domestic workers experience many types of exploitation and abuse (Wa Ode Nirmala, 2011). The type of work they do often requires them to live at their place of work; therefore, they experience a confined and isolated daily life. This community is powerless in terms of limited opportunities to engage in various social practices, and this in turn affects their ability to cope with problems, enjoy a sense of wellbeing and take actions towards changes (Kennedy, 2012).

In recent years, large numbers of Indonesian migrant workers, particularly low-skilled workers, have adopted social media including Facebook, Twitter and blog applications. This study provides an enhanced understanding of migrant domestic workers' empowerment processes in an online natural setting. Specifically, this study models the relationship between online practices and their related outcomes to show how these practices as a whole contribute to the processes of empowerment for migrant domestic workers. Participation in social media enables them to break down various barriers, organise collective actions and influence public policy as well as report cases of abuse and violence (Smales, 2011; M. Thomas & Lim, 2011). However, a review of the literature shows that very little is currently understood about how the participation in online communities empowers migrant domestic workers. In light of the implications of the growing adoption of technology by this vulnerable population, this question warrants further investigation.

Empowerment has been widely interpreted depending on the context and setting, therefore scholars have been unable to create a consistent definition (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). There are various descriptions of empowerment ranging from

“having power” to “working in a team to foster productivity” (Bartunek & Spreitzer, 2006). In the education field, empowerment refers to the processes involved in acquiring knowledge that enhance the capability of a student to participate in decision-making processes and achieve better wellbeing (Bartunek & Spreitzer, 2006; Elizabeth, Mary-Anne, & Carroll, 2006). In women’s studies, empowerment refers to the processes that enhance the equality of women and men in the public sphere. In other words, empowerment in women’s studies means the processes that facilitate an egalitarian position between women and men in decision-making processes and participation in politics (Hennink, Kiiti, Pillinger, & Jayakaran, 2012). The concept of empowerment in the management field has been described as the processes to enhance the innovation and productivity of employees (Bartunek & Spreitzer, 2006; Del Val & Lloyd, 2003; Spreitzer, 1995). Empowerment has also been adopted in the field of migrant studies where it refers to the processes that enhance the capability of migrant workers to cope with challenges as a consequence of their migration (Eleni & Sakine, 2009; Hugo, 2003; Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005; Williams & Labonte, 2007). Empowerment is also linked to the capability of migrant workers to take action towards changes and achieve better wellbeing (Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005).

The foundation of empowerment processes is the interaction among individuals in the community context (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). Since the Internet began to demonstrate its capability to facilitate interactions and provide spaces for individuals to conduct a range of practices, scholars have been interested in exploring empowerment processes in online spaces where people spend their time collaborating with others and forming online communities (Amichai-Hamburger, McKenna, & Tal, 2008; Ngoctran, 2011; Tina, Kathryn, & Gary, 2006).

The literature shows that online communities facilitate empowerment processes for those who participate in online interactions and collaborations. Users of online communities can participate in various practices which affect their personal development, such as improving the self-efficacy and skills of users by enabling them to acquire knowledge (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). Online communities also enable those who lack social skills to break down the barriers by developing social networks and connections (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Barak & Sadosky, 2008; C. F. van Uden-Kraan, Drossaert, Taal, Seydel, & van de Laar, 2009). In the conflict resolution sector, online communities also facilitate peaceful

dialogue among people from opposing sides (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). In the education sector, the collaboration among teachers and students can be facilitated by online communities which are perceived to empower them (Ravid, Kalman, & Rafaeli, 2008). In the health sector, online communities enable patients and doctors to meet and communicate efficiently. Online communities also help patients to find emotional support from others and to decide on the appropriate treatment (Bartlett & Coulson, 2011; C. F. van Uden-Kraan et al., 2009).

Online communities also serve a significant role in facilitating empowerment processes among migrant workers; therefore, there is increasing interest among scholars to understand the empowering effect of online communities within the migrant worker community (Komito, 2011). Migrant workers tend to adopt the Internet to keep in contact with their family and community and to find sources of useful information (Komito, 2011). Online communities also enable migrant workers to criticise public policy and voice their political aspirations (Kissau, 2012; Oiarzabal & Reips, 2012; Smales, 2011; M. Thomas & Lim, 2011). Online communities also help migrant workers to maintain contact with others, which can reduce their anxiety and enhance their psychological wellbeing. In addition, this technology can satisfy the needs of migrant workers who have few opportunities to access the outside world to develop emotional links with their friends and family (Minu, 2011; Smales, 2011). In addition, online shared practices help migrant workers to adapt and integrate with the host society (Minu, 2011; Tsai, 2006).

Despite the increasing research interest, there is a dearth of studies on the empowerment processes for migrant domestic workers in the online community context (Smales, 2011), especially studies which explore the processes of empowerment in a natural setting. Thus, this research provides a model which describes the multiple dimensions of online practices and the related outcomes which contribute to the processes of empowerment. Online practices are described as methods implemented in an online environment. Outcomes are described as consequences of the online practices which can be assessed at the individual and community level. The empowerment process is described as a group of online practices and their related outcomes which contribute to achieve a particular goal of empowerment, such as enhanced capabilities to advance a common welfare agenda.

This chapter provides the introduction of the thesis. The motivation for studying the topic is discussed in Section 1.2. The research problem, research

questions and research scope are discussed in Sections 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5, respectively. The contribution of the research is discussed in Section 1.6, followed by an overview of the research design in Section 1.7. The findings of this study are summarised in Section 1.8, and the key terms are discussed in Section 1.9. This chapter closes with an outline of the thesis structure in Section 1.10.

1.2 MOTIVATION FOR STUDYING INDONESIAN MIGRANT WORKERS

The motivation behind the selection of Indonesian migrant workers as participants in this study is the powerlessness of this community. The Indonesian migrant worker community can be seen as a vulnerable community of individuals who experience a range of challenges from the time they take their first steps in the recruitment process until they are reunited with family and friends in the home country (Wa Ode Nirmala, 2011). Indonesian migrant workers are vulnerable at each stage in the migrant worker experience. They are recruited through *Perusahaan Jasa Penyaluran Tenaga Kerja Indonesia* (PJTKI; in English “Indonesian Migrant Workers Recruitment Agency”) which has a responsibility to provide migration preparation including training on migrant workers’ rights and the migration procedure. However, many of these agencies do not provide adequate migration preparation. Therefore, migrant workers lack awareness about migrant workers’ rights, the social conditions of the host country and the terms of the job contract. In the host country, they face many challenges as they have insufficient knowledge about the norms of the host country and they lack protection from the host government. The *Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia* (BNP2TKI; in English, the National Board of Indonesian Migrant Workers’ Placement and Protection) stated that migrant workers reported 27,528 problems in the period from January to September 2014 (BNP2TKI, 2014). These problems included failure of the employer to pay the salary, violence, sexual abuse, other forms of exploitation by the employer and accidents in the workplace. When migrant workers return home, they can experience exploitation from immigration officials, as reported by the media in 2014 (“Inspeksi mendadak, KPK dan Polri sikat pemeras TKI di Bandara Soetta,”). As Indonesian migrant workers experience a range of significant challenges, there is a need to empower migrant workers and their community in order to enhance their

ability to cope with the problems and achieve better wellbeing (Hugo, 2003; Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005; "Using Indonesian Laws to Protect and Empower Indonesian Migrant Workers: Several lessons from the Philippine," 2006). The processes of empowering Indonesian migrant domestic workers have its roots in a democratic and egalitarian public sphere which enable the personal and community development. Government agencies, NGOs and various migrant worker communities have been engaged in various efforts to prevent and eliminate the exploitation and discrimination experienced by Indonesian migrant domestic workers. NGOs, for example, advocate for the strengthening of Indonesian migrant domestic workers' protection. On the government side, the Indonesian government has developed public policies to enhance the protection of Indonesian migrant workers. However, Indonesian migrant domestic workers still experience many problems. The ubiquitous use of technology such as the Internet offers an opportunity to implement further efforts to reach better empowerment goals.

The Internet provides democratic and egalitarian spaces which can empower users such as migrant worker communities (Georgiou, 2006). Indonesians, including members of Indonesia's diaspora communities, are increasingly occupying virtual spaces for various purposes. The sense of community life among Indonesians may be the predominant factor in the huge adoption of virtual spaces (Nugroho, 2011). Empirical evidence shows that virtual spaces facilitate community resistance to injustice and exploitation (Lim, 2013). The huge public support organised through virtual spaces can pressure the parties involved to respond to concerns. For example, an intensive campaign in virtual spaces led to the Indonesian government's reversal of the SE2258/2007 policy; issued in 2008 by the Indonesian Consulate in Hong Kong, the policy would have limited Indonesian women migrant workers' mobility and their rights to change their employment agencies (Smales, 2011). Virtual spaces enable communities—particularly marginalised and underrepresented communities—to speak, voice their aspirations and participate in the development of public policies. This capability relates to the essence of empowerment.

Community experience and research to date, as indicated above, shows a need to understand the empowerment processes that occur in online practices and the outcomes of these processes. More specifically, it is necessary to gain a better understanding about the practices related to the migrant worker empowerment

process at the level of individuals and communities. This knowledge is expected to provide insights for professionals working in the sector, policy-makers and migrant worker community leaders.

1.3 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Studies on empowerment in the virtual world context have emerged as people began to conduct aspects of their daily lives in virtual spaces (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). Researchers have explored how the online world facilitates empowerment. Research also reveals that the virtual space can empower people by enabling them to access information, voice their views and take collective actions.

Migration is a challenging life event as it involves people leaving their established social and economic support networks and entering a foreign social, cultural and political environment (Cakir & Yerin Guneri, 2011). Migrant workers experience various challenges, and they access the Internet to find support (Komito, 2011). Researchers have found that migrant workers access the Internet to get various emotional support (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012), maintain contact with their families at home (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012; Malik & Kadir, 2011) and conduct various political activities (Fitzgerald, Hardy, & Lucio, 2012; Kissau, 2012). They participate in various online communities to express their aspirations and organise collective actions (Smales, 2010). For migrant domestic workers, the participation in online communities helps them to conduct interpersonal relationships (Minu, 2011; M. Thomas & Lim, 2010) and enables them to maintain transnational parenting (Malik & Kadir, 2011).

Although studies on online communities and migrant workers are emerging, there is still a lack of exploration of the empowering effect of online communities on migrant domestic workers (Smales, 2011). Smales (2011) found that ICT contributes to the processes of empowerment for migrant domestic workers; however, the processes of empowerment need to be investigated further, especially to understand the relationship between online practices and their empowerment outcomes at the individual and community level. The relationship of online practices and their related outcomes as a whole are considered in regard to how they contribute to the processes of empowering migrant domestic workers.

In addition, there is an ongoing debate among researchers about the empowerment concept. There is no agreed-upon definition of empowerment (Tengland, 2008), and a review of the literature suggested that the concept of empowerment needs to be described depending on the context and setting (Bartunek & Spreitzer, 2006; Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Tengland, 2008; Zimmerman, 1995). For instance, Zimmerman (1995) investigated empowerment in mutual help and voluntary services organisations and described empowerment as processes that enhance the psychological wellbeing of individuals. Kroeker (1995) researched empowerment processes in agricultural cooperatives and described empowerment as the processes that enhance the capabilities of individuals to take advantage of economic opportunities. The review of literature conducted in the present study, as presented in Chapter 2, demonstrates that there is research gap in the study of migrant domestic worker empowerment in online communities.

Therefore, this study addresses the gap by proposing a model that clearly describes how the relationships between online practices and outcomes as a whole empower migrant domestic workers. The research was conducted in natural settings to gain a better understanding of the day-to-day practices which migrant workers conduct online and which potentially empower them.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study employed a virtual ethnographic approach in order to gain a better understanding of the empowerment processes of migrant domestic workers from the individual and community perspective. At the theoretical level, this research is concerned with the idea that the Internet provides virtual spaces where people can participate democratically. An ethnographic study seeks an understanding of the social interaction in online communities; thus, the research questions reflect the concept of empowerment that was investigated, Indonesian migrant workers as the study sample, and the online communities that play the role as the research site. Therefore, this study formulated the following main research question:

How is the concept of empowerment explicated within the Indonesian migrant domestic workers' Facebook community?

To answer the main research question, a number of specific research questions were also formulated:

- RQ1: What are the patterns and nature of online practices among Indonesian migrant workers within the Facebook online community?
- RQ2: How do individual Indonesian migrant domestic workers conduct practices related to finding solutions to their problems?
- RQ3: How does the community of Indonesian migrant domestic workers overall conduct practices related to finding shared solutions to their shared problems?
- RQ4: How do the relationships between Indonesian migrant domestic workers' online practices and their related outcomes as a whole empower them?

1.5 RESEARCH SCOPE

The scope of the study is determined by three main parameters. First, this study aimed to explore the shared online practices of Indonesian migrant domestic workers that were perceived to be empowering from the individual and community perspective. Empowerment can be assessed from the individual, community, organisational and wider societal context (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Tengland, 2008). This study did not aim to explore empowerment from the perspective of organisations, such as NGOs involved in empowering migrant workers or government agencies that are responsible for protecting and empowering migrant workers.

The democratic and egalitarian aspects of virtual spaces enable various communities to participate, which significantly influences their self and community development (Andrew Feenberg, 2009; Georgiou, 2006). Likewise, migrant workers, including the underrepresented migrant worker communities, can occupy online spaces for personal development such as exercising power to fight against injustice, discrimination and exploitation experienced by their community. Therefore, this study focuses on exploring empowerment from the individual and community perspective.

Second, this study focuses on exploring Indonesian migrant domestic workers' online communities in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Communities of Indonesian migrant domestic workers face similar problems in many parts of the world. In Taiwan and

Hong Kong, in particular, they tend to face severe isolation in the workplace and have few opportunities to access the outside world (Wa Ode Nirmala, 2011). As a virtual ethnographic study, one requirement of the methodology was that the researcher engaged with the community's social spaces. Therefore, it was necessary in this study for the researcher to focus on a limited number of migrant domestic workers' social spaces in order to get a better understanding of the social context of the community being studied (Boellstorff & Ebrary, 2012).

Third, this study focuses on exploring shared practices among Indonesian migrant domestic workers on the Facebook social networking site. Facebook was chosen based on a pragmatic rationale. At the time of this study, Facebook was the most popular social networking site among Indonesian migrant domestic workers. Although there is no statistical data on how many Indonesian migrant domestic workers use Facebook, empirically there are many Indonesian migrant domestic workers who join various online groups on Facebook. A lower number of migrant domestic workers use Twitter or other Web 2.0 applications. The ability of Facebook to enable people to develop social networks is aligned with the sense of community-based living in Indonesian society (Nugroho, 2011).

1.6 RESEARCH SIGNIFICANCE

Scholars have widely explored the phenomenon of empowerment in the online environment. Research has shown that the Internet enables people to conduct various practices to break down some barriers, to solve problems and to achieve better wellbeing (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Tina et al., 2006). However, the literature shows that empowerment in virtual spaces takes different forms in various contexts and settings; consequently, there is no agreed-upon definition of empowerment in the virtual space context (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008).

Furthermore, research on the Internet and migrant workers attracts special attention from scholars (Georgiou, 2006; Komito, 2011) as the Internet is accessed by migrant workers as a resource to cope with various migration-related problems. Migrant workers are known to access the Internet, especially online communities, for various purposes. First, online communities contribute to the psychological wellbeing of migrant workers by facilitating their contact with social networks and families (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012; Malik & Kadir, 2011). Research in this

category has tended to explore the role of ICT in maintaining the mental health of migrant workers, especially in situations where migrant workers are separated from their families (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012). Participation in online communities also contributes to the psychological wellbeing of migrant workers by enabling them to develop social networks (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012; Komito, 2011; Ogan & Ozakca, 2010; Oiarzabal, 2012). These practices can help migrant workers who have little opportunity to interact with the outside world to provide and receive emotional support from friends and family (Minu, 2011; Smales, 2011). Research in this category has tended to explore the role of the Internet in maintaining the psychological wellbeing of migrant workers. Therefore, they provide an in-depth discussion about the function of the technology in facilitating online practices and the effect of such online practices on the psychological wellbeing of migrant workers. Nevertheless, there is still no clear description about how the online practices can empower migrant workers, and especially how they build the capacity of migrants to cope with migration and employment-related problems.

Second, migrant workers conduct online practices in order to adapt to the economic and social demands of the host country (Elias & Lemish, 2009; Tsai, 2006). In this category, researchers have tended to explore the online practices of adolescent migrants and migrants who have reasonable opportunities to interact with the outside world. There are a limited number of studies which explore how migrants with limited access to ICT conduct online practices to address the social and economic demands as migrants. Malik and Kadir (2011) found that ICT plays a role in the maintenance of transnational parenting among domestic workers. Minu (2011) found that domestic workers adopted ICT to enhance their autonomy by seeking a new job, creating a emotional link with their social networks and communicating with their families. Some studies in this category have explored the role of the Internet in helping migrants cope with communication barriers and maintain social networks rather than explore how the virtual spaces can empower migrants.

Although research on migrants and the Internet is a growing field, there is a need to further investigate the phenomenon of empowerment in the online world. First, empowerment of an underrepresented migrant worker community needs further investigation as some studies on migrant workers and the Internet have explored the role of the Internet in facilitating migration. There is an unclear understanding about

how online practices in online communities operate and what outcomes result from the practices (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012). Therefore, there is lack of studies which clearly describe the online practices that users perceive to be empowering. Second, studies on virtual spaces need an appropriate methodology to gain a better understanding about the contextualisation of the phenomenon in virtual spaces (Reips & Buffardi, 2012). In other words, the study of empowerment in virtual spaces would benefit from a methodology that facilitates an understanding of the empowerment processes in virtual spaces in a natural setting. This study employs ethnography to provide an in-depth discussion about the processes of empowerment with a strong description of the research context and setting.

Therefore, the findings in this research contribute to an enhanced understanding of the concept of migrant worker empowerment in online communities. In addition, this study addresses a lack of awareness about the empowering effects of online practices for underrepresented migrant worker communities such as domestic workers. At a practical level, the findings of this research will provide insights for practitioners in the migrant advocacy and protection sector into the adoption of online technology to empower migrant worker communities.

1.7 OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH DESIGN

The objective of this study is to gain a better understanding of the practices and related outcomes that empower migrant workers. The study explores various online practices and related outcomes in a natural setting. This exploratory aspect of this research led to the decision to employ a virtual ethnographic approach. This methodology enables a researcher to gain a deep understanding about the context of a research site and participants, the online practices and the related outcomes.

The research commenced by exploring the relevant literature on migrants, empowerment and online communities. The aim of this step was to investigate the research gaps and develop a conceptual model of migrant worker empowerment in online communities. Then, the researcher collected data from the research site and participants to produce the model describing migrant worker empowerment in online communities. Data collection consisted of two phases. The first phase involved online observations during which the researcher engaged with the online

communities. The data from this phase provided a deep understanding about the research context and setting. The second phase involved semi-structured interviews that were conducted through online technologies. This phase helped the researcher to identify phenomenon which was not detected during the first phase. The researcher analysed the data using a qualitative approach as suggested by Kozinets (2010) and Boellstorff and Ebrary (2012).

Because of the nature of the study, it was necessary to pay particular attention to the potential ethical issues. Before data was collected, the researcher applied for ethical clearance from the university ethics committee. The ethical clearance required the researcher to obtain a letter of permission from the online community and informed consent from the participants. In addition, the researcher agreed to hide any identifying information in every publication related to the research including this thesis. The ethical clearance procedures align with the views of Thomsen et al. (1998) and Roberts and Pollock (2008) that the online community should be treated as a private space, and consequently a researcher should obtain informed consent from participants.

1.8 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In terms of answering the main research question, this study describes migrant domestic workers' empowerment processes in online communities as a group of online practices and their related outcomes which contribute to the capabilities of migrant worker community members to advance their common welfare agenda.

In terms of answering Research Question 1, the study found that participants conducted various online practices which were linked to their efforts to address various migration-related problems. The results of this research identified the processes of empowerment in online communities at the individual level and the community level.

In terms of answering Research Question 2, the study identified the following online practices which contribute to the processes of empowerment at the individual level:

- Socialising with others
- Discussing common interests and problems.

The study identified that migrant' wellbeing and awareness of migration challenge are the consequences of online practices at individual level which can be assessed from 6 key themes, thus further addressing Research Question 2:

- Reduced loneliness
- Reduced stress
- Enhanced self-esteem
- Enhanced self-efficacy
- Knowledge
- Critical thinking skills.

Addressing Research Question 3, the study found that the following online practices contribute to the processes of empowerment at the community level:

- Discussing community vision
- Organising collective actions.

Further addressing Research Question 3, the study identified community external engagement as the consequences of online practices at community level which can be assessed from the following key themes:

- Awareness of the power of the community
- Capabilities to take action towards changes.

Finally, in terms of answering Research Question 4, the study identified that the online practices and their related outcomes contribute to the empowerment of migrant domestic workers at the individual level by enabling them to enhance their capabilities to achieve wellbeing and awareness of migration challenges. Online practices and their related outcomes were found to contribute to the empowerment of migrant domestic workers at the community level by enabling them to enhance the community's engagement. Empowerment at the individual level and the community level are mutually interrelated with each other and contribute to the goal of empowerment such as advancing the migrant domestic workers' common welfare agenda.

1.9 KEY TERMS

The following key terms are used in this thesis:

- A **migrant worker** is “a person who is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national” (United Nations Commission for Human Rights, 1990).
- **Indonesian migrant workers** are Indonesian citizens who are eligible to work abroad with an employment contract for a set period of time (Government of Indonesia, 2004).
- A **domestic worker** is a person who works in the household services domain such as cleaning the house, cooking the family meals, washing and ironing clothes, and looking after children, the elderly or sick members of a family.
- **Tenaga kerja Indonesia** (“TKI”) is the Indonesian phrase for Indonesian migrant workers. This term commonly connotes unskilled Indonesian migrant workers. High-skilled Indonesian migrant workers also sometimes refer to themselves as “TKI”.
- **Online communities** are communities of people who have common interests and who interact with each other in an online environment (Plant, 2004). Their interaction can be hosted by several types of information system such as a mailing list, web log, bulletin board, chat room, online forum or online social media (Porter, 2004).
- **Online social media** is an Internet-based application that enables interaction among people, organisations and communities and allows the creation of user generated contents (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010).
- **Empowerment** refers to the process of building the power or energy of an individual or a group of individuals to do something (Stevenson & Oxford University, 2010). Empowerment is rooted in the individual’s ability to participate and collaborate with others in order to gain mastery in their life. It is a process that aims to make an individual more confident and stronger to control their life and exercise their rights (Rappaport, 1981; Stevenson & Oxford University, 2010; Tengelnd, 2008; Zimmerman, 1995).
- **Online empowerment processes** are a group of online practices and their related outcomes which contribute to the empowerment of individuals, communities and the wider societal context (Stevenson & Oxford University, 2010; Zimmerman, 1995).
- **Online practices** refer to the implementation of methods or ideas in the online world.

- **Empowerment outcomes** are a group of positive consequences from the actions or experiences of an individual (Stevenson & Oxford University, 2010; Zimmerman, 1995). Tengland (2008) viewed the outcomes as the goals of empowerment that can be measured at the individual level (i.e. self-esteem, self-efficacy, competence, knowledge, and critical understanding about the socio-political environment) and at the community level (i.e. the ability to influence public policy and organise a common agenda).

1.10 THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis is organised into seven chapters. The first chapter has introduced the context of the research, including the research questions and contributions. Chapter 2 presents a critical review of the literature on online communities, migrant workers and empowerment theory. The discussion in Chapter 2 also encompasses the rationale behind domestic migrant workers' participation in online communities. Chapter 2 also presents the conceptual model of migrant worker empowerment in online communities and the research gaps.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology which was adopted in this study. The discussion in Chapter 3 includes an overview of the research paradigm, data gathering technique, and data analysis approach. The way in which the researcher accessed the online community and recruited participants is discussed. Chapter 3 also discusses the validity, reliability and ethical issues in an ethnographic study.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the research context and presents the participants' narratives. This discussion encompasses the social situation of Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong and Taiwan, and the virtual site that was explored in this study. Chapter 4 discusses the backgrounds of the participants, why they accessed online communities, the social problems they faced, the online practices conducted by each participant to overcome their problems, the consequences of online practices and the negative effects of participating in online communities.

Chapter 5 presents the findings on the online empowerment processes at the individual and community level. In particular, this chapter discusses each theme which represents the identified online practices and outcomes at the individual and

community level. In particular, this chapter describes themes that can be harnessed for assessing the outcomes at individual level and community level.

Chapter 6 presents the proposed model of migrant worker empowerment in online communities. The model describes the shared online practices that empower migrant workers and the outcomes that typically result from the online practices. Chapter 6 discusses the study's findings with a particular focus on how empowerment practices operate in online communities, the typical outcomes and the links to the relevant theory.

Chapter 7 concludes the thesis with a summary of the findings, a discussion of the limitations and contributions of the study, and recommendations for promising directions in future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 CHAPTER PREVIEW

This chapter presents a review of the literature on online communities, migration and empowerment. The literature was derived from various international journals, conference proceedings and government reports. This chapter begins with a discussion of Indonesian migrant workers which includes the definition of Indonesian migrant workers, reasons for migrating, migration problems and the role of social networks in migration. The chapter continues with the discussion of the concept of the online community which includes a description of the online community, categorisation of online communities, types of participation within online communities, sustainability of online communities and online communities within social media. Then, the chapter discusses the concept of empowerment which covers the general concept of empowerment, empowerment in the online community context and migrant empowerment. This is followed by a discussion on a conceptual model of migrant empowerment within online communities which is adopted from Wijaya (2014). Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion on the relevance of online communities for migrant worker empowerment and the research gaps.

2.2 INDONESIAN MIGRANT WORKERS

This section presents a review of the literature on migrant workers, with a particular focus on Indonesian migrant workers and the need to empower the migrant worker community in order to establish the context of the present study. First, this section defines Indonesian migrant workers. Second, the reasons to migrate are. The final sub-section discusses the problems experienced by the Indonesian migrant worker community.

2.2.1 Who are Indonesian Migrant Workers?

The term “migrant workers” refers to a group of workers who work in a foreign country on employment contracts (Li, 2011; United Nations Commission for Human Rights, 1990). In some contexts, such as China, the term refers to within-country migration and describes the phenomenon of people moving from a non-prosperous region to a more prosperous region to find better sources of income (Dean, 2011;

Shao et al., 2007). In the Indonesian context, the term is used to refer to citizens who leave Indonesia for employment purposes in a foreign country.

The term “Indonesian migrant workers” is used to refer to low-skilled workers who are known in the Indonesian language as “*tenaga kerja Indonesia*” (TKI). Another more recent term used to refer to this group is “*buruh migran Indonesia*”. This term connotes a “social movement” and is widely adopted by NGOs and other organisations that are actively involved in socio-political campaigns. TKI leave Indonesia to work in several foreign countries including Malaysia, Hong Kong, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, United Arab Emirates and Singapore. Most TKI are employed as domestic workers, factory workers and plantation workers.

This study focuses on the TKI because this community needs to be empowered. This community experiences many problems from the first steps in the recruitment process until they return to Indonesia (Hugo, 2003; Wa Ode Nirmala, 2011). Thus, in this research, the term “Indonesian migrant workers” only refers to unskilled or low-skilled migrant workers.

2.2.2 Reasons to Migrate

Indonesian migrant workers have a background which makes them vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. First, the majority of low-skilled migrant workers have low levels of education. Consequently, they lack the skills necessary to compete in the job market in Indonesia which has high levels of unemployment. Second, they come from low-income families in rural areas. This situation means they need to earn money for themselves and for the extended family at home. To break the vicious cycle of poverty, limited opportunity and low education and skills, many poor rural Indonesians are motivated to enter international job market and take on the challenge of working in a foreign country.

Research has shown that financial need is the primary reason for people’s movement from Indonesia to foreign countries (Loveband, 2004; Silvey, 2006). Migrant workers are seeking employment which can give them better income and lift their families out of poverty. Research focusing on the migration trends from Indonesian to Malaysia confirms that financial need was the main cause (Kaur, 2005; Liow, 2003).

2.2.3 Migration Problems

Pre-employment phase

Migrant workers are recruited through private agencies known as PJTKI which is responsible for providing pre-employment training. However, most of these agencies provide poor training which produces serious consequences for migrant workers.

First, migrant workers have a lack of understanding of migrant workers' rights (Prihatin, 2007). They do not receive enough training to understand migrant workers' rights adequately. Most of the PJTKI training materials use legal terminology which is difficult for uneducated migrant workers to understand.

Second, migrant workers have a lack of understanding about their job contracts (Andrevski & Lyneham, 2014; Prihatin, 2007). The job contract is written using legal terminology which is difficult for migrant workers to understand. In addition, the agency does not explain the job contract in detail. The agency does not even require the migrant workers to sign the job contract; therefore, migrant workers have no awareness about the contract.

Third, migrant workers have a lack of understanding about the socio-cultural environment in the host country (Loveband, 2004; Prihatin, 2007). The recruitment agency does not pay attention to the migrant workers' need to understand the environment in the host country, and does not provide training or adequate materials to explain what the migrant worker can expect in the host country. Migrant workers therefore have a lack of understanding about the different practices and daily habits of their employers. Domestic workers, in particular, face difficulties in adapting to the host family. This lack of awareness is compounded by the language barriers which make it difficult for migrant workers to communicate with the employer.

Fourth, migrant workers face an economic burden in the pre-employment phase as they need to pay a high recruitment fee (Andrevski & Lyneham, 2014). In most cases, the agency pays the migrant workers' travel costs which the migrant workers then need to repay as a loan to the agency. In other cases, the migrant workers borrow money from a bank to cover the cost of relocating, thus incurring a significant financial burden before the employment commences.

Employment phase

Researchers have found that Indonesian migrant workers face many problems in the host country (Andrevski & Lyneham, 2014; Kennedy, 2012; Loveband, 2004; Prihatin, 2007; Wa Ode Nirmala, 2011). Among the many problems, four issues are highlighted in the literature as the main problems.

First, Indonesian migrant workers are often employed in a job which is different to the one stated in the job contract (Andrevski & Lyneham, 2014; Kennedy, 2012; Loveband, 2004; Prihatin, 2007). Migrants who work as domestic workers and caretakers are often requested to perform some other role, such as agricultural work or helping the employee to run a small business. This amounts to double exploitation in the workplace. Although they work in multiple jobs, they still get a low wage.

Second, many migrant workers experience sexual abuse, violence and discrimination (Andrevski & Lyneham, 2014; Kennedy, 2012; Loveband, 2004; Prihatin, 2007). Domestic workers work and live with their host family. In this situation, the host family as the employer has more power to control and monitor the worker's activities. Consequently, migrant workers have little power to deal with sexual harassment or abuse in the host family. They also tend to remain silent when the employer mistreats them, for example by providing insufficient food and water.

Third, migrant workers are not adequately covered by labour law (Andrevski & Lyneham, 2014; Kennedy, 2012; Prihatin, 2007). Domestic roles are grouped as informal jobs which are not covered in the labour laws of many host governments (Smales, 2011). Consequently, migrant workers experience various cases of exploitation, such as the employer breaking the job contract without paying the penalty to the worker.

Fourth, many migrant workers experience a lack of psychological wellbeing (Kennedy, 2012; Loveband, 2004). Indonesian migrant workers tend to keep silent when they are exploited by the employer. They do not protest the employer's exploitation and abuse. They lack self-confidence and self-efficacy in dealing with the employer. In addition, they experience loneliness as they have limited opportunities to interact with the outside world (Kennedy, 2012; Loveband, 2004; Minu, 2011). Domestic workers usually live with the employer and are restricted in their ability to go to public areas. This situation makes migrant workers feel

disconnected with the social environment. Living with the employer also makes them feel stressed as the employer has more power to control them.

Post-employment phase

At the completion of the employment, Indonesian migrant workers still experience problems when they return to Indonesia (Kloppenburger & Peters, 2012). They face the financial burden of expensive travel costs and currency exchange fees (Kloppenburger & Peters, 2012). In some cases, migrant workers have been required to make extra payments to the recruitment agency for the release of their immigration documents (Prihatin, 2007).

2.2.4 Social Networks and Migration

Most Indonesian migrant workers come from rural areas with a strong sense of community life. They share resources and support each other. Good relationships are enjoyed among most members of the community. They also actively participate in the community activities. In addition, community life in many rural areas in Indonesia is characterised by patron-client relationships.

The mobility of Indonesian migrant workers is influenced by the existing social network. According to Daromir (2004), migrant workers get recruitment information from members of the community, especially from respected members of the community. It is common that a respected member of the community makes the suggestion and provides the information about the migration opportunities and procedures. They also advise how to contact the recruitment agency and sometimes provide loans to the migrant workers.

Migrant workers bring their way of life in the home country to the host country. Those whose movements are not restricted by employers tend to meet and interact with members of their own community. For example, Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong visit the Victoria Park on weekends for social interaction (Constable, 2007; Ford, 2004). Indonesian migrant workers share information within their community. Hugo (2003) highlights that relationships among migrant workers are a dominant source of information and can help to minimise exploitation. The social network also serves as a source of empowering information for migrant workers (Hugo, 2003). Migrant workers access information from each other

including the migration procedures, the environment in the host country and the economic benefits of migration.

2.3 THEORIES OF ONLINE COMMUNITIES

This section discusses the extant research on online communities. The discussion begins with the definitions of online communities and the debate about how online communities are defined. Then several issues associated with online communities such as the categorisation, participation in and sustainability of online communities are discussed. Finally, this section discusses online communities in the social media context.

2.3.1 What are Online Communities?

The term “community” refers to a group of people who are tied together by several characteristics including common geographic boundaries, common interests and concerns, and common identity (Sichling, 2008). The classical concept of community refers to people who share a geographical locality such as a village which enables them to regularly meet in a common space for the purpose of discussing common problems (Bradshaw, 2008; Sichling, 2008). In other words, a community refers to a group of people who have developed social relations and cohesiveness and who share a common geographical identity. Familiarity with each other enables the members of a community to develop social relationships. They develop a common welfare agenda and take action together to break down the barriers that inhibit their common objective.

The concept of community has emerged in the post-place community where physical place plays a less important role in binding, which Bradshaw (2008) describes as follows:

Scholars find increasing evidence that the concept of community is no longer useful unless it disentangles place and the institution of place from the social relations that constitute community.

Here, Bradshaw emphasises that the essence of community refers to the social relationships which contribute to the cohesiveness among the members of the community. People can be tied together by a common interest which attracts them to develop social relationships. For example, an academic in the IS discipline in Indonesia can join a group of academics from other countries to interact and

collaborate with each other as they are tied together by a common interest in IS research. They discuss their interest, develop common objectives and break down the barrier which inhibited the objectives.

The type of communities that adopt online spaces for interaction and collaboration are referred to as online communities. According to Bradshaw (2008) and Sichling (2008), this type of community has several characteristics that distinguish it from the traditional community. First, members of the community come from across the world and their participation has no geographical boundaries. Second, members of the community adopt online interaction and rarely conduct face-to-face interaction. Third, the community members develop their social relationships within a community network.

However, scholars are still debating the most accurate description of online communities and whether communities in the online environment can be seen as communities. Scholars argue these points from various perspectives. From one point of view, social interactions and collaborations which occur in the online environment can be seen as communities as they demonstrate the important aspects of communities (Lee, 2001). Online interaction can form communities in the online environment. This view is also expressed by (Andrew Feenberg & Bakardjieva, 2004) who argue that the interaction and collaboration facilitated by Internet technology provides a new definition of interaction in communities. They argue that online interaction can be defined as a new way of interaction that constitutes a community.

The term “post-place community” is used to refer to online communities of people who meet, interact and collaborate regularly in a virtual space (de Souza & Preece, 2004; Dubé, Bourhis, & Jacob, 2006; Andrew Feenberg & Bakardjieva, 2004; Lee, 2001). The Internet allows people to interact and collaborate independently of time and place. People have their own authority and autonomy to join, and conduct various practices in online communities. They have free communications which make the Internet a place of virtual social interactions, thus demonstrating the democratic potential of the Internet (Andrew Feenberg, 2009; Andrew Feenberg & Friesen, 2012). It can be seen that the capabilities of the Internet to provide virtual places fundamentally contribute to the establishment of a new form of community, namely, the online community (Andrew Feenberg & Friesen, 2012).

Therefore, an online community can be described as a group of people who meet, interact and collaborate in an online environment. People who have similar interests meet, interact and collaborate in an online environment. They choose and set-up the online technologies which satisfy their needs to interact and collaborate. In most cases, they are tied together as a community by a common interest.

The research of online communities is an ongoing field as the applications hosting the online interaction continue to develop. The concept of online communities can be traced back to the first deployment of electronic data interchange (Plant, 2004). The technology adopted by this early type of online community was significantly different to the social media applications more recently adopted by various types of online communities. The practice of online interaction and collaboration is a new social phenomenon that attracts many scholars to explore and investigate the many related issues.

2.3.2 Categorisation of Online Communities

Scholars have grouped online communities to differentiate and enhance the understanding of the concept. However, there is no single categorisation of online communities as scholars develop the categorisations from various perspectives. Plant (2004), for example, categorises online communities based on how the community develops its internal regulation, the nature of the membership and the members' involvement in profit activities.

There are two different groups of online communities based on their internal regulation. The first is an unregulated community. This type of community usually starts when a group of Internet users interact with an Internet site. There is no facilitator who leads the community. The emerging function of hashtags in social media applications is able to facilitate this type of community. People who have a similar interest to discuss a topic can interact together with this function. For example, a popular campaign in Indonesia in 2015 is the “#savekpk” campaign, referring to community efforts to protect the Corruption Eradication Commission from political interference. People who are interested in the movement can interact by using the tagline in social media applications such as Twitter and Facebook. The second type of online community is the regulated community. This type of community has a leader and a code of conduct which must be followed by all users. Online groups on Facebook and mailing lists usually are regulated communities, for

example, the online group called “ATKI Taiwan” is the Facebook group organised by the Indonesian Migrant Workers Union. In regulated groups, the code of conduct has been sent to all members.

The nature of the membership of online community is grouped into two types. The first type is an open community. There is no requirement to apply to become a member. People can simply click and join the community. The second type is a closed community. This type of community requires the applicants to satisfy some requirements before their membership application is approved.

On the basis of the community activities, online communities can be grouped into two types. The first type is the not-for-profit online community. This type of community does not allow its members to conduct commercial activities within the community (e.g. the ATKI Taiwan Facebook group). These communities do not allow the users to promote a product or engage in any other type of profit-making activity within the online community space. The second type is the for-profit community. Members understand that this type of community aims to facilitate various commercial activities (e.g. the eBay community).

Another categorisation was developed by Porter (2004) to categorise online communities based on establishment type and relationship orientation. Porter focuses on several attributes that are useful in gaining an enhanced understanding of online communities, including the extent of the technology, design of the interaction, purpose, population and profit model. Porter claims that his proposed categorisation of online communities is useful for researchers from various disciplinary perspectives.

The extent of the technology refers to whether or not the technology mediates the members’ interaction by providing a space for them to meet, interact and collaborate (Porter, 2004). Social media can be seen as one type of technology which is able to facilitate interaction among community members. For example, Facebook is a social network application that enables users to create an online group.

Design of the interaction refers to the capability of the technology to facilitate the communication among community members. Synchronous communication works like a conversation where participants communicate in real time. Asynchronous communication takes place outside of real time so that there is a lag between the sender and receiver. Hybrid communication is a combination of synchronous and asynchronous communication.

Population refers to the pattern of interactions among the members of an online community. This typology provides three groups of online community. The first is an online community as a computer-supported social network in which strong social ties characterise the community members' relationships. Second is a small group with limited membership. The members are highly interactive during a session. The third type is the virtual public online community where there are various levels of bonding among large numbers of community members, including strong, weak and stressful ties.

Online communities are also categorised by Porter (2004) based on the community's economic model or revenue generation. There are three types of online communities that generate revenue. The first type hosts various types of communities and earns revenue from advertisements. The second type is a trading or sharing community which facilitates the exchange of products or services among community members. The third type is a community which uses its own website to generate revenue and facilitate interactions.

The purpose of interaction refers to the discourse focus of the community members (Porter, 2004). This typology of online communities uses the content created by online community members as the foundation for community categorisation.

2.3.3 Participation in Online Communities

Participation refers to the members' degree of involvement in online community activities. The literature describes participation in online communities from various perspectives. Bishop (2007) proposes a model to describe participation in three levels. Level 1 means that community members are involved through socialisation and communication. Level 2 means that community members are involved in community actions. In this level, members have the capability to decide whether or not to take actions in the online environment based on their cognition. In Level 3, members of the community have the capability to develop meaningful interactions in the online environment.

Participation in online communities also can be categorised based on the degree of textual information posted in the community (Chiu, Yang, Liang, & Chen, 2010). This categorisation requires an analysis of the content, leading to the

categorisation of the participation as: less contributing, coordination emphasising, communicative or task-oriented.

There is an ongoing debate about what factors influence participation in online communities. Drawing on commitment theory, Bateman, Gray and Butler (2011) state that commitment influences the participation of community members in reading threads, replying to posts and moderating discussions.. Ridings and Gefen (2004) argue that the main motivation behind participation in online communities is the desire to be involved in information exchange activities. They also state that the participation of community members is influenced by several factors including the desire to offer and seek social support and the need for friendship. Preece et al. (2004) explored the reasons behind lurking behaviours in online communities. They found that the main reason was the members' perception that their needs were being met by reading and browsing so there was no need to post. The secondary reason was that members' felt the need to become more familiar with the group before participating. Other reasons were their perception that lurking was helpful for others, their limited ability to use the technology and their opinion that the online community's interactions were not relevant to them.

2.3.4 Sustainability of Online Communities

The endurance of online interactions among community members can be linked to the sustainability of online communities. The essence of sustainability is the continuum of interactions in the virtual place. Virtual interactions are sustained if members of the community trust each other (Hossain & Wigand, 2004). The way in which virtual interaction is organised also influences the continuity of the online communities (B. Jin, Park, & Kim, 2010). Furthermore, the dynamic of the interactions influences the sustainability of the online interaction. The social interactions among community members can attract members of the community to interact with each other (Catherine & Molly, 2010).

2.3.5 Online Communities in Online Social Media

A discussion of online communities includes an exploration of "the virtual places" where people meet, interact and collaborate with each other. A group of Internet-based applications which significantly impact on how people interact and collaborate

in the online environment is online social media. Online social media platforms enable users to create and share content such as videos and photos, develop social networks, contribute their views and voice their ideas in public spaces (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010; Kietzmann, Hermkens, McCarthy, & Silvestre; Sivek, 2010). This technology originated from the work by Tom Truscott and Jim Ellis at Duke University who created a discussion system that enabled users to publish messages. In the past decade, this technology has evolved into several models of application. In general, the technology offers a channel for discussion and networking and encourages people to commit to an online group formed by common interests. The technology has social components which are enabling people to meet, interact and collaborate.

Online social media platforms provide “a virtual place” for interaction and collaboration among people. This technology is popular for content sharing and information exchange. As of July 2011, Facebook had more than 700 million registered users, 50% of whom were active every day. Facebook users interact with each other by sharing pictures, discussing common interests and problems and voicing their ideas. A similar Internet-based application, Friendster, has registered 75 million users worldwide. YouTube has similar levels of usage, claiming that 48 hours of video are uploaded to the site every minute. Huge amounts of information are exchanged among users through the emerging technology. This technology, including online social networks such as Facebook and MySpace, blogging sites such as WordPress and Blogger, micro-blogging services such as Twitter, and video- and photo-sharing sites such as YouTube and Flickr, offers fulfilment of the need of humans to develop relationships with others (Vrasidas & Valetsianos, 2010). In general, online communities rely on emerging Internet technologies which allow people to interact and collaborate. This technology also provides easy ways to generate content.

2.4 THEORIES OF EMPOWERMENT

This section discusses the concept of empowerment. The first part of the discussion looks at the definition of empowerment, highlighting the description of empowerment processes at the individual level and community level of analysis. The

next part of the discussion looks at empowerment in online community context, followed by a discussion of empowerment in the migrant worker setting.

2.4.1 Introducing the Concept of Empowerment

The concept of empowerment has been widely adopted in management science, migration studies and is also popular in community psychology (Bartunek & Spreitzer, 2006; Julian Rappaport, 1987). In general, the syntax of empowerment is closely related to giving power to people to gain their objectives, break down barriers and take actions towards changes (Bartunek & Spreitzer, 2006; Hennink et al., 2012; K. W. Thomas & Velthouse, 1990). However, empowerment is defined in different ways depending on the perspective of the scholars who investigate the phenomenon as well as the context and setting of the community being investigated. Thus, there is no agreed-upon definition of empowerment as differences in community settings influence how scientists define the meaning of the term (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Julian Rappaport, 1987; Tengland, 2008; Zimmerman, 1995).

In general, empowerment can be described as the processes contributing to the capabilities of an individual, organisation or community to achieve better wellbeing, break down barriers and take actions towards changes. Empowerment can be assessed at the level of the individual, organisation and community and in the wider societal context (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Rappaport, 1987; Tengland, 2008; Zimmerman, 1995).

At the individual level, empowerment refers to processes which manifest in the enhanced wellbeing of individuals and enable them to enjoy a better quality of life. The literature shows that various practices contribute to empowerment at the individual level such as learning to acquire knowledge and skills and interacting with experts on a specific topic. These practices can contribute to the psychological wellbeing of individuals as well as their possession of knowledge and enhancement of their critical thinking skills. An empowered individual is an individual who has power to take control over their life, determine their objectives, break down barriers and take actions to achieve better wellbeing. Several constructs can be adapted to assess empowerment at the individual level including psychological aspects, knowledge and skills (Kroecker, 1995; Zimmerman, 1995). An empowered individual has personal competencies including the skills and knowledge necessary to reach

their objectives and to control their life in a complex environment (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; J. Rappaport, 1981). Kroecker (1995) defined personal empowerment as the capacity of an individual to achieve economic opportunities. The foundation of individual empowerment is the capacity of individuals to participate and collaborate with others in a community setting to achieve better wellbeing (Zimmerman, 1995). This definition plays an important role as a fundamental element of other levels of analyses (Zimmerman, 1995).

Empowerment at the community level refers to processes that enhance the capability of a community to break down common barriers, take actions towards changes and reach their common welfare agenda (Adamson, 2010). These processes are manifested in various community-based approaches to solve common social problems such as drug prevention (Fawcett, Paine-Andrews, Francisco, & Schultz, 1995), economic advancement and support for people with a disability (Fawcett et al., 1995; Maton & Salem, 1995). The collaborative process in a community setting supports the processes of empowerment. The collaborative process refers to sharing resources among community members to reach their common objective such as sharing neighbourhoods, workplaces and experiences among people who live in a community.

The processes of empowerment in a community setting face various barriers which influence meaningful member participation (Adamson, 2010), such as issues of community capacity, institutional capacity, organisational cultures and regulatory frameworks (Dave, 2010). However, the process to empower a community can be driven by several factors such as the positive motivation of the members, economic and social support from the members and the vision of talented and inspired leaders (Maton & Salem, 1995). An empowered community can be seen as a group of empowered individuals who interact and collaborate with each other to reach their common welfare agenda.

In conclusion, the concept of empowerment has been elaborated in various processes which work to help individuals and communities to achieve better wellbeing, break down barriers and take actions towards changes. It can be seen that the processes depend on contexts and settings. Therefore, empowerment processes need to be contextualised as different contexts and settings need different processes of empowerment.

The context of empowerment influences how the empowerment concept is defined and how empowerment is implemented in a particular setting. The important points are that empowerment emphasises the importance of people as complete human beings in social networking (J. Rappaport, 1981). In other words, the empowerment concept has its roots in social interaction and collaboration among people. In general, individual empowerment is closely related to the personal growth of people, whereas empowerment in a community setting is connected with community development processes and outcomes. The definition of empowerment at an individual level is important as it serves as a fundamental element for empowerment at different levels of analysis.

2.4.2 Understanding Empowerment in the Online Community Context

This section discusses how empowerment processes work in the online community context. In particular, this section discusses the processes to empower individuals and communities through online communities.

Online communities provide a habitat for interactions and collaborations among individuals in a community setting. This facilitates the processes of empowerment both for the individual and the community. Online communities are virtual spaces where people meet, interact and collaborate independently of time and place. Users of online communities have some authority and autonomy for conducting practices, which potentially relates to their personal and community development.

This phenomenon has attracted scholars to investigate the processes of empowerment in the online community context. For hearing-impaired adolescents, for example, online communities provide an egalitarian space for interactions and a safe and comfortable zone for socialising (Barak & Sadovsky, 2008). Online communities foster the psychological wellbeing of users who actively participate in the online interactions and collaborations. These practices enhance people's coping strategies, which can be seen as a form of psychological empowerment (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Barak, Boniel-Nissim, & Suler, 2008). Online communities help members to overcome feelings of inhibition when interacting with others (Broom, 2005). For this reason, the online environment provides a useful socialising channel for people with a disability (Barak & Sadovsky, 2008). In the education

sector, online collaborations enhance the delivery and acquisition of knowledge among students and teachers (Ravid et al., 2008).

Interaction and collaboration in online environment are particularly positive from the health care perspective. Participation potentially empowers sufferers who join the online environment. Online communities help people suffering from disease or illness to interact with others, share their experiences and release their negative feelings both for active participants (C. F. van Uden-Kraan et al., 2009) and lurkers (Cornelia F. van Uden-Kraan, Drossaert, Taal, Seydel, & van de Laar, 2008). Several studies have shown that empathic support and information exchange online may strengthen the self-efficacy of sufferers (Cornelia F. van Uden-Kraan, Drossaert, Taal, Seydel, et al., 2008; C. F. van Uden-Kraan et al., 2009; Cornelia F. van Uden-Kraan, Drossaert, Taal, Shaw, et al., 2008). Online support groups also play important roles in providing information related to the treatment and healing processes (Pitts, 2004; Sharf, 1997). In this setting, it can be seen that online community participation potentially provides empowerment experiences for members.

The concept of empowerment in online communities shows that the processes of interaction and collaboration are influenced by the characteristics of online communities. For example, anonymity in an online community has been shown to enhance the social skills of people with disabilities and illness (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Barak & Sadovsky, 2008; C. F. van Uden-Kraan et al., 2009). Anonymity also helps groups of people from opposing sides to engage in dialogue during a conflict (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). In the education sector, writing collaboration tools embedded in an online community can empower teachers and students through online collaboration, for example through writing together on a topic (Ravid et al., 2008).

From the perspective of empowerment, interaction and collaboration in online communities potentially offer powerful processes of empowerment for members. The anonymity of online interactions provides non-threatening workshops which are beneficial to adolescents for developing self-identity (Amichai-Hamburger, McKenna & Tal, 2008). In an online environment, online interactions also enable individuals to easily interact with wide audiences, including experts, to acquire knowledge and skills that meet their needs (Ngoctran, 2011). However, the empowering process in the online environment is ineffective when the information

provided does not satisfy the users' needs or the user does not recognise the information as useful(Tina et al., 2006) .

Online communities also empower the community as a whole in various ways such as providing the opportunity for individuals to meet with similar others, strengthening the group, ensuring diversity in community decision-making and developing a common vision (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). In the online environment, people can easily meet others who have similar interests, then develop collaboration and meaningful interaction ("UN: Delegates underscore importance of empowering women, migrants as Second Committee takes up sustainable development, international economic cooperation speakers also emphasize economic potential of women, vital role of remittances -- Part 2 of 2: 1," 2003). In addition, the capability of online communities to gather and distribute meaningful content for wide audiences supports the cohesiveness of the group, supporting virtual teams and benefiting the process of building community vision (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). These characteristics potentially provide positive influences on how people gain control over their life, which can be viewed as empowerment concept. From this perspective, online communities play an important role in the empowerment process for groups of people. In addition, several characteristics of online interaction and collaboration—such as the speed of information distribution, variety of content exchanged and the geographically dispersed location of members—enable individuals to gain power from personal growth as a result of valuable experiences in the online environment. This virtual place also provides a safe place for conducting critical thinking and accessing knowledge in discussion forums (Barak & Sadovsky, 2008). Furthermore, interaction and collaboration among individuals in the online environment contribute to the wider context of empowerment such as collective action to support issues and voice political aspirations (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008).

In conclusion, it can be seen that various processes of empowerment occur in the online community context. The characteristics of empowerment processes in online communities are different to the characteristics of empowerment processes in the offline environment, and these characteristics influence how the processes of empowerment operate in the online environment.

2.4.3 Introducing Migrant Empowerment

Globalisation is characterised by the liberalisation of trade and the transnational movement of people for economic reasons from poor countries to wealthy countries. The source countries of migrant workers include Indonesia, the Philippines and Bangladesh (Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005). For example, the total number of Filipinos working overseas increased from 6 million in 1995 to 7.38 million in 2000 (Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005). Most migrant workers are recruited to fill skilled jobs (e.g. teachers and nurses) and low-skilled jobs (e.g. domestic workers, caregivers and factory workers).

Migration processes and problems are becoming more complex. This hampers various efforts to empower migrant workers, especially to empower migrant workers regarding their rights and welfare. Empowerment of migrant workers means developing the capacity of migrant workers to deal with migration and employment-related problems from pre-departure, during employment and after returning to the home country (Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005; UNIFEM, 2009; "Using Indonesian Laws to Protect and Empower Indonesian Migrant Workers: Several lessons from the Philippine," 2006). The processes of empowering migrant workers aim to enhance the capability of migrant workers to defend their rights, conduct self-protection and advance their interests.

Empowerment for migrant workers can be viewed from two levels, namely, the individual level and community level. Empowering migrant workers at the individual level refers to the processes for enhancing migrant workers' ability to better understand their rights as employees and to demand equal treatment as human beings (Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005; UNIFEM, 2009; "Using Indonesian Laws to Protect and Empower Indonesian Migrant Workers: Several lessons from the Philippine," 2006). Providing migrant workers with access to information potentially enhances their capability to acquire knowledge and skills regarding their welfare rights (Richel, 2003). In addition, the participation of migrant workers in community organisations helps them to build social networks, which, in turn, enhances their understanding of their rights (Hugo, 2003). Migrant workers' awareness of the surrounding social environment and challenges in the host country are potentially enhanced by their involvement in community organisations. Online communities also provide a space for migrant workers to access and learn about political issues and social justice

("UN: Delegates underscore importance of empowering women, migrants as Second Committee takes up sustainable development, international economic cooperation speakers also emphasize economic potential of women, vital role of remittances -- Part 2 of 2: 1," 2003). Furthermore, the processes of empowering migrant workers can be facilitated by providing a space for channelling information about opportunities, functionalities and capability (Briones, 2009). Community and social networks provide access to such resources, which is viewed as beneficial in empowering migrant workers at the individual level (Hugo, 2003).

Empowerment for migrant workers at the community level refers to the processes to enhance the capability of migrant workers to unite and organise to deal with the common welfare agenda (Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005). Migrant workers can voice their views through activities such as community magazines (Kama, 2008), blogs and online forums. This kind of medium enables migrant workers to voice their views, provides a space for discussion, and develops the community vision.

2.5 MIGRANT EMPOWERMENT IN ONLINE COMMUNITIES: TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL MODEL

This section is adapted from the researcher's earlier work (Wijaya, (2014) which proposed a conceptual model of migrant domestic worker empowerment in online communities. This model describes how migrant domestic workers' empowerment processes work in the online community context. Specifically, this model explains the relationship between online practices and their outcomes. This section begins with a description of empowerment within the online community context. This section is followed by a discussion of several online practices which are perceived to empower migrant domestic workers. Finally, this section ends with a discussion about outcomes which are assessed from the individual and community level. Figure 2.1 presents the proposed conceptual model of migrant worker empowerment in online communities at the individual level and community level, respectively.

A conceptual model is derived from theory; therefore, the development of the model proposed in this study was based on an analysis of the literature review (Jonker & Pennink, 2009). This method was executed in the following steps:

- The researcher gathered the relevant literature from various journals, conferences and government reports. The researcher searched the literature through university library websites and Google Scholar. The

keywords included: online communities, empowerment, migrant, TKI, Indonesian migrant workers, migrant workers' collective actions, migrant worker empowerment, and online collective actions.

- The researcher read and reviewed the literature to reach a better understanding about the available data.
- The researcher conducted manual coding, created codes and then developed categories.
- The researcher developed abstraction to reach better understanding about the phenomenon, and then constructed the relationships between the categories. Finally, the conceptual model was constructed.

The conceptual model of migrant domestic worker empowerment in online communities is presented in Figure 2.1. The processes of empowerment are described as online practices and their resulting outcomes. The left side of the figure illustrates a group of online practices which are related to a group of outcomes. Every arrow illustrates the association between online practices and their outcomes. The association means a result; therefore, the online practices result in outcomes. The model also illustrates that the outcomes can be evaluated from the individual perspective and the community perspective. The constructs and associations are explained in detail in Sections 2.5.2. and 2.5.3.

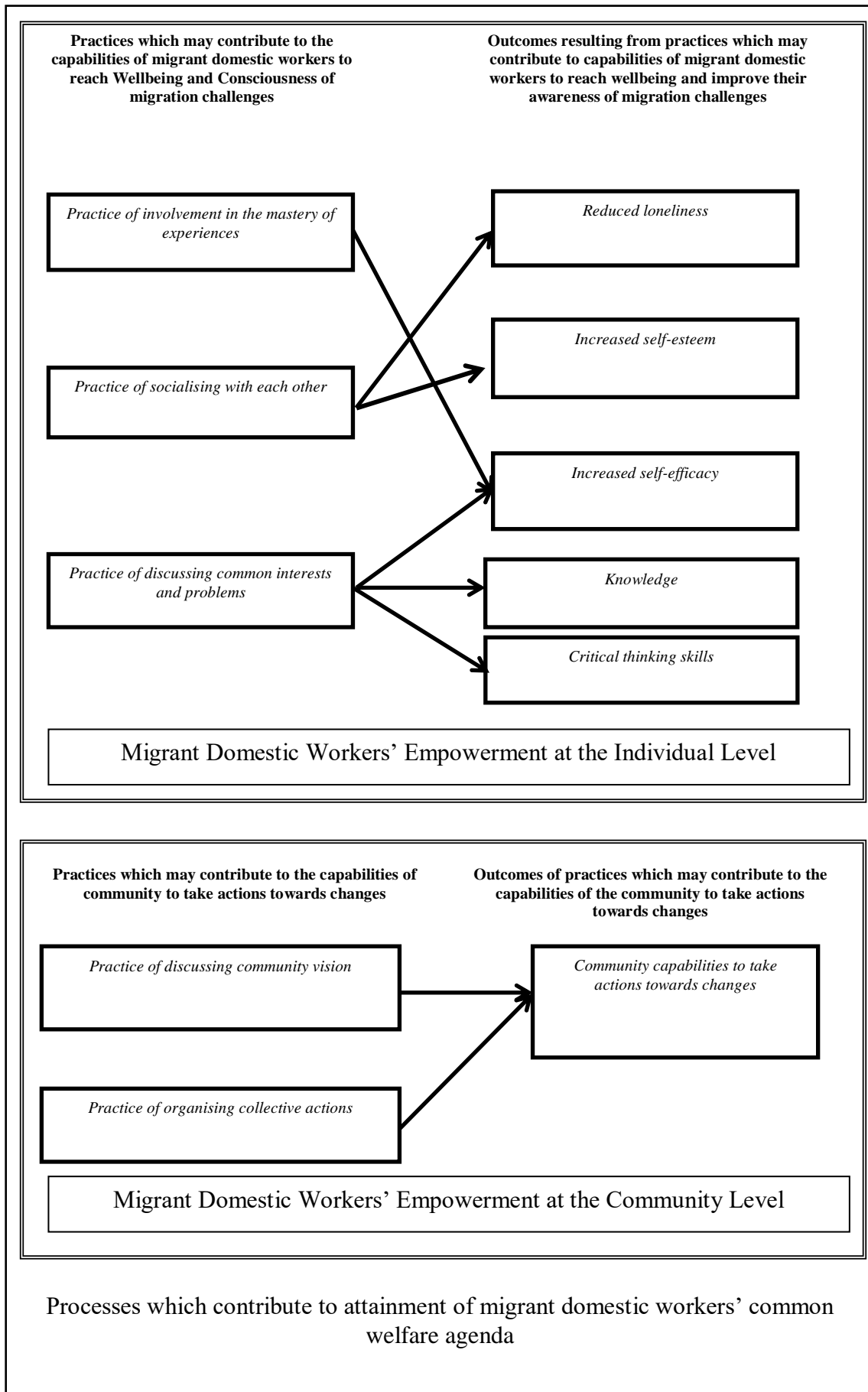


Figure 2-1: Conceptual model of migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities (Adapted from Wijaya et al. (2014))

2.5.1 Description of Migrant Domestic Workers' Empowerment Processes in Online Communities

The literature shows that migrant domestic workers experience various problems; consequently they are still struggling to attain their common welfare goals (Andrevski & Lyneham, 2014; Kennedy, 2012; Prihatin, 2007; Silvey, 2004; Wa Ode Nirmala, 2011). The migrant domestic workers' common welfare agenda can be described as an ideal condition in which migrant domestic workers do not experience abuse and exploitation starting with the process of recruitment, in the employment phase and until they return to their home country. This ideal condition requires established protection systems for migrant domestic workers (Andrevski & Lyneham, 2014; Daromir, 2004; Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005; Wa Ode Nirmala, 2011). In addition, all of the parties involved in the process of migration and employment need to treat migrant domestic workers as human beings with basic human and labour rights (Wa Ode Nirmala, 2011). On their part, migrant domestic workers need to enhance their capabilities to control their life through raising their awareness of migration challenges (Daromir, 2004; Hugo, 2003; Kloppenburg & Peters, 2012; Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005), improving their self-efficacy and self-esteem and establishing better connectedness with the surrounding environment (Kennedy, 2012; Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005). Furthermore, the migrant domestic worker community needs to enhance its capabilities to respond to problems by taking actions towards changes (Kennedy, 2012; Khvorostianov, Elias, & Nimrod, 2012; Prihatin, 2007)

The processes of empowerment for migrant domestic workers can be described as a group of practices and related outcomes which relate to the capabilities of migrant domestic workers to advance their common welfare agenda. At the individual level, the processes of empowerment manifest in a group of practices and their outcomes for migrant domestic workers to attain wellbeing and raise their awareness. The wellbeing of migrant domestic workers can be evaluated by reference to various constructs which represent the feelings of happiness such as self-efficacy and self-esteem and the feeling of connectedness with the surrounding social environment. The awareness of migrant domestic workers can be evaluated from migrant domestic workers' knowledge and critical thinking skills which help them understand the cause and effects of migration. At the community level, empowerment processes are manifest as capabilities to respond to various injustices in public policy and civic problems. These capabilities enable the community to

mobilise resources for taking actions towards changes. The following paragraph discusses how online communities provide spaces which enable migrant domestic workers to conduct online practices which contribute to the processes of empowerment.

In this research, empowerment processes in online communities can be described as a series of online practices which result in empowerment outcomes. Online practices are the methods implemented in the online environment, such as maintaining contact with family and friends. Practices which are perceived to empower are practices which are perceived to relate to empowerment outcomes. Outcomes of practices can be considered empowering if they relate to the empowerment construct. For example, maintaining contact with families and friends results in reduced feelings of loneliness among migrant workers. This emotional condition contributes to the psychological wellbeing of migrant workers, which relates to psychological empowerment.

Research on migrant workers and the Internet attracts many scholars as the findings of these investigations have a special relevance (Georgiou, 2006; Komito, 2011). Migration is a challenging life event as migrant workers cope with various social, personal and physical challenges. They seek support from various sources including online sources (Chen & Choi, 2011).

The online world serves as a source of support which can be accessed independent of time and place. It is a place where migrant workers can interact with others who are geographically separated. This feature supports migrant workers who need to maintain contact with their existing social networks and families at home. In addition, online spaces can provide egalitarian interactions among net citizens (Andrew Feenberg, 2009). Egalitarian interactions are linked to the improvements of authority and autonomy for conducting practices, which contributes to the processes of migrant worker empowerment (Conger & Kanungo, 1988).

Migrant workers participate in online communities for various purposes. They provide and receive emotional support from friends and families (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012) by monitoring their profiles and conducting online interactions (Chen & Choi, 2011; Lu, 2012; Matsue, 2012). Online communities bridge the communicative relationships among family members who are geographically

separated (Benítez, 2012; M. Thomas & Lim, 2010). In addition, migrant workers conduct transnational parenting through online spaces (Malik & Kadir, 2011). Migrant workers preserve the feeling of connectedness with their home and families, which enhances their emotional wellbeing. These practices help migrant workers to be connected with their existing social networks and connections, which contributes to the maintenance of their psychological wellbeing (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012).

Online communities also provide learning spaces which enable migrant workers to build knowledge and skills. Such knowledge and skills help migrant workers to adapt to the social and economic demands in the host country (Elias & Lemish, 2009; Georgiou, 2006; Tsai, 2006). They learn various best practices from their online social networks (Tsai, 2006). They enhance their awareness of their rights (Inna & Kathrin, 2008) which contributes to their coping strategies (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012). Their awareness of rights is useful when they face problems in the host country. They also access economic knowledge and skills, helping them to adapt to the economic demands in the host country (Elias & Lemish, 2009).

Knowledge and skills empower migrant workers by contributing to their coping capabilities in host countries. Knowledge and skills enhance their ability to control their lives and achieve better wellbeing in the host country (Tengland, 2008).

Online communities also facilitate migrant worker empowerment at the community level in various ways. Online migrant worker communities organise various collective actions towards changes. The online communities provide migrant workers with a connection to the outside world and give them a space for expressing their aspirations, which can influence public policies (Smales, 2010). Migrant workers go online to mobilise social support and collective actions for others who face problems (Fitzgerald et al., 2012). They also use online spaces to urge the relevant authorities to enhance the protection of migrant workers. The capability of online communities to distribute messages to wide audiences helps migrant workers to mobilise support from anywhere in the world. Online communities empower migrant workers at the community level as they enhance the participation of migrant workers in policy-making and taking actions towards changes.

2.5.2 Online Practices Perceived to Empower Migrant Workers

Practices contributing to the wellbeing of migrant workers and migrant workers' awareness of migration challenges

Migrant domestic workers' wellbeing is described as a state in which migrant domestic workers have sufficient feelings of satisfaction with their life (Nielsen & Sendjaya, 2014). A migrant worker with good wellbeing enjoys positive emotional ties, good self-efficacy, self-esteem and positive connectedness with their surrounding environment (L. Jin, Wen, Fan, & Wang, 2012; Srivastava & Tiwari, 2013).

Migrant workers' awareness refers to the understanding and responsiveness of the surrounding environment (Tengland, 2008). Awareness is revealed in migrant workers' knowledge and critical thinking skills such as knowledge about migrant workers' rights. Migrant workers' awareness relates to empowerment as this state of understanding and responsiveness contributes to the coping capabilities and the processes to attain sense of control over migration processes. Migrant domestic workers experience various problems when they migrate to a new social environment. They need awareness about the social situation in the host country, as well as understanding their rights and applying good critical thinking skills. Their understanding about the social situation in the host country helps them to settle in the host country. Their critical thinking skills help them to view problems from various perspectives. Migrant workers' awareness about rights contributes to their ability to defend their rights when migrants experience any exploitation, abuse or violence. Migrant domestic workers with awareness of migration challenges have sufficient knowledge which contributes to their capabilities to tackle problems such as migrant rights and awareness of their surrounding environment (Nielsen & Sendjaya, 2014).

As described above (Section 2.2), migrant domestic workers experience various challenges which threaten their wellbeing. They experience a financial burden as they need to pay migration fees. The fees are expensive relative to their wages; consequently, they need to take bank loans, sell their property or have the fee deducted from their salary over a period of time. Then, after arriving in the host country, they must live with the employer who is able to monitor and supervise them at all times. They are often overloaded with excessive working hours for a low wage. Consequently, they have limited opportunities to interact with the outside world. In addition, they are usually not covered by the local labour laws so they have little protection from the authorities. When they return back to Indonesia, they also experience various problems such as interrogation by immigration authorities.

Some online practices are perceived to contribute to the capabilities of migrant domestic workers to attain wellbeing (Srivastava & Tiwari, 2013) and increase their awareness of migrant challenges:

The practice of engaging in the mastery of their experiences – Mastery of experiences can be described as practices which aim to attain a feeling of success in conducting difficult tasks. Online communities provide less threatening spaces for conducting various tasks; for instance, a domestic worker who was a victim of sexual abuse can engage in a self-defence program which is specifically tailored to teach them how to tackle such a situation in the workplace in the future. Participating in activities and programs which encourage a mastery of experience increases the feeling of confidence to tackle a problem, which in turn strengthens self-efficacy (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Bandura, 1986; X.-L. Jin, Zhou, Lee, & Cheung, 2013).

The practice of socialising with each other: Online socialising describes practices to maintain and develop the feeling of connectedness with others. Online environments can provide a space in which migrant workers maintain their relationships with family and friends and develop social networks (Tsai, 2006). They can conduct passive monitoring through reading friends' and family members' profiles (Komito, 2011), respond to their online statuses, send them greetings on special occasions, and contact them safely. Migrant domestic workers also conduct transnational parenting (Malik & Kadir, 2011) through online communities. As domestic workers have limited opportunities to interact with the outside world, online communities provide them a space for maintaining communicative relationships with family and friends which can be accessed independently of time and space (Minu, 2011). Migrant domestic workers tend to rely on online interactions to maintain their relationship with others and develop social networks (Minu, 2011). This practice can enhance the feeling of connectedness with the surrounding environment (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012; Tsai, 2006). In other words, socialising with others through online communities reduces the feeling of loneliness among migrant domestic workers as they often experience isolation in their workplace.

The practice of discussing common interests and problems – Migrant domestic workers can discuss common interests and problems from multiple perspectives by critiquing, reflecting on and viewing a certain topic (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Buffington, 2004) such as political issues (Inna & Kathrin, 2008; Kissau, 2012). They can also adopt the online communities to learn coping strategies from others and then model the coping strategies to fit the problem they face themselves (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). Migrant domestic workers can access the online communities to acquire knowledge of how others have adapted to the new environment in the host country (Khvorostianov et al., 2012). They can access knowledge from other domestic workers and from experts about how to adapt to life in a country with higher costs of living (Elias & Lemish, 2009; Tsai, 2006) which enhances their economic skills and knowledge. In addition, participation in online communities enables migrant domestic workers to acquire knowledge about migrant workers' issues and rights especially their political rights (Kissau, 2012). This practice can enhance their ability to view a topic from multiple perspectives, which is linked to their development of skills and knowledge (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). This practice also enhances their feeling of confidence to tackle a problem as they feel they have sufficient knowledge and skills (Cummings & O'Neil, 2015).

Practices contributing to the strengthening of the migrant workers' community response to civic problems

Some online practices enhance the ability of the migrant worker community to address common problems (Adamson, 2010). These practices include the various processes that implement community development values within the empowerment processes such as enhancing their organisational capacity and enhancing their participation in political issues and public policy-making. Practices that contribute to strengthening migrant worker communities' capabilities to take actions towards changes are as follows:

The practice of discussing a community vision – Leaders of the migrant worker community can support the community members to achieve their goals, express the community's goals and objectives and stimulate intellectual discussion (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Avolio, Sosik, Kahai, & Baker, 2014). The communication

of community goals can be performed by evaluating what has been achieved by the community and what needs to be done to achieve the future objectives of the community (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Avolio, Sosik, Kahai & Baker, 2014). Leaders of the online community are usually the dominant members who initiate and lead the discussions. Discussing the community vision positively influences the capability of the community to take action together (Cummings & O'Neil, 2015; Walvoord, Redden, Elliott, & Coovert, 2008). This practice enables the community to understand the strengths and weaknesses of the community, which helps them to formulate the best tactics to take actions towards changes. Discussing the community vision through the online environment also enhances the coordination amongst community members in conducting actions (Walvoord et al., 2008), which improves their capability to take actions towards changes.

The practice of organising collective actions – Online communities enable the migrant worker community to carry out the steps necessary to prepare and execute collective actions. A collective action can be described as an action taken together by community members to achieve a common goal (Kelly Garrett, 2006; Neumayer & Raffl, 2008; Segerberg & Bennett, 2011). The literature shows that online communities facilitate the preparation of collective actions by providing an effective and convenient way to distribute learning materials about the aims and objectives of the collective actions, improve the level of participation in the action among the community members (Kelly Garrett, 2006; Neumayer & Raffl, 2008; Segerberg & Bennett, 2011) and mobilise resources (Kissau, 2012; Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005). Online communities then facilitate the execution of the collective actions by voicing the community's political aspirations to the relevant authority and connecting online protests to offline protests (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Kelly Garrett, 2006; Neumayer & Raffl, 2008; Segerberg & Bennett, 2011). This practice also enhances the capabilities of the migrant worker community to take actions towards changes (Smales, 2011). For example, migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong successfully influenced public policy through a massive online campaign on Facebook (Smales, 2011). Online spaces provide migrant domestic workers with a new opportunity to represent their community and voice the community's aspirations to wide audiences, which improves the public support for their aspirations (Cummings & O'Neil, 2015; Fitzgerald et al., 2012; Lim, 2013; Nugroho, 2011).

2.5.3 Empowerment Outcomes

Empowerment outcomes refer to a group of consequences as a result of empowerment practices (Tengland, 2008; Zimmerman, 1995). These outcomes are linked to the goals of empowerment such as increased ability to cope with migration and employment-related problems, better wellbeing and the ability to take actions towards changes. Empowerment outcomes should relate to locally relevant measurements. The outcomes can be assessed both from the individual perspective and community perspective.

Empowerment Outcomes at the Individual Level

Empowerment outcomes at the individual level refer to the consequences of empowerment practices which are assessed from the individual perspective. At the individual level of analysis, empowerment can be seen as processes which enhance the ability of migrant workers to take control over their life. These processes will help individual migrant workers to cope with their daily problems, respond to migration and employment-related problem and achieve better wellbeing (Krummel, 2012; Ofreño & Samonte, 2005). These processes take place in the interaction and collaboration among people which can enhance the capabilities of individuals in economic security, critical thinking skills and several psychological constructs such as self-esteem, self-efficacy and competence (Tengland, 2008).

Outcomes resulting from practices which may contribute to the wellbeing of migrant workers

The following outcomes are the result of practices to enhance the wellbeing of migrant workers:

Reduced loneliness refers to a sufficient feeling of connectedness with family, friends and the surrounding social environment. Migrant workers' interaction with others through online communities helps to enhance their feeling of connectedness and reduces their feelings of isolation (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012; Tsai, 2006). Having a good level of connectedness with the social environment is a basic human

need which helps humans function optimally. Migrant workers who are fulfilling their basic social needs will have more power to cope with challenges.

Self-esteem refers to an attitude linked most closely to self-respect (Lecomte et al., 1999). An increase of self-esteem is linked to the ability to exercise control over life; therefore, self-esteem is linked to the ability to cope with challenges and achieve better wellbeing (Tengland, 2008). The literature shows that participating in online communities can improve the self-esteem of the users; for example, individuals have better self respect after receiving encouragement through online communities (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008) and users of online communities also have more pride after successfully conducting practices within online communities. The sense of autonomy and authority to conduct practices in online communities increases the feeling of self pride in the users (Cummings & O'Neil, 2015). People with good self-esteem have a feeling of being adequately competent and successful in coping with life's demands (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012; Tengland, 2008; Zimmerman, 1995).

Self-efficacy refers to an individual's confidence in their ability to tackle problems using their skills and knowledge (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012; Tengland, 2008; Zimmerman, 1995). Migrant workers' self-efficacy can be enhanced by their experience of successfully performing tasks in online spaces, receiving online encouragement and modelling the coping strategies of others (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). Self-efficacy is linked to people's coping abilities (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Heslin, 1999; Morton, 2013; Pellino et al., 1998).

Outcomes resulting from practices which may contribute to migrant workers' consiousness of migration challenges

The following outcomes are the result of practices to develop migrant workers' awareness of migration challenges:

Critical thinking refers to the ability to view a topic from multiple perspectives (Buffington, 2004). Online communities can provide spaces to enhance the critical thinking of members by allowing them to debate and discuss various topics (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). Migrant workers with good critical thinking skills

can provide a strong argument supported with data to back up their opinion. Good critical thinking skills are also linked to a good awareness of the social environment (Wickersham & Dooley, 2006). Critical thinking skills contribute to decision-making processes and help migrant workers to decide what to do and believe.

Knowledge refers to an awareness of certain topics. Members of online communities can acquire knowledge from the online space by reading and becoming involved in online discussions (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). Knowledge contributes to an individual's ability to control their life (Tengland, 2008). For example, migrant workers who have a good awareness of migrant workers' rights and protections have a better understanding about their rights in a job contract (Hugo, 2003).

Empowerment Outcomes at the Community Level

Empowerment outcomes at the community level can be described as the consequences of empowerment practices which can be measured from the community perspective. In other words, empowerment outcomes refer to the empowerment processes which affect the community as a whole. An empowered migrant worker community is a community that has the capability to set its own priorities, make decisions and mobilise and provide services or resources to members. This includes the capacity for advocating or providing services, developing community networks and mobilising the network to take action on certain issues (Adamson, 2010; Hennink et al., 2012). Therefore, an empowered migrant worker community means the community has the capacity to respond to migration problems and address social frustration by mobilising or providing resources (Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005). In addition, empowerment of the migrant worker community refers to the capability of the community to organise and advance a common welfare agenda (Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005).

The processes of empowering migrant workers at the community level refer to community-building processes which aim to enhance the community's power to respond to civic problems and social frustrations (Maria Bakardjieva, 2009). In other words, the processes of empowerment at the community level refer to the capabilities of the community to take actions towards changes. The online community can provide a safe habitat for migrant workers to conduct several empowerment

processes and build the cohesiveness of the community. Furthermore, an online community can facilitate the development of community networks, the advocacy for protections and resources and collective actions (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012).

The community's capabilities to take actions towards changes – This outcome refers to the capabilities of the community to positively demand that policy-makers accommodate their needs and aspirations (Eleni & Sakine, 2009; Fitzgerald et al., 2012; Kissau, 2012). In online spaces, the migrant worker community can organise support from a wide audience which can help to put pressure on policy-makers to take action. They can mobilise their social network for advocating certain issues and organise collective actions. This outcome is also linked to the community's capabilities to set a common welfare agenda (Eleni & Sakine, 2009; Fitzgerald et al., 2012; Ofreneo & Samonte, 2005). Migrant worker communities can discuss their community objectives democratically, which results in community awareness about the future objectives of the community and what the community must do to reach the objective.

2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The literature shows that the types of empowerment processes depend on the context and setting (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; J. Rappaport, 1981; Tengland, 2008; Zimmerman, 1995). For example, youth empowerment processes aim to enhance the capabilities of youth to make decisions (Morton, 2013), academic empowerment aims to empower teachers and students in the aspects of knowledge and critical thinking skills (Margot, Maree, & Jing, 2012). Empowering people in a mutual help organisation also has different goals, such as enhancing individuals' psychological wellbeing (Zimmerman, 1995).

The concept of empowerment is rapidly emerging in the Internet context, especially in regard to online communities. In this context, the term "empowerment" has special relevance for migrant workers (Georgiou, 2006; Komito, 2011). The capability of online communities to bridge the interactions among people who are geographically separated helps migrant workers to participate in the process of self and community development. These processes are the foundation of empowerment (Andrew Feenberg, 2009). In addition, the egalitarian and democratic aspects of online communities have special links to the capacity-building of underrepresented

communities, such as low-skilled migrant workers, enabling them to participate in public policy-making. Through online communities, they can voice their aspirations, mobilise support and organise collective actions towards changes (Georgiou, 2006; Smales, 2011).

The concept of empowerment has been adopted in online community research (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; M. Bakardjieva, 2005; Barak et al., 2008; Walvoord et al., 2008). The literature shows that empowerment processes in the online community context operate differently depending on the targeted group that needs to be empowered. The literature includes a focus on the processes of empowerment in online communities for adolescents (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Barak & Sadovsky, 2008). Another research stream focuses on how the online environment can empower students and teachers in higher education (Ravid et al., 2008). Likewise, research on online communities in the health sector shows that online participation can empower patients and enhance their relationship with medical personnel (Broom, 2005; Høybye, Johansen, & Tjørnhøj-Thomsen, 2005; Pitts, 2004; Sharf, 1997; Cornelia F. van Uden-Kraan, Drossaert, Taal, Seydel, et al., 2008; C. F. van Uden-Kraan et al., 2009; Cornelia F. van Uden-Kraan, Drossaert, Taal, Shaw, et al., 2008). Harrison, Waite and Hunter (2006) explored the empowerment processes and outcomes in an online environment for pensioners.

Empowerment processes for migrant workers and their communities operate differently to the empowerment processes for other groups. Research on the empowerment processes for migrant worker communities is growing, but a research gap exists on the ways in which empowerment processes operate for migrant domestic workers, in particular the processes that empower specific migrant worker communities such as migrant domestic workers. In addition, empowerment research needs to employ an appropriate methodology which is able to reveal the contextualisation of empowerment processes, such as ethnography.

The following chapter discusses the research design. This includes the epistemology and theoretical perspective which laid the foundation for the selection of the methodology.

Chapter 3: Research Design

3.1 CHAPTER PREVIEW

This main purpose of this study is to investigate the processes of empowerment of Indonesian migrant domestic workers in online communities. Following the research purpose, the research questions were presented in Chapter 1. This chapter discusses the research design that was selected to answer the research questions.

This chapter explains and justifies the research approaches which began by describing how epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology and method inform each other. Then, the chapter discusses the methodology, starting by discussing the ethnographic approach and what and why virtual ethnography fits the research objective. The next section presents the processes involved in the data collection. The data collection methods consisted of pre-online observation, online observation and interviews. Then, the chapter discusses how data analysis was conducted. This section is followed by a brief explanation of the trustworthiness of this study's results. Then, the chapter ends with a discussion of the ethical issues in virtual ethnography as adapted from Wijaya et al. (2013).

3.2 EPISTEMOLOGY AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

This section discusses the epistemological perspective and theoretical perspective employed in this research.

Epistemology refers to what knowledge is and how people can acquire knowledge (Crotty, 1998; Raskin, 2008). In this research, constructivism was employed as an epistemological perspective. There are two different perspectives of constructivism. First, personal constructivism is concerned with the idea that meaning is personally constructed (Raskin, 2008; Williamson, 2006). Second, social constructivism is the belief that people construct meaning of the real world as a result of their interaction with others in a society (Raskin, 2008; Williamson, 2006). Therefore, constructivism is the belief that meanings are constructed on an individual basis or as a result of interactions within a society.

The research conducted in this study was concerned with the meanings constructed by individuals who were influenced by their employment status and conditions and by their social interaction in online communities. The participants in this study were likely to have some shared perceptions of their need to conduct online practices and the empowering effects. Their social interactions in the community, both online and offline, were likely to influence their perceptions about the empowerment practices and outcomes which can be facilitated by the online communities. Therefore, the particular interest of this research was the shared meanings constructed by the participants, without ignoring those perceptions which were unshared.

The epistemological perspective guides a researcher in choosing the theoretical perspective (Crotty, 1998). This study applied interpretivism. Interpretivism is concerned with people's construction of meaning and experience. This theoretical perspective is a close fit with constructivism (Klein & Myers, 1999; Williamson, 2006). In this view, the meaning of the real world is the function of the individuals involved within the social interaction and the circumstances overarching the interactions. A researcher needs to interpret the construction of meaning of the participants, and then the researcher's own construction of meaning; therefore, interpretivism also allows a multiple subjective interpretation of the real world. To understand each situation and the dynamics of interactions among individuals in the community, an interpretive researcher is required to listen, see and experience the situation as the participants. Then the researcher can provide an in-depth description about the phenomenon being studied.

In the information systems discipline, interpretivism is concerned with the investigation of meaning supported by the adoption and use of online technology (Klein & Myers, 1999; Loureiro-Koechlin & Córdoba, 2012). The concern of the contemporary interpretivist researcher is increasingly focused on the phenomena that appear from social interactions in the virtual spaces provided by information systems. As part of this research stream, the present study investigated empowerment practices and related outcomes in the online community.

These epistemology and theoretical perspectives require the researcher to observe and investigate the phenomenon in a natural setting. In addition, the researcher is required to engage in the community being studied, then listen and

experience as a participant. Therefore, virtual ethnography is one of the most appropriate methodologies which can provide an investigation of empowerment in a natural setting.

3.3 METHODOLOGY: VIRTUAL ETHNOGRAPHY

This section discusses the methodology employed in this research, a virtual ethnography. A methodology is a group of processes using particular methods to reach desired outcomes. The methodology serves the role of informing the selection of data collection methods and the ways to analyse the data and write up the results. This section discusses the methodology employed in the present research. As virtual ethnography is an emerging development of traditional ethnography, then, the researcher divided this section into two discussions. First, section 3.3.1. discusses about ethnography research. This section provides a deep discussion about the description and tradition of ethnography research. Second, the researcher discusses virtual ethnography, an emerging development of traditional ethnography, in section 3.3.2. In this section, the researcher provides the description of virtual ethnography, arguments of the connection between ethnography and virtual ethnography.

3.3.1 Ethnography

Ethnography aims to provide a thick description about human culture including the everyday life and practices of an individual or a group. In order to reach this objective, an ethnographer is required to engage with the research site for a period of time. Engagement with the research site enables the ethnographer to gain a better understanding of people's practices, beliefs and opinions.

This approach is a qualitative research methodology which originated in the anthropology discipline and was then adopted in various disciplines including the information systems discipline (Myers, 1999). There are a set of principles which underpin ethnography. The first is an assumption about the nature of knowledge. In ethnographic research, the paradigm underlying this methodology is interpretivism which emphasises that cultural context is important and cannot be removed from the research process. When investigating the processes of empowerment for migrant domestic workers within online communities, the participants' beliefs and previous experiences influence how they use online communities to tackle problems and improve their wellbeing.

The second principle relates to the role of the researcher. In ethnographic research, the researcher is the principal data collection instrument. Consequently, it is impossible to bracket the influence of the researcher. Rather, ethnography makes the influence of the researcher explicit. Ethnographic researchers posit themselves as a part of the world being studied.

3.3.2 Virtual Ethnography

Virtual ethnography is a further implementation of the tradition of ethnography in the virtual world. This methodology assumes that the online world has become a "living space" for various community groups, which allows them to perform a variety of practices. Virtual ethnography focuses on investigating social phenomena in virtual spaces. This methodology can be adopted to investigate a particular social phenomenon and its consequences in detail. For example, Hine (2000) explains that an ethnographic study of the Internet can look in detail at the ways in which the use of the technology is experienced:

The researcher can investigate by engaging with the community, then listening to what happens within the online community. This method enables the researcher to experience the dynamics of the communities as participants. The researcher can capture, understand and reflect the dynamics of emerging social phenomenon during the observation. In this phase, this methodology will help to understand the way of people use the Internet in their daily lives, further it is also useful to understand the dynamic behavior of online life and its consequences to the members of the online communities closely. (Hine, 2000, p. 6)

Online observations can provide thick and rich description about the complexity of a social phenomenon and its nuances, and then deliver it as a model that can be understood by wide audiences. The researcher needs to virtually live in the community being studied in order to be able to communicate the phenomenon as an insider. In other words, the researcher needs to be a part of the community. Therefore, the most important aspect of ethnography is the requirement to do fieldwork in the research field site for a period of time. This is explained by Kozinets (2010) as follows:

It [the fieldwork] uses computer mediated communications as source of data to arrive at ethnographic understanding and representation of cultural or communal phenomenon. Therefore... practically every ethnography will extend almost naturally and organically from a basis in participant observation.

The aim of the fieldwork in online observation is to help the researcher reach a better understanding about the actors, the community and the broader context in which the online community members conduct practices. It is drawn from the tradition of ethnography which originated in the social and cultural anthropology discipline. The fieldwork can be a combination of online and offline observations. In the present study, conduct online observation was conducted.

Several aspects must be considered when conducting online fieldwork. First, the field site should fit the research interest. Therefore, a researcher needs to understand the aims of the online community being studied, and the members of the online community. The online community selected in this study was an online community hosted on Facebook and organised by the Indonesian migrant workers' community. This online community aimed to facilitate interactions and collaboration among Indonesian users of online communities. This field site matched the research objectives.

Second, assessing the online community is an essential consideration before engaging with the online community. Having a good knowledge about the norms and culture of the targeted community will be beneficial in gaining access to the community and in the conduct of purposive sampling. In this step, the researcher should meet with the gatekeeper before engaging with the online community. This step helps the researcher to be culturally accepted in the online community.

Third, the researcher should present themselves to the online community. This is an essential aspect of ethnography (Wittel, 2000). In the present study, the researcher engaged in the community for approximately five months and interacted with the participants. This involvement helps the ethnographic researcher to become an insider and tell the story from the participants' perspective. In addition, it helps a researcher to provide a thick description about the people, community and wider social context in the research site.

The object of virtual ethnography research is the topic that has been established in the research objective (Hine, 2000). The present study aimed to explore and investigate online practices which are perceived empower migrant workers; therefore, the potential themes of empowerment as suggested in the literature review guided the online observation and interviews without ignoring the unexpected or new practices conducted by the participants. The processes of virtual ethnography include

the selection of the online community, recruitment of participants, online observations and interviews. Figure 3.1 illustrates the processes undertaken in this research in three phases.

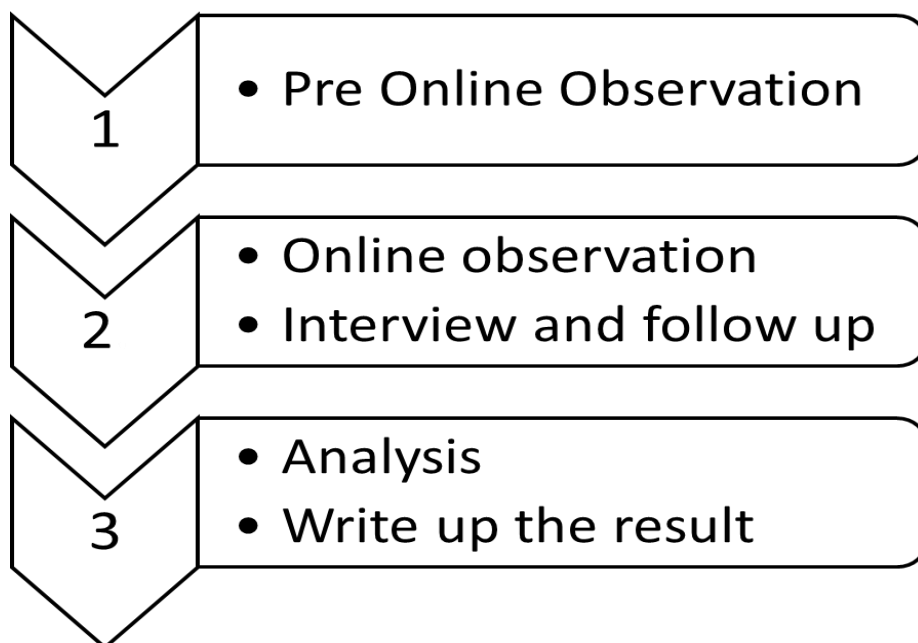


Figure 3-1: Processes in virtual ethnography

3.4 THE ROLE OF THEORY IN ETHNOGRAPHY RESEARCH

The role of theory in ethnography research varies depending on the nature of the ethnography research (Wilson & Chaddha, 2009). First, the use of ethnography research in the context of validation which integrates ethnography research and quantitative methodology aims to generate hypotheses and test the hypotheses using quantitative methods. In this type of ethnography research, theory serves role to provide theoretically derived arguments (Wilson & Chaddha, 2009). Deductive approach suits with this type of ethnography research. Second, the use of ethnography in the context of discovery aims to uncover social phenomenon in a specific context and setting. This type of ethnography research harnesses inductive approach. In this type of ethnography, theory serves role to make sense the data uncovered by the research (Wilson & Chaddha, 2009). This research aligns with the second type of ethnography research.

Therefore, the role of theory in this research is to provide a theoretical insight which guide the researcher' observation and interpretation of data. This ethnography research is a theory drive method and a reflective inductive theoretical insight. In particular, the theory in this research serves roles. First, the theory provides a better understanding about the phenomenon of empowerment within online community's context. In similar vein, the theoretical foundations provide a connection between the research and recent theoretical understanding about the phenomenon studied. Second, the theoretical foundations provide a guide for the researcher to observe the phenomenon of empowerment by providing a recent description of migrant domestic workers empowerment in online communities' context. This theoretical understanding helps the researcher to conduct an online observation and interview. Then, the theoretical foundations provide theoretical arguments to make sense the data uncovered from the filed site.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION METHOD

The aim of data collection is to gather the relevant data from the research field. This section discusses how data gathering was conducted in this research. First, this section discusses the pre-online observation which was conducted to select the research field and recruit the participants. The steps involved in selecting the research field are discussed in detail. In addition, this section discusses the recruitment strategy employed in this research. Then, this section discusses the next phase of data collection, namely, online observation. The steps involved in the online observation including the protocol and day-to-day online observations are discussed as well as the interviews.

3.5.1 Pre-Online Observation

Identification of Indonesian migrant workers' online communities

The aim of the pre-online observation phase was to find relevant online communities as potential sites for the research setting. The present study targeted a group of Indonesian migrant workers who interact with each other to discuss common interests and problems through Internet technology. In particular, the study targeted Indonesian migrant workers online communities on Facebook using two main criteria.

First, the selected online community should be well organised by an individual, union or other organisation. This criterion guided the researcher to contact several Indonesian migrant workers' online communities such as ATKI Taiwan, ATKI Hong Kong, Buruh Migran, and PILAR. Both of these were active online communities. The ATKI Taiwan Facebook was organised by the Indonesian Migrant Workers Union in Taiwan and ATKI Hong Kong was organised by the Indonesian Migrant Workers Union in Hong Kong. The PILAR Facebook group was organised by several union activists, with the aim of discussing and organising activities such as changing laws and policies that disadvantage migrant workers. The Buruh Migran website was organised by a consortium of NGOs in Indonesian, with the aim of disseminating information about Indonesian migrant workers and enabling them to voice their concerns and aspirations. The targeted members of these online spaces were predominantly low-skilled migrant workers, such as domestic workers, caregivers and factory workers.

Second, the selected online community should be accessible to the researcher. In an ethnographic study, a researcher must be able to access the community and become part of the community. In order to join the community, a researcher needs to understand the norms and rules of the community. In the present study, the researcher gathered some preliminary information about the norms and rules of the online community and contacted the gatekeepers of the targeted communities.

ATKI Taiwan was the first online community contacted by the researcher. Several steps were taken before seeking permission to conduct research in the community. First, the researcher read the description of the community on Facebook. Then the researcher contacted the leader of the community to introduce himself and start an initial conversation. The researcher explained the objectives and motivations of the study. These steps helped the researcher to be accepted as part of the online community.

The leader of the ATKI Taiwan Facebook group accepted the researcher's proposal to do research in the community and promised to support the research. She also suggested contacts in the ATKI Hong Kong online community. The researcher followed up on the contacts in ATKI Hong Kong and received permission to conduct research in that online community. The third group contacted was the Buruh Migran community, which was contacted through INFEST Yogyakarta which is the lead

NGO in the Buruh Migran. The researcher requested and received permission to access information from the group's website (www.buruhmigran.or.id). The website provides information about migrant workers which was beneficial in the data analysis process.

Recruitment strategy

The recruitment strategy aimed to identify members of the online communities who were sources of information about the processes of empowerment for migrant domestic workers. This research employed the snowball sampling technique to identify and recruit participants. There were two types of participants in this research. The first type were participants who were members of the online community and who worked as migrant domestic workers. The second type were participants who were members of the online community and who actively participated in the struggle of the Indonesian migrant domestic worker community against exploitation and discrimination. Participants were contacted through the Facebook message tool, and then a telephone or Skype communication was conducted by the researcher to ask them to voluntarily participate in the research. Details of the participants' profiles are provided in Chapter 4 (Section 4.3). In detail, the recruitment strategy was conducted as follows:

- The researcher identified himself in the online communities.
- The recruitment was conducted through two ways. First, the researcher communicated with the online community leaders about the potential participants. Then, the researcher sent an invitation letter to the potential participants who were recommended by the online community leaders. Second, the researcher identified the online community members who initiated a response to the researcher's online introduction, and sent them an invitation letter through Facebook email facility.
- After the potential participants agreed to participate, the researcher sent an informed consent form to the participants and explained the research and the relevant ethical guidelines.

The processes of online observations and interviewing commenced after the participants returned the signed consent forms.

3.5.2 Online Observation

Online observation was an essential component of the data collection method in this ethnographic study which was conducted through an engagement with the virtual research site for five months. There were several reasons for undertaking online observations. First, engagement with the research sites allowed the researcher to gain experience as an insider. The participation of the researcher in online communities was limited in order to influence the participants' online practice as little as possible; however, the researcher's online practices as an insider, such as reviewing various posts, clicking "like" and posting information, helped the researcher experience the community as an insider. This experience was essential for the researcher because it helped the researcher to reach a better understanding about the phenomenon under study from the participants' perspective.

Second, the online observation method allowed the researcher to better understand participants' online practices in a natural setting across various perspectives and over time. The researcher watched online practices, reviewed the practices and visited various links which were uploaded to the online communities. In addition, this method enabled the researcher to identify several practices conducted by members of the online community and gain important insights into the practices which potentially empower migrant domestic workers.

Third, the online observation helped to sharpen the interview processes. The field notes and data downloaded from the online communities helped the researcher to target the interview questions. For example, when the researcher interviewed Participant 2 about the consequence of an online practice within the online communities, then researcher referred to an online practice conducted by Participant 2. This reference helped the participant to answer the question precisely and clearly.

In general, conducting online observation helped to address the research problem by providing an insider experience which enabled the researcher to develop a thick description about the phenomenon studied from the insiders' perspectives. In particular, the online observation addressed Research Question 1 by demonstrating the nature and pattern of online practices amongst the participants. The online observation also allowed the researcher to gather various symbols used in the participants' everyday life. Regarding Research Questions 2 and 3, the online observation provided a better understanding of the processes of empowerment by

revealing the various problems experienced by participants and revealing how participants and their community as a whole conducted online practices to overcome the problems. The online observation also provided data on the consequences of online practices which addressed Research Question 4.

The study used an online unstructured observation approach, whereby the researcher read the posts published by the participants in the online community and related these posts to the context of the situation and conditions of migrant workers. The researcher followed the dynamics of the interactions among the participants in the online community, downloaded the conversations using Ncapture, and wrote a summary of the activities in the log book. An example of the log book is presented in Table 3.1. The researcher spent 4 hours daily (8pm until midnight) to follow the conversations within the online communities, and visit the links uploaded within the conversations. The aim of this online observation was not to generate statistical patterns but rather to construct meaning about shared online practices amongst the participants.

Table 3-1: Example of log book of online observations

Date	Time	ATKI Taiwan	ATKI HK
28-May-13	8-12 PM	Participant 6 questioning the policy of salary. His posted messages look related with some messages posted by other participants about salary increase policy in Taiwan. This message attracted 19 likes. Three people (excluding Participant 6) responded to the message. They discussed: the recruitment fee also increased, calculate the actual recruitment fee and also criticise the government. Please also see: buruhmigran.or.id/2013/05/02/ber	Participant 13 very active today. She posted 3 messages. 1. Invite member of the community to join the community theatre. This message got 17 likes. One member responded positively. 2. Invite member to attend Islamic celebration, and got 50 likes. 3. Invite members to attend youth conferences in Bali. No

kedok-gaji-pemerintah-persulit-
kontrak-mandiri-tki-taiwan/

likes (it looks the member of the community are not interested with this event, it's far away from workplace so they are unable to attend).

In detail, the online observation was conducted in the following steps:

1. After the recruitment processes was completed and the participants had signed the consent forms, the researcher followed the participants' online practices within the online communities.
2. The researcher engaged within the community every day during the study period for four hours (8pm to midnight).
3. The researcher scrutinised each posting and visited the links uploaded, then made notes about the participants' activities in the log book.
4. If needed, the researcher visited other websites to gain a better understanding about the context of the online practices. For example, the researcher visited www.buruhmigran.or.id to read information about various incidents experienced by migrant domestic workers in Taiwan and Hong Kong. The researcher added the relevant information to the log book.
5. Each week, the researcher downloaded all of the online practices of the participants using Ncapture. The downloaded data was then converted into MS Excel format to help make it more manageable.

The observations indicated that participation in the online community can break down the barriers faced by migrant workers in their interaction with the outside world as well as overcome their lack of authority and autonomy to carry out various practices. It appeared that the participants had more authority and autonomy to conduct their practices in the online community. The participants interacted with similar others through their laptop or mobile device. They shared their feelings, encouraged others and conducted a range of organisational activities. Even though the participants only sit down in front of a screen, the virtual space can improve the

feeling of connectedness with others. The researcher's experience as a participant revealed that sitting alone at the small screen is able to facilitate a feeling of being connected with many people which would otherwise be impossible to conduct through face-to-face interactions on a daily basis. Various online practices seen through the small screen brought about the feeling of connectedness, and gave rise to the feeling of common identity as a migrant worker. In addition, a freedom of expression in the virtual spaces can enhance the migrant workers' feeling of having more authority and autonomy to conduct practices.

In conducting the online observation, the following principles were followed by the researcher:

- The researcher conducted observations while participating as a full-time member of the online community. The research approach required the researcher to join the online community as a member. This helped the researcher to experience directly the process of becoming a member, becoming accepted as a member and acting as a member of the online community.
- Several ethical considerations were taken into account by the researcher. The researcher received a permission letter to conduct the online observation from the online community leader. The researcher identified himself as a researcher conducting online observation of the community. The researcher sought informed consent from the participants. Gaining informed consent from the participants was a challenging step. The researcher adopted many channels to gain the informed consent from the participants. In the first step, the researcher sent the consent form through Facebook chat, and also asked for the contact number of the potential participants. Some participants responded positively and returned the signed consent form. Some reported that they were unable to read the consent form as they had difficulties downloading it. In the second step, the researcher made appointments with the potential participants in order to explain the consent form. Explaining the consent form through a telephone conversation also enabled the researcher to develop friendship with the participants by sharing information about where we grew up and other matters. Informed consent was recorded.

- The researcher tried to influence the interactions in the online community as little as possible. This required the researcher to act as a lurker in the online community. However, cultural considerations required the researcher to participate directly in the online community in some limited circumstances; for example, expressing sympathy for the struggle of migrant workers, sending condolences on the death of a member of the Indonesian migrant worker community, and posting a greeting to mark special community events and participants' birthdays. In addition, the researcher uploaded some statuses on Facebook that aimed to show solidarity with the struggle of migrant workers.

The researcher limited participation in the online communities help the researcher to be culturally accepted by the Indonesian migrant worker community. This was seen in many participants' Facebook statuses which tagged the researcher's profile. In addition, the participants actively commented on the researcher's statuses. These interactions helped the researcher to gain a better understanding of the participants' perspectives and how the participants respond to their situations and conditions as migrant workers. In addition, these interactions helped the researcher to gain insights into any power relations, emotional conflicts, migrant worker aspirations and other aspects related to migrant workers' issues from an insider perspective.

The researcher involvement for a prolonged time in the research site provided a closeness of the researcher and research-subject relationship. Therefore, the researcher needed to pay attention to neutrality and independence issues because of the involvement of the researcher in the online communities. According to (Sandelowski, 1986), neutrality and independence of the researcher refers to the elimination of research bias, which can be achieved through confirmability of the research. The neutrality of qualitative study rests on the findings resulted from the research, not the objective or subjective issues of the researcher. How to achieve confirmability is discussed in detail in section 3.8 Trustworthiness. Then, the independence of the researcher can be achieved through a variety of involvement of independent experts to provide feedback for the research. The researcher had been presented the result of this research through various events, such as a doctoral

consortium, research group and panel in the final seminar. These events provided a meaningful feedback to the research findings.

3.5.3 Interviews

In a virtual ethnographic study, the use of interviews complements online observations. While online observations can help the researcher to understand the dynamics of shared practices among participants in a natural setting, interviews are essential to gain an in-depth understanding of the investigated topic. In this virtual ethnographic study, interviews were used to clarify and enrich the findings from the online observation. The interview is a common method for collecting data in qualitative research (Dicicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006; Sandy & John, 2011), and is helpful for revealing how participants relate to the environment and understanding their perspectives about the practices that potentially empower them (Gobo, 2008b; Hine, 2000). Furthermore, interviews are useful to clarify the identity of interviewees as they sometimes use different user names in the online environment.

In general, the interview method contribute to this study in several ways (Boellstorff & Ebrary, 2012). First, interviews provided a way to learn about the participants' perspectives about the practices that potentially empower them. Second, the interviews helped to understand the dynamics of the shared practices and power relations from various perspectives, which may not have been visible in the online observation. Third, the interviews were private discussions and were useful for revealing the beliefs and opinions of the participants. Fourth, in this ethnographic study, the interviews significantly helped to answer aspects of the research problem that may not have been apparent through the online observation.

This study adopted a semi-structured interview approach, using prepared open-ended questions to guide the process of gathering data. This approach helps to make the interviews more relaxed and encourage the interviewees to freely express their views. This type of interview is commonly used for gathering data in qualitative research. It is a flexible approach that is still capable of gathering important data.

Most of the participants were Indonesian migrant domestic workers with little opportunity to interact with the outside world. Therefore, the researcher needed to be flexible in conducting the interviews. After consideration of the relevant aspects, it was decided to use two channels for interviewing the participants. The first channel

was Facebook online chat, and the second channel was telephone or Skype conversations.

The interview guide consisted of four parts:

- The first part aimed to understand how participants related with the online community. In particular, the questions explored when the participant joined the online community, why they accessed the online community, how they accessed the online community, whether the participant also joined other migrant online communities and when they accessed the online community. It was expected that this questioning would provide a rich description about the situation of the participants in accessing the online community. This group of questions provided information regarding the nature and pattern of participants' online practices, which was relevant to Research Question 1.
- The second part aimed to understand migrant workers' social challenges. The researcher asked an open question which enabled the migrant workers to tell their story about social challenges. It was expected that this question would provide a rich description of migrant workers' social situation, thus addressing Research Questions 2 and 3.
- The third part aimed to understand and clarify online practices (addressing Research Questions 2 and 3). The researcher asked an open question on about the various practices that empower migrant workers and their communities. In this part, the researcher also confirmed some findings from the online observation with the participants.
- The fourth part aimed to understand migrant empowerment outcomes (addressing Research Question 4). In particular, the researcher asked an open question to investigate what the participants felt when they interacted with the online community. Then, the researcher investigated the positive impact of online practices on migrant workers and their community. The researcher also confirmed some findings on the empowerment outcomes with the participants.

A follow-up interview was conducted to clarify and validate the findings with the participants before the data was written up in the thesis and other publications:

In detail, the interviews were conducted through the following steps:

1. The researcher contacted the participants through the Facebook chat facility.
2. The researcher sent an interview invitation, a list of questions, and an inquiry about the participant's availability for an interview. The researcher also asked the participants to choose the most appropriate tool for the interview (Skype, telephone or Facebook chat).
3. The researcher noted the date and time of the interview appointment, and reminded the participants one day before the interview appointment.
4. If the participant chose Facebook chat, the researcher confirmed their availability one hour before the interview session, and asked how long they would be available for interview. It was possible to conduct an asynchronous interview if the participants were very busy.
5. If the participant chose a telephone interview, the researcher asked the participants to share their telephone number. Then, the researcher sent an SMS one hour before the appointment in order to remind the participant. The researcher reminded the participant that the interview would be recorded.
6. If the participant chose Skype, the researcher reminded the participant about the appointment through Facebook chat, email or SMS one hour before the interview. Then, the researcher activated Skype and called the participant. The researcher reminded the participant that the interview would be recorded.
7. The entire interview was transcribed into MS Word to make the data more manageable.

3.6 ANALYSIS

In an ethnographic study, data analysis aims to explore and reach better understanding of the phenomenon being researched and to build narratives from a mix of fieldwork data including text, images and videos (Boellstorff & Ebrary, 2012). In addition, the analysis processes in an ethnography study also aims to describe the phenomenon and build theory that explains the nature and characteristics of the phenomenon being studied (Loureiro-Koechlin, 2006a). Then, the analysis processes in this research aims to develop a theory-based model of migrant domestic empowerment in online communities. The model explains the phenomenon of empowerment for migrant domestic workers in an online communities context.

In conducting data analysis, the researcher adopts an inductive approach. It is common that based on a review of the literature, an ethnographer has already developed a preconception of the phenomenon to be studied. This concept will help in the process of coding, particularly in developing code and categories, and in investigating the relationship between categories. In this case, it is still possible to get new codes and categories, which emerge from the data.

There is no single recipe in qualitative research analysis processes. Therefore, the qualitative researcher can adopt an approach that is perceived to align with their research objective and collected data. This research follows Kozinets's (2010) and Loureiro-Koechlin's (2006a) ethnographic analysis approach, which adapts the common qualitative analysis processes for online research. Kozinets(2010) explained in his books on Netnography: Doing Ethnography Online:

“There are some qualitative data analytic processes that are generally common. These ‘analytic moves arranged in sequence’, named, and adapted to the needs of netnographers [include]... coding... refinement... [and] generalizing” (Kozinets 2010, p. 119).

Specifically, this research adopted content analysis that deals with the subject matter of the data downloaded from the online communities. The content analysis did not aim to quantify the times of words from the data, but aimed to categorise segments of text into various categories that reflect the phenomenon being studied. The researcher developed various categories, which were refined into abstract concepts that shape the final theory-based model of migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities.

The following sub-sections discuss the sequential analytic method adopted in this study to analyse the ethnographic data, following the guidelines suggested by Kozinets (2010) and Loureiro-Koechlin (2006a).

3.6.1 Generation of Categories

The first phase in the sequential analytic method organised the data into codes and then grouped the similar codes into categories. A preliminary step in generation of categories is to describe the type of segment of textual data to be analysed. In this

research, the type of segment can be a words, sentences or paragraphs that present a coherent meaning.

The processes of generating categories were facilitated by a qualitative software package, namely NVivo. The source of the data consisted of participants' online conversations and the interviews. The online conversations were downloaded from Facebook using Ncapture software, and then converted into an Excel spread sheet, which made the data more organisable. The two main steps in this phase were coding and categorising:

1. Coding

Coding is the main strategy to deal with the organisation of the jumble of data. Coding is an important process that is carried out to identify the commonalities and differences in datasets (Pfeil & Zaphiris, 2010). In particular, coding is the process of organising data by segmenting, and then grouping data to integrate the meanings and explanations.

The process to develop and define code was conducted iteratively. At the beginning of the coding step, there were 95 codes that emerged from the data. The definition and names for codes are tentative at this beginning of the analysis process, to enable the process of refinement, which aims to get a clearly definition of categories. Codes were defined in the context of segmented data, which enables the development of a contextual definition of code. The codes were redefined again when new additions of segmented data were added to the code. The researcher created a new code after a new addition of segmented data to the existing code, to accommodate an emerging code from the data.

The researcher segmented the data from the online conversations and interviews that matched the research purpose. To provide a clear coding, the researcher needed to listen to the interview, read the interview transcript, and read the whole online conversation multiple times in order to glean the nuances and connections in the data. This allowed the researcher to consider the relationships between the whole dataset and its parts, as they appeared in the online conversations and interviews.

In addition, the researcher considered the contextualisation of codes to reflect the research setting. This aspect was taken into account by exploring the literature on Indonesian migrant workers' experiences and government data. The data from the

interviews and online conversation data also provided extensive information about the experiences of Indonesian migrant workers, such as their problems and employment conditions.

2. Categorising

Categorisation aims to group similar codes into one category. The researcher conducted a thorough examination of each code developed at the previous step, by scrutinizing every elements and characteristic of each code, which potentially reflects similarities between codes. Then, the researcher grouped each similar code into one category. At the beginning of categorization, the name and descriptions of each category were tentative, to enable the processes of refinement, which aims to get a clear definition of categories. The definitions of category were developed based on the context of data from which the segments were extracted.

Then, the researcher re-read every element and the characteristics of data within the categories, to develop more specific categories. Several categories emerged from the data as result of these categorization processes.

3.6.2 Refinement of the Categories

The second phase in the sequential analytic method aimed to refine the description of the categories that resulted from the first phase. The descriptions emerged from the data, from which the segments were extracted. At this phase, the analysis changed from the data to the categories themselves. The result of this process was presented in Chapter 4 as narrative of participants, and in Chapter 5, as themes.

In this phase, the researcher reflected again on the description of the categories. The definition of categories was refined to reach a more abstract level of definition. This process helped the researcher to reflect again on the categories resulted from the previous step. The result of this phase was presented to the several experts, including supervisory teams, research group and panel in a doctoral consortium. Their feedback helped the researcher to reflect again on the definition and develop a more clear definition of categories; for example, feedback from the panel of the doctoral consortium helped the researcher to find some similarities

between some categories of empowerment at the community level. Then, the categories were grouped into one category. Discussing the categories with various experts helped the researcher to refine the description of each category and the interconnection between categories. In addition, the process of refinement of the categories helped the researcher to ensure that the categories were relevant with the research objective.

3.6.3 Generation of Concepts and Propositions

The phase aimed to refine the categories into more abstract and generalisable statements, which could be used to build a model of migrant worker empowerment in online communities. Then, the generalizations which inductively emerged from the data were compared with the existing theory and body of knowledge.

The processes were started by scrutinizing the elements and characteristics of each category. The processes of analysis were focused on the categories themselves, which made them more applicable in explaining the phenomenon of migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities. The outcome of this phase are propositions and concepts. Propositions are general statements grounded in the data, which can be used to explain the interconnections between concepts. Concepts are of a high level of abstraction and are emerged from the data. Concepts include various definitions of categories.

The processes of developing abstract concepts that lead to the model of migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities were conducted iteratively through in-depth discussions with experts. The processes helped the researcher to build a model that is able to explain the phenomenon of migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities. The preliminary model was presented in the seminar, which helped the researcher to get feedback from various experts. Then, the researcher reflected again on the model, which aims to create a high level of abstraction, which is then able to explain the phenomenon being studied. An in-depth discussion with the supervisory teams was conducted to help the researcher shape the final model.

The outcome of the phase was a high level of ideas that explain the problem faced by migrant domestic workers, their online practices and the related outcomes that were perceived to empower migrant domestic workers. Then, the final step was

conducted to put all of the material together and develop arguments that explain the final model.

3.7 WRITE UP THE RESULT

There is no single recipe on how a virtual ethnography result needs to be presented, as this methodology had been widely adopted in various disciplines (Myers, 1999). Consequently, there are various types of ethnography writing styles that are influenced by the discipline. This section discusses how the researcher chooses the writing style for presenting the result of this virtual ethnography study. Interpretivism and the research objective influenced how the findings of this study are presented. This section is organized as follows: At the beginning, the influence of interpretivism on the writing processes is discussed. Then, various ethnography writing styles and how the researcher decided on the most appropriate writing style are discussed. Finally, how the processes of writing ethnography work, is presented in detail.

Interpretivism, the theoretical perspective foundations of this ethnographic study, emphasizes the need to provide a *verstehen* (understanding) of the phenomenon being studied (Crotty, 1998). In addition, Crotty stressed that an ethnography study under an interpretivism theoretical perspective put the study of society in the context of practices and interactions amongst human beings within a society. In other words, (Myers, 1999) mentions that an ethnography writing style needs to place attention on writing about people and their practices, which illustrates a cultural phenomenon that is unique, individual and qualitative. Therefore, the writing style of this ethnography study needed to address this issue by presenting and explaining a thick description of the practices amongst migrant domestic workers within online communities and how this practice relates to various empowered outcomes.

When the researcher read various journal articles and PhD theses that present ethnography studies, the researcher found that there are various types of ethnography writing styles. Humphreys and Watson (Humphreys & Watson, 2009) divided ethnography writing styles into four groups. First is the plain ethnography writing style, which emphasizes presenting the occurring events in detail. This

writing style provides as closely as possible, an explanation of what the researcher saw and experienced, which is close to realism. Second is an enhanced ethnography. The enhanced ethnography writing style places attention on an explanation of descriptive scene setting, which provides a detailed description of the setting being studied. Then, the third is semi-fictionalized ethnography. Semi-fictionalized ethnography writing style presents a restructuring of events that happen during the investigation in a single narrative. Semi-fictionalized writing style also enables contribution to the theory drawn out from the writing. Semi-fictionalized writing style is a common ethnography writing style adopted by scholars (Humphreys & Watson, 2009). The researcher found two PhD dissertations that employ virtual ethnography have adopted this writing style, such as Davison (Davison, 2012), which comes from the information systems discipline and (Loureiro-Koechlin, 2006b), which comes from the business discipline. Both of the PhD dissertations aim to present a theoretical-based model of building processes. The researcher considered that this writing style was aligned with the research. The fourth writing style is fictionalized ethnography. This writing style aims to present the ethnography findings in an entertaining and edifying narrative.

The process of writing was very challenging, because the researcher needed to explain the phenomenon towards a model on migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities. The writing process was started after the researcher read various pieces of literature on ethnography writing, including PhD Dissertations that have employed ethnography methodology. As suggested by Boellstorff and Ebrary (2012) and Gobo (2008a), who emphasize the need to draft and present the result to various readers to get feedback, the researcher started the draft of the PhD dissertation, writing papers for a doctoral consortium, and conducted several in-depth discussions with experts including the supervisors. Feedback from the readers provided meaningful suggestions for enhancing the writing, especially to make the research report more readable.

The writing aims to provide an inductive reasoning process towards a model of migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities. As suggested by Crang & Crook (Crang & Cook, 2007), the writing can be organized based on categories that enable the processes of induction of the theoretical model. Then, the findings of this virtual ethnography study were organized as follows. The analysis of

the communities and research participants is presented at Chapter 4. This chapter also provides a narrative of the participants, which enables the construction of ideas about the communities and participants. Then, the categories that emerged from the data are presented in Chapter 5. This category discussion provides a thick description about the phenomenon being studied. Finally, the model of migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities, which inductively emerged from the data, is presented in Chapter 6.

Chapter 4 aims to provide an analysis of research subjects, which provides a thick description of how the research subjects conducted and participated in the processes of empowerment. The researcher used interview transcripts and the online conversations in Facebook to construct a version of how research subjects relate to the online communities for empowering Indonesian migrant domestic workers. The beginning of the chapter presents an explanation of Indonesian migrant domestic workers and their online communities. Then, the researcher presents the narrative of each participant, which provide a thick description about the participant's profile. The structure of the narrative of participants was presented as follows. At the beginning, an explanation about the participant profile is discussed. This profile was drawn from the online observation and the interview. Then, social problems as a result of their migration are discussed. The discussion of social problems is followed by a discussion of how the participants conduct online practices to address the problems, and related outcomes that affect the individual and the migrant domestic worker community as a whole.

Chapter 5 provided a narrative writing of the categories that are emerged from the data. The categories were organized into three high levels of category, named as 'empowerment practices', 'empowerment outcomes at individual level' and 'empowerment outcomes at community level', which provide a more readable discussion for the reader. In order to provide a thick description about the phenomenon being studied, the researcher organized the narrative of each category as follows. A description about the category is presented at the beginning of the section. Then, a narrative story about how the phenomenon occurred during the investigation is discussed. At the end of every section, a summary and a conclusion, which provide a thick description of each category, are presented.

Chapter 6 presents the theoretical based model, which is inductively emerged from the data. A high level abstraction is presented in Chapter 6, which provides a thick description about migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities. In order to provide a connection with the previous chapter, then, Chapter 6 also discusses the relationship between the categories and the model of migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities. In addition, the relationship between the online practices and their related outcomes is also discussed in this chapter.

The organization of writing provided a thick description about the phenomenon being studied and enables a construction of the meaning that is assembled and conveyed by the researcher. In addition, the organization of writing helps the reader to follow the processes of inductive reasoning towards the model of migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities.

3.8 TRUSTWORTHINESS

A qualitative study has different pathways to reach research quality. In positivism, reliability and validity are the common terms to justify the research quality. However, these terms are not appropriate in regard to qualitative research. In qualitative research, scholars adopt trustworthiness to justify the quality of the research.

In the qualitative tradition, there are several strategies that can be adopted to ensure the validity and reliability of research, including triangulation of data, disconfirming evidence, researcher reflexivity, lengthy periods of time conducting field observation, the use of rich and thick description, clarification of bias, peer debriefing and external auditing (John W. Creswell, 2003). According to Creswell and Miller (2000), the rational choice of validation can be decided by considering what lens the researcher has chosen in validating the study and the paradigm of the research.

According to Loh (2013), in a narrative study such as ethnography, the most common method to achieve trustworthiness is the method suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985). The elements of trustworthiness are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Guba, 1981; Senton, 2004{Loh, 2013 #50). In general, credibility means that the study presents accurately the phenomenon under study.

This research employed several strategies to ensure credibility, as suggested by Guba (1981), Shenton (2004) and Loh (2013):

- This study used multiple data collection methods including an online observation, followed by a semi-structured interview and a follow-up interview. The online observation provided data about various online practices and their outcomes. Then, the interviews helped the researcher to justify and validate the findings from the online observation. In addition, the follow-up interview enabled the participants to consider the findings for themselves, which enhanced the validity of the findings.
- This study clarified the bias by outlining the researcher's roles and background. Explaining the researcher's role and background helps the reader to gain a better understanding of how the interpretation was shaped.
- The researcher spent five months in the online communities and visited the online communities daily. This process allowed the researcher to conduct a prolonged engagement with the community, which increased the in-depth understanding of the phenomenon and can be claimed to enhance the credibility of this virtual ethnographic study. In addition, the researcher conducted a pre-online observation to approach the community and reach a better understanding and familiarity with the culture of the community to be studied. As part of the pre-online observation, the researcher read various documents and visited various blogs and websites that provided information about the culture of Indonesian migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong and Taiwan. This process allowed the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding about the community and helped develop trust between the researcher and the community.
- The researcher has presented this research in various forums and received valuable feedback. This began with a presentation of the conceptual model in an international forum, which enabled the researcher to discuss the conceptual model with experts who have explored the use of ICT by migrant domestic workers. After revising the model based on their feedback, the researcher published the conceptual model in a book chapter. The methodology employed in this research has also been presented in various forums in order to gain feedback. The findings of this research

have been presented in a doctoral consortium. This forum provided feedback which helped the researcher to sharpen the findings. The final seminar organised by QUT provided valuable feedback, which also sharpened the thesis.

Transferability refers to the extent to which the findings and conclusions of this study can be applied to other populations and contexts (Senton, 2004). In order to reach transferability, this study provides sufficient detail about the research setting context. The detail of the research setting creates a thick description, which helps the reader to decide what kind of environment is relevant to these findings and conclusions. The following information is included in the thesis in order to provide a thick description of the research context:

- The description of the organisations participating in the research, including where they were based, their challenges and how they utilise online communities.
- A narrative of the participants, describing the type of people taking part in the study.
- A detailed overview of the data collection methods is provided as clearly as possible, in order to improve the ability of other researchers to compare and replicate the process.
- The length of the researcher's engagement with the research site.

This study reached dependability through providing a detailed description of the research processes, which enables future researchers to repeat the work (Shenton, 2004). The following information is included in this thesis in order to provide a thorough understanding of the research process as suggested by Shenton (2004):

- Detailed information is provided about the research design and its implementation. The thesis includes a diagram, which provides a 'big picture' of the research design and its implementation.
- The thesis provides the operational detail about the data collection methods, including the steps in approaching the research site, the recruitment strategy, online observations and interviews.
- The thesis provides a reflective appraisal of the effectiveness of the research processes.

Confirmability refers to the steps taken to ensure that the findings are from the insider perspective (Shenton, 2013). Therefore, the prolonged time of the researcher's engagement in the online communities helped to provide meaningful findings that are derived from these life experiences (Brink, 1993; Sandelowski, 1986). In addition, confirmability is provided by taking steps to ensure that the work reflects the experiences of the participants rather than the preferences of the researcher. This study adopted an overlapping method, which helps to reduce the investigator bias. In addition, this thesis provides a detailed description of the methodology, which allows an audit of how far the data and constructs emerging from the study can be accepted. The detailed processes of the research also allow an audit trail, whereby another researcher can trace the processes of the research step by step.

The confirmability criteria of this research indicates the neutrality and independence of the researcher in this qualitative study. The confirmability has been achieved through enhancing the credibility and transferability of this research, as suggested by Sandelowski (1986). The researcher has presented the research process in detail, which helps the reader to understand the research process and its logic. In addition, the research has been presented at various events, which has enabled the researcher to obtain feedback from various independent experts.

In addition to several strategies to enhance the trustworthiness of this virtual ethnographic study, following Elo and Kyngas (2008), this thesis also provides direct and authentic citations from the online observation and semi-structured interviews. This strategy will help the reader to understand the sources from which the data was formulated.

In general, trustworthiness aims to ensure that the method can be replicated and the result is scientific in nature. The strategies adopted in this research considered the paradigm and the ways to tackle any limitations.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics approval was received for this research before the data collection commenced. The researcher needed to pay attention to several ethical issues as required by the university ethics committee.

First, in developing the ethics application the researcher considered that the online communities (hosted on Facebook) should be treated as a private space even

though anyone can see any of the postings. This consideration was in line with the argument by Thomsen et al. (1998) that members of an online community are assuming that they are living in a virtual private space. Second, the researcher needed to show respect to the individuals participating in the online communities, including their identities and their ownership of the text, picture and videos uploaded on the online sites (Roberts et al., 2008).

Therefore, several criteria must be met (S. W. Wijaya et al., 2013):

- The researcher must communicate clearly with the leader of the online community, particularly to get permission to conduct the research in the online community. Details of the research processes must be communicated with the leader prior to seeking the permission.
- The researcher must openly identify himself in the online community.
- The researcher must obtain informed consent from the participants and clearly communicate the research process to them.
- The researcher must maintain the confidentiality of the participants by eliminating any identified information in the thesis and any other publication.
- The researcher must store the soft and hard copies of the data securely.

In addition, all the participants participated voluntarily and could withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice as no power relationship existed between the researcher and the participants.

3.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter provided a discussion about the research methodology. It began with the discussion of epistemology and the theoretical perspectives which informed the methodology selection. Then, this chapter provided an in-depth discussion of virtual ethnography including a discussion of the principles of ethnography in detail. The data collection method was discussed in detail in this chapter, as well as the data analysis method. The steps taken to ensure trustworthiness and justify the quality of this research were discussed. Finally, this chapter provided an overview of the ethical considerations in this research.

The following chapters discuss the findings of this research which are presented in three separate chapters. Chapter 4 presents the narrative of the participants as well as the research context. Chapter 5 discusses the themes that emerged from the data. Chapter 6 discusses the model of migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities.

Chapter 4: Narratives of Participants

4.1 CHAPTER PREVIEW

This ethnographic study aimed to investigate the online shared practices that potentially empower migrant workers in a natural setting. As an ethnographic study, the research context and setting need to be described clearly for the purpose of describing the social context relevant to the investigated topics. This chapter discusses the social conditions of Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong and Taiwan, the countries where the participants were residing, in order to give a rich better understanding of migrant workers' social conditions. Then, this chapter presents the virtual research sites and narratives of the participants. The purpose of presenting the participants' narratives is to provide a rich understanding of the problems faced by migrant workers, the practices that potentially empower migrant workers and the outcomes that result from those practices. The participants' narratives are presented in two groups. The first group of narratives are from the participants who lived with the employer. The second group of narratives are from participants who were not living with the employer.

4.2 INDONESIAN MIGRANT WORKERS IN TAIWAN AND HONG KONG

Indonesia is one of the main suppliers of domestic migrant workers to Hong Kong and Taiwan. Most migrant workers come from low economic backgrounds and lack education. They migrate to earn a better income which can help their families at home to reach a better standard of living. As they come from low economic backgrounds and they need to spend much money on the recruitment fee, they sometimes borrow the money from a bank or sell their property. In the host country, they work as low-skilled workers; consequently, they receive a low income from which they have to repay their loans and send money back to the families at home. These conditions create an economic burden for migrant workers and increase the pressure on them to make money in the host country. In addition, the pressure makes them feel afraid to lose their jobs.

Working as a domestic worker requires a migrant worker to live with the employer who has more power than the worker. Although some employers are fair, all employers have the power to control and monitor the worker. Sometimes the employer can control how the worker accesses the outside world by restricting their access to the Internet or telephone. Migrant workers feel they are in a weak bargaining position as they are afraid of losing the job, have limited knowledge of migrant workers' rights and lack protection from the authorities. Furthermore, these conditions cause migrant workers to have few opportunities to conduct practices that may enhance their wellbeing.

Domestic work is considered as an informal sector; consequently, labour laws do not accommodate their rights appropriately. They do not have fixed working hours, and they sometimes work in excess of normal working hours. In Hong Kong, a domestic worker has one day off per week, but in Taiwan they have no day off. They are not protected enough from the authorities, and they sometimes experience violence and abuse in the workplace.

Migrant workers' backgrounds and working conditions make this community vulnerable to a variety of forms of exploitation and abuse. Many of them are afraid to report any exploitation and abuse as they are afraid of losing their job. This condition is linked to a lack of psychological wellbeing and lack of knowledge about migrant workers' rights. Therefore, this community is vulnerable and less empowered.

4.3 THE VIRTUAL RESEARCH SITE

Indonesian migrant workers both in Hong Kong and Taiwan access the online world for various purposes. They have sufficient income to purchase devices and pay for the Internet connection. In addition, the ICT infrastructure in Hong Kong and Taiwan is better than in their home town and makes it easy for them to access the Internet. That is why they access the Internet after they have arrived in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

The Internet enables them to access the outside world anytime and anywhere. In addition, the Internet can provide virtual spaces which can be joined for conducting various practices with less control from the employer. For instance, Facebook enables migrant workers to befriend each other, voice their aspirations and

organise collective actions. Facebook can be accessed easily by migrant workers as most mobile phones have the Facebook application.

Furthermore, Facebook is popular because of the sense of community life among Indonesian migrant workers. This application offers an opportunity to connect and share life with others. This social network application can provide an unlimited online space which can be accessed and used by any online users. Users can get their own space, develop their identity, connect with others, unite in a community, share their feelings and voice their aspirations. These features align with the sense of community life that is comfortable for Indonesians.

The present study involved an exploration of two online groups hosted on Facebook. The participants were recruited from the online community. The participants' recruitment was also supported by the online community leader who recommended potential participants as members who actively conducted practices in the online world. Both online groups were dedicated to supporting Indonesian migrant workers to interact and collaborate with each other.

ATKI Taiwan open group

The ATKI Taiwan group was created by several ATKI activists who were aware of the need for migrant workers to interact and collaborate. Some of the people who created the group had returned to Indonesia, but they continued to actively access the group. The online community is believed to strengthen the unity of the community in coping with several migrant workers' problems. In addition, their online interactions can improve the power of the community to change the social conditions and achieve better wellbeing in line with their aspirations.

The efforts made by the online community to fight against any injustice and exploitation experienced by migrant workers were apparent to the researcher when entering this online community. The group cover photo displayed a picture that symbolises migrant workers' struggles and aspirations. For example, when the case of an Indonesian migrant worker called Kartika who experienced violence in Hong Kong was revealed, the cover photo displayed a symbol of migrant workers' aspirations to get justice and fight against discrimination for several weeks. The cover photo was regularly updated as it functioned like a gate to the community space.

They also uploaded various pictures of migrant workers' activities and many documents needed by Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan. The community aspirations are also uploaded in the documents for anyone can access. The pictures uploaded in the online community are dominated by photos that display migrant workers' demonstration and some of their community gatherings and training events.

This online community is an active online community as every week there is a lot of conversation among the online members. It can be seen that this online community is dedicated to Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan who need access to the outside world.

Association of Indonesian Migrant Workers in Hong Kong Facebook Page

ATKI Hong Kong activists created a Facebook online community who were aware of the need for migrant workers to interact with others in a community setting. They were aware that interaction in a democratic space will help migrant workers to develop themselves and their community as a whole. In addition, they were aware that they needed a virtual space which can be cheaply accessed anytime and anywhere. In this virtual space, migrant workers in Hong Kong can meet, interact, collaborate and conduct shared practices.

The researcher observed that members of this community actively voiced their aspirations and made efforts to reach better wellbeing as the cover page always displayed a picture which symbolised these aims. They also clearly defined the community as a political organisation which created a sense of willingness to participate and influence public policies. The overt activism of this group aligns with the political environment in which it operates, as the Hong Kong authorities provide an opportunity for domestic workers to unite in an organisation legally. They group regularly updated the cover photo to symbolise an issue relevant to the Indonesian migrant worker. They usually used the same symbol as the ATKI Taiwan online community.

The nuances of the migrant workers' struggle are strongly recognised in this community, not only in the cover photos which symbolised their struggle but also in many of the conversations which focused on migrant workers' problems and rights. They voiced aspirations that went beyond geographical borders as they also voiced aspirations for their fellow migrant workers in other countries, such as Taiwan. For

example, migrant worker community leaders in Taiwan shared their aspirations in this community.

Both online communities were observed to be lively and dynamic. Many practices were conducted in these communities daily. If a virtual space is assumed to be a place for individuals to meet and interact within a community, the same situation can be found in various locations in Indonesia where people meet and interact in a common room. Common room are dispersed in many regions both in urban and suburban areas. Community members access a common room to conduct various practices and discuss common interests. Likewise, in this online space they are tied together by common interests and problems, the need to empower their community and voice their views.

4.4 NARRATIVES OF PARTICIPANTS

As described in Chapter 1, this study aimed to explore the empowering processes and outcomes of migrant workers through an online community. This study explored this phenomenon in a virtual research site of Indonesian migrant workers. Participants in this study were Indonesian migrant workers who worked as low-skilled workers such as domestic workers, factory workers, caregivers and nannies. In most cases, their job required them to live with the employer, and this impacted their autonomy and authority for conducting practices. In other words, living with the employer decreased the opportunity for migrant workers to conduct practices which benefit their self-development and their community development. Therefore, they can be seen as a vulnerable and disempowered community. This study also recruited participants who were not working as low-skilled workers but who actively participated to support Indonesian migrant workers in resolving their problems. The participants were then divided into two groups. The first group of participants lived with the employer. The second group of participants did not live with the employer.

4.4.1 Participants Who Lived at Their Workplace

4.4.1.1 Participant 1

Participant 1 was an Indonesian domestic migrant worker who had extensive experiences as a domestic worker as she had been living in Taiwan for more than 17 years and worked for various employers. Several years ago, at the beginning of her

migration, she felt she struggled in the host country as she faced many social challenges related to adaptation and settlement in Taiwan. She lacked the ability to speak or read the Cantonese language. Consequently, she faced difficulties communicating with local people and her employers. After a period of time, she adapted to the socio-cultural environment in Taiwan, and gained better language skills. At the time of the interview, she felt very happy as she was working for a good employer who treated her as part of the family.

Participant 1 had leadership experience and had worked as an activist and leader in the Indonesian Migrant Workers' Association in Taiwan. As an activist, she had a good awareness about migrant domestic workers' challenges, especially the problems experienced by the Indonesian migrant worker community. She was disappointed that there was not enough protection from the government in either the host country or the home country. Some public policies even disadvantage the migrant worker community. For example, the Indonesian government required every Indonesian migrant worker to obtain an ID card (known as the KTKLN) which workers perceived did not benefit them or enhance their protection in the host country. In addition, the government did not pay attention to the expensive recruitment charges and expensive health insurance fees which created financial burdens for migrant workers.

Participant 1 felt disappointed with the recruitment processes and working conditions of her fellow migrant workers, pointing out that these factors influenced the capability of migrant workers to take control over their migration processes. Participant 1 expressed regret that most Indonesian migrant workers have a limited understanding about migrant workers' rights and have limited understanding about their job contracts. She said that the psychological condition of migrant workers also detracts from their capabilities to deal with problems; for example, they are afraid to voice their opinions and they lack self-confidence in dealing with their employers. Participant 1 also stated that having no holidays and facing difficulties in accessing information made Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan less empowered to deal with some problems.

Participant 1 was the leader of the online community and was aware about the need for migrant workers to access the Internet, particularly online communities. She understood that Indonesian migrant workers can conduct various online practices.

She created the ATKI Facebook community, together with several Indonesian migrant worker community activists. She accessed many Indonesian migrant worker online communities on Facebook, using her mobile phone and laptop. She paid NT650 per month (approximately AU\$27.60) for her Internet connection which is not a little expense for a migrant domestic worker.

Participant 1 was aware that online communities can facilitate practices that enhance the abilities of migrant domestic workers to cope with problems and attain a better level of wellbeing. She was very active in the online community and participated in the conversations almost every day.

Participant 1 stated that online communities can help migrant workers to understand about migrant workers' rights. Particularly, migrant workers can enhance their understanding about migrant worker rights and social situation. Participant 1 emphasised this point as follows:

In an online community, there are many people who ask about some issues including salary, holiday and some problem related with employer and agency. We can share much information about those especially related with migrant rights. From the activities, we can reach better understanding about the issues.

As a leader in the community she shared much information about migrant workers' rights. When a member of the online community posted a question which attracts others' responses, she responded to the question as she felt she had better awareness than others about migrant workers' rights. Sometimes, the conversation described some experiences about migrant workers' rights, and these served as examples of best practice which can be followed by others. The detailed information especially best practice examples from others can help migrant workers to reach a better understanding about their rights and issues.

Participant 1 conducted several online practices. First, she liked to socialise with others through several online activities. She was aware that migrant workers needed to know each other; therefore, she developed social network, and maintained contact with her friends and family through the online communities. When there was an introduction from a new member, she welcomed the new member and encouraged them to join the community activities:

You are most welcome, warms regards from ATKI..welcome to the community.

She felt very happy when someone joined the online community. She expressed her happiness by welcoming the new member and greeting them.

Participant 1 developed a further emotional connectedness with her fellow migrant workers through online communities. She frequently greeted others on special occasions and encouraged others to be more confident to cope with problems. She provided emotional support to her fellow migrant workers who experienced problems. When someone shared information about migrant domestic workers who suffered a problem, she expressed her wish to support the victim and she encouraged the victim to be more confident to fight against exploitation:

Indeed, very sad to hear that news.

In one case, she responded to news about violence experienced by Indonesian migrant domestic workers. The pictures uploaded to the online communities attracted many comments. This case aroused a feeling of sadness in Participant 1 and motivated her to post a comment. In addition, she shared some cases of exploitation and injustice, and she encouraged others to fight against exploitation. She provided information which can increase others' self-efficacy in fighting against any injustice and exploitation. Specifically, she shared information about migrant workers' problems and the strategies for solving problems. This enabled others to learn about migrant workers' coping strategies and formulate a suitable coping strategy.

Participant 1 frequently initiated a discussion on common interests and problems. She updated information from various sources about Indonesian migrant workers' issues. For example, when there was an issue related to the performance of an agency which was breaking the rules, she updated the information and put some important information that emphasised the deficiencies of the agency. This activity attracted others to discuss the issue and it became a long conversation.

As a leader of the community, Participant 1 conducted online practices which benefitted the community as a whole. She discussed the community vision with others when she informed them about community activities. She supplemented the information about community activities with some important questions regarding the objectives of the community. In addition, she tagged some community activists to attract them to comment. The posted information attracted others to comment and respond to the invitation. At the same time, Participant 1 also explained that

community cohesiveness can enhance their bargaining position in front of more powerful parties.

She used the online community to organise collective actions. She informed others about collective actions in detail within the online communities. For example, when she posted about a collective action to reject the KTKLN, she emphasised the objective of the action, and the necessity for the community to participate. In addition, she frequently criticised the government about the lack of policies to protect migrant workers' rights. She was aware that her criticisms can be read by a wide audience.

Participant 1 identified three positive impacts of online community participation for Indonesian migrant workers. First, migrant workers' wellbeing can be enhanced through the online community. She felt that her self-efficacy to voice aspirations in front of the agencies and employers was enhanced as a result of encouragement from others. She felt confident to speak to the agency when she received complete information about her rights. She also felt a better connectedness with the surrounding social environment as she can interact with her fellow migrant workers at any time. The feeling of better connectedness can be seen from the happiness in her expressions within the online communities. She frequently greeted others and provided warm greetings, talked about funny things, and expressed her happiness as result of the interaction. She also felt pride as a migrant domestic worker especially when she was congratulated by others as a result of her successful leadership.

Her wellbeing also increased as a result of having space to express her feelings. Participant 1 frequently expressed her feelings through the online communities. When she felt angry, nervous or sad when she found out about some problems being experienced by her fellow migrant workers, she expressed her feeling in the online communities.

She was aware that migrant workers can acquire knowledge and enhance their critical thinking skills through online community participation. She said that joining online discussions had enhanced her awareness of migrant workers' rights. She frequently discussed the problems experienced by migrant workers; in one case, a member of the online community posted information about being pressured by the employer. Participant 1 responded to the posted information by providing

comprehensive information about how to respond to the problem. Her posted information attracted others to respond by providing other aspects of problem solving. Then, there was a long conversation to discuss the topic. She emphasised during the interview that the discussions enabled her to acquire knowledge and enhance her critical thinking skills.

As a migrant worker community leader, she understood that several practices strengthen the community engagement. She emphasised that discussing the community vision enhanced the awareness of community power. During the interview, she emphasised that she always reminded the members of the community to attend community activities. She also reminded the members about the important role of the community. In addition, she believed that the capabilities of the community to take action towards changes were enhanced. She emphasised that the community had a new strategy to influence the public policy.

4.4.1.2 Participant 2

Participant 2 worked as domestic worker in Taiwan. At the time of the interview, she had been working in Taiwan for more than six years working. She worked to look after children. This job required her to live with the family.

She stated that Indonesian migrant workers, including herself, had limited access to information on migrant workers' rights, protection and recruitment processes.

Although she must live with the family, she said she felt happy as the employer allowed her to access the Internet. She joined and accessed online communities, including ATKI Taiwan on Facebook. The reason she accessed online communities was to get information about various migrant workers issues:

Emmm...It looks that Facebook should be adopted more, as through Facebook we can get information easily and quickly...

Participant 2 asked a question online about an issue about the migrant workers' recruitment procedures at the end of 2013. Many members of the online community responded to her question. She felt like she was accessing a source of knowledge about migrant workers. She felt happy as she received much information about how to solve the problem, and this enhanced her self-confidence.

Participant 2 agreed that online communities can facilitate various shared practices among Indonesian migrant workers. She participated in the online communities in five main ways. First, she socialised with others the online communities, which enabled her to get to know migrant workers' union activists:

I can directly interact with ATKI activist.

She had limited opportunities to interact with others. Online communities enabled her to know others as she can interact with members of the online community at any time. The Facebook profile and posted messages recorded in the online community helped her to get to know others. She monitored other members' profile and posted messages to understand what was happening in the community life. These activities enabled her to get to know the community leader and develop a friendship with her.

She described feeling connected with others as a result of online interactions. She felt happy when she received responses from others. This activity reduced her loneliness as she felt connected with her fellow migrant workers. For example, she shared her feelings in the online communities, especially her feelings related to her experience as a migrant worker. When she felt disappointed, she expressed her feeling in the online communities. This expression attracted others to respond. Sharing feelings within the online communities enabled her to meet with her fellow migrant workers who faced similar situations. She felt that others can understand her feelings as they faced similar situations. Then, she expressed her feelings to a wide audience. She usually received positive responses as others can understand the context. She also said that she liked to express her feelings about some positive aspects of migrant workers' life experiences. Expressing feelings in the online communities made her comfortable. She received positive responses from similar others, which aroused feelings of happiness. This feeling reduced the tension in her life.

She discussed common interests and problems in the online communities. For instance, in the interview she emphasised that she posted information in order to get an explanation about how to solve some migrant workers' problems. She did this when she faced a problem such as a new recruitment procedure. Her posted question in the online communities attracted others to respond and provided her with a detailed answer. This conversation enabled her to access a source of knowledge which enabled her to construct a coping strategy.

In addition, she believed that the community had power to make changes. In the interview, she emphasised that reaching the community objectives should be supported by all members of the community:

Those who support the successful of the group mission are all the activists or all the members and the admin of the group.

She paid attention to the community activities which were advertised through the online communities. She also read about the successful achievements of the community as a result of massive support from wide audiences.

4.4.1.3 Participant 3

Participant 3 was an activist in the Indonesian Migrant Workers' Association. She worked to look after elderly people which required her to live with the family. She stated that many problems were faced by Indonesian migrant workers such as pressure from the recruitment agency, lack of protection from the government, and migrants' limited information about migration procedures and labour rights. For example, she said that she helped a fellow migrant worker who had limited information about how to renew a passport. The migrant was getting pressure from the agency to renew the passport through the agency for a fee. As the migrant worker had limited information, it made her confused and stressed as she needed to pay a lot of money. Participant 3 helped her fellow worker to get the right information on how to renew the passport, and helped the migrant worker to renew the passport directly at the Indonesian embassy for the right price. Participant 3 stated that migrant workers need to unite to fight against exploitative practices.

Participant 3 accessed Facebook since she migrated to Taiwan. She worked in a village where there was no free Internet connection. She used a laptop and mobile phone to access the Internet which required her to pay the Internet connection charges from her own pocket. Accessing the Internet gave her the opportunity to join several Indonesian migrant worker online communities on Facebook. Mostly she accessed the online communities when she had free time. She said that online communities provide many benefits for migrant workers, from providing information about labour issues to solving problems:

... we can report or search information for Indonesian migrant workers, here we can formulate how to solve our problems which are mostly related with labour issues.

Participant 3 conducted various online activities to fight against exploitation and achieve better wellbeing. First, she was aware that many migrant workers lack self-confidence in front of the recruitment agency. She encouraged others to be assertive and to stand up against an agency which violated the laws:

As long as we are right, do not afraid with agency.

She explained that many migrant workers are afraid to defend their rights in front of the agency. They are afraid if the agency intimidates them. They are afraid especially when the agency threatens that they will lose their job if they do not follow the agency's instruction. Participant 3 encouraged her fellow migrant workers not to be afraid. She stated that migrant workers need to be brave in front of the agencies.

Participant 3 received many positive responses from other members of the online community. Commenters agreed with her encouragements. There were many discussions that shared best practice examples of how to defend their rights when dealing with the agencies. The conversations positively influenced the self-confidence of the online community members.

Second, Participant 3 was interested in discussing common interests and problems. She frequently posted comments about migrant workers' social conditions and problems. She was aware that migrant workers shared common problems especially related to their relationship with the agencies. She said that the migrant workers' social conditions were related to the migrant workers' low bargaining power in front of the agency.

Participant 3 was able to attract others to respond, thus the conversations she started became long threads. Migrant workers provided many examples which supported the ideas she raised. They viewed the topics from multiple perspectives. They also constructed new knowledge related to the discussed topic. These threads can be viewed as a source of knowledge which is easily acquired by members of the online community who are involved in the discussion and other members who read the discussion.

Third, Participant 3 stated that she learned how to solve a problem from the online discussion. She gave the following example:

How to reject KTKLN can be learned by other migrant.

She believed that she needed to access a source of knowledge where she could formulate her coping strategies. She involved herself in discussions where she acquired knowledge about solving problems. She accessed many best practice examples from other migrant workers who had experienced the same problems. Then, she had a good understanding about the coping strategies.

Fourth, Participant 3 learned about migrant workers' rights from the online communities:

Want to learn about something I don't know, especially about migrant rights.

She was aware that there were many people in the online communities who had sufficient knowledge about migrant workers' rights. She posted questions about migrant workers' rights which attracted others' responses. She accessed the knowledge about migrant workers' rights which improved her awareness about her rights as an individual and as part of a community.

Fifth, as a migrant worker community activist, Participant 3 enhanced the community cohesiveness in a number of ways. She showed her solidarity and invited others to show their solidarity when some migrant workers experienced a problem. She also highlighted to others the importance of community activities and persuasively attracted others to join in.

Participant 3 stated that the cohesiveness of the community can enhance the power of the community to fight against exploitation:

A strong unity, where we can defeat other party...

Enhancing the community cohesiveness results in awareness of the power of the community. Many photos about community protests and demonstrations were uploaded in the online community to illustrate the power of the community. The conversations that followed the posting of the photos brought about a greater awareness of the power of the community. Members of the community were aware that their strong unity increased their opportunity to make changes.

Sixth, Participant 3 was involved in organising collective actions through the online communities. She criticised the government for policies that disadvantaged migrant workers. She provided detailed information about the policies and the negative impacts to migrant workers. She also explained to others the rationale

behind the need to ask the government to change the policy. She highlighted the need to voice the aspirations to the authority as this can influence the ability of the community to influence public policy.

4.4.1.4 Participant 4

Participant 4 had migrated to Taiwan several years ago. She worked to look after elderly people which required her to live with the family. She faced many challenges including boredom as she spent most of her time at work, missing her family and friends, having no holidays, and lacking protection from the government. She said that the agency's recruitment fee was too high compared with her income. She also said that public policies do not accommodate the interests of migrant workers.

Participant 4 began to access the online community when she first migrated to Taiwan. She said she loved to make friends through Facebook, and she befriended many users via Facebook. She interacted with many users, especially Indonesian migrant workers in online communities. However, she felt annoyed when she received many unexpected Facebook friend messages. She decided to deactivate her old Facebook account and create a new one. She actively conducted various practices with her new Facebook account.

Participant 4 explained that she accessed Facebook in the night time when she had free time or during her activities to accompany the elderly people to hospital. She needed to pay for her Internet connection through her mobile phone. This connection was used when she was outside of her workplace, especially when taking the elderly people to the hospital. She accessed the online communities to 'kill time' as she felt bored at the hospital. At the workplace, she was fortunate to get free Internet connection from her neighbour.

Participant 4 believed she needed to access online community and she was aware that migrant worker community' activities can be conducted through virtual spaces:

Our activities, ATKI Taiwan, can be conducted through Facebook.

This technology provided her and the community with room to conduct practices while they have limited opportunity to interact with the outside world. They do not have a fixed holiday. They also have a significant workload where they spend

most of their day in the workplace. The activities in the online community facilitated interactions among community members where they can share ideas, discuss, support each other, voice aspirations and organise collective actions. Participant 4 was aware that involvement in community activities is the foundation of self-development as it enabled her to access knowledge and skills and enhance her wellbeing.

Participant 4 identified various ways in which she was involved in online communities. First, she shared her feelings in the online community. She felt comfortable when she could release her negative emotions through discussions in the online communities. She loved to draw pictures which illustrate the social conditions of migrant workers. She expressed her feelings by drawing pictures which highlighted the unjust conditions of migrant workers. She frequently uploaded the pictures and provided an explanation about the injustice it depicted. She felt happy when she got positive responses from others.

Second, Participant 4 maintained contact with family and friends. She said she loved to preserve her communicative relationships through the online communities. She greeted her relatives and friends through online communities. She had a strong feeling of connectedness when she received positive responses from them.

Third, she can discuss many challenges faced by migrant workers and how to cope with them:

Learning, I also share information if someone faces a problem.

She said she felt happy when she accessed knowledge about the way to solve migrant workers' problems. She was frequently involved in discussions about coping strategies in the host country. She was aware that she can acquire important information such as best practice examples from others. She felt happy as she could formulate her coping strategies by drawing from some of the conversations. She said it felt like having a guide to solve the problem.

Fourth, Participant 4 learned about migrant workers' experiences and rights from the online communities. When her fellow migrant workers experienced problems, such as being unpaid, she participated in the conversation. She took the victim's side and provided various supports. She emotionally participated within the conversation which turned into a long conversation. She actively participated in the conversation which discussed the victim's rights and how to defend the rights in

front of the employer and agency. She felt that participating in the conversation helped her to reach a better understanding of migrant workers' rights as the conversation used contextual terminologies. She felt happy to be involved in the discussion as she could acquire knowledge about migrant workers' experiences and rights.

Fifth, Participant 4 experienced self-expression in the online communities. She frequently criticised public policies through pictures uploaded to the online communities. During her free time, she drew pictures which illustrated the injustice and difficult social conditions faced by migrant domestic workers. She then took a photo of the picture and uploaded it to the online community. She usually received many responses and likes. She felt very happy as her posted messages were responded to positively by others. She repeatedly conducted this activity as she received positive responses to it. She felt more confident to conduct this activity after she receives the positive responses.

Sixth, Participant 4 said she loved to expand her social network through the online communities. She described herself as a friendly person who liked to form friendships with many people. She participated in many conversations and always participated in welcoming new members. Her activities attracted other users to send friend requests. In the past, she always accepted the request which made the number of her friends reach more than 2000; however, she then had a bad experience with the friending activity on Facebook with some users sending pornographic material to her. She deactivated her account and created a new account. Then, with the new account, she carefully selected friend requests to be approved. She passively monitored candidate friends before she approved the friend requests. Friending with many users of online communities made her feel connected to the social environment.

Seventh, Participant 4 was involved in discussing common interests and problems. When there was a policy about salary increases which was perceived to be unfair for migrant domestic workers, she posted some messages which asked about the policy. She attracted others to discuss the policy which made the conversation become a long thread. She said that participating in online discussions can enhance her critical thinking skills as people view the topic from various perspectives:

Debating a topic through Facebook can enhance my critical thinking skills.

She was very happy as the online conversation enabled her to read various perspectives. She felt that the online conversation helped to enhance her critical thinking skills.

Eighth, Participant 4 was aware that the community can voice its aspirations through Facebook. Although they have limited opportunity to conduct this activity, she believed that voicing aspirations can address this problem:

...but because of condition of our employment, which make us not free, so we voice our aspirations through Facebook.

She was aware that most Indonesian migrant workers had limited opportunities to interact with the outside world. She actively adopted online communities to voice community aspirations. She provided various pictures which portrayed the community aspirations. These aspirations can reach wide audiences. This also influences the power of the community to make changes as the community can influence wide audiences to support their aspirations. In other words, voicing aspirations through the online world can enhance the opportunity to make changes.

Ninth, Participant 4 liked to become involved in many efforts to enhance the solidarity of the migrant worker community. She responded to various efforts which aimed to enhance the cohesiveness of the community. When she received a message about problems experienced by Philippino migrant domestic workers, she responded and provided support to them. She stated that they must have strong solidarity as migrant workers although they came from different nations. She highlighted the need to support with each other when facing a problem.

Tenth, Participant 4 expressed her opinion about the poor performance of a governmental institution in relation to protecting the migrant worker community. She revealed information which attracted others to comment. The conversation became a long thread as she also provided a picture that illustrated the injustice. This conversation enhanced the awareness of the community members to influence public policy as they have better understanding about the situation. Therefore, they can formulate the best strategies to influence the policy.

4.4.1.5 Participant 5

Participant 5 migrated to Taiwan several years ago. Her job was caring for elderly people. As a migrant domestic worker, she had experienced five main problems.

First, at the beginning of employment, she was not employed under the contract. Second, the agency banned her from using her own laptop. The agency even tried to seize her laptop. She successfully defended her rights. Third, she received the wrong advice from the agency when she needed to extend her passport. The agency asked her to extend her passport through the agency which required her to pay a higher fee. After debating with them, she was able to directly extend her passport at the embassy. Fourth, she was asked to pay a fee to the agency when she changed employers. She debated with the agency and finally won. In addition, she said that there were common problems faced by Indonesian domestic migrant workers, including the lack of opportunities to interact with the outside world, no holidays, afraid to voice their opinions to the agency and employer, and a lack of protection from the government.

Participant 5 began to access the online community after she migrated to Taiwan. She actively contributed to several migrant worker online communities, including contributing articles to www.buruhgmigran.or.id, a blog dedicated to Indonesian migrant workers. However, as she had limited free time, she sometimes did not finish writing some articles. She usually accessed the online community at night or when she had free time, and she used her laptop and mobile phone.

Participant 5 identified several ways in which participation in the online communities provided her with room to do some activities as an Indonesian migrant worker. First, she developed social networks through the online communities. She was aware that accessing online communities enabled migrant workers to get to know each other. As she had limited opportunity to interact with the outside world, the online communities enabled her to expand her social network, especially to extend her capability to reach others who lived far away from her workplace:

Friends who live far away from the city can access Facebook.

She interacted with them through the online communities and befriended them. When a new member of the online communities introduced himself or herself, she welcomed them and added them as friends. She conversed with them and sometimes she followed this up with a face-to-face meeting. She was happy as she had many new friends.

Second, she learned coping strategies from the online conversations. She often participated in the online conversations. When she experienced a problem, she

posted a message about her problem into the online communities which attracted others to respond. These responses helped her to formulate solutions to the problem:

...the way to solve the problem comes from friends' suggestion.

She experienced various problems such as pressure from the agency and employer which prohibited her from using a laptop, being employed in a non-job contract and being unable to take a holiday. When she experienced the problems, she posted messages in the online communities. The posted messages attracted others to respond. She felt happy as her fellow migrant workers provided her with some advice about best practices. The advice about best practices enabled her to acquire knowledge about strategies to solve problems. She was involved in several online discussions which aimed to formulate the best strategies to solve a problem. The conversations recorded various ideas about how to solve problems, especially some strategies which were also informed by best practice examples from others.

Involvement in an online conversation which aimed to solve a problem enhanced her feeling of efficacy to solve problems. Participant 5 was aware that she had enough knowledge after she received some suggestions from friends. She felt courage to cope with some problems; for example, she successfully defended her rights when the agency prohibited her from accessing her laptop. She debated the agency and won the debate.

Third, Participant 5 learned about migrant workers' rights in the online communities:

After I ask questions about passport, I get answer from many friends.

She had limited information about how to extend her passport. She received advice from the agency about how to extend the passport, and the agency tried to intimidate her to extend the passport through the agency. She asked a question in the online communities, and she received many suggestions. She felt confident to extend the passport without the agency's involvement. She felt that she had enough information about her rights to organise her passport extension herself. Likewise, in other cases of migrant workers' rights, such as migrant worker insurance, she said that the online communities provide enough knowledge:

From the message posted within ATKI Taiwan, we can understand about our rights.

Fourth, Participant 5 was aware that the online communities provided up-to-date information. She involved herself in various discussions about common interests

and problems, such as the direct hiring policy. She posted critical information about the impact of the direct hiring policy which makes new migrants face difficulties to organise the recruitment processes. The message she posted attracted others to respond with various perspectives. She believed she had up-to-date information after being involved in a discussion, and then she explained the topic to her fellow migrant workers who had no opportunity to access the online communities:

Discussing and explain various topic to those who have no FB account and Internet access.

Fifth, Participant 5 was involved in online practices which aimed to enhance the community's cohesiveness. She supported several practices conducted by online community leaders which aimed to enhance the community activities. She was aware that the practices enhanced the awareness of the community's members about the importance of community:

Message posted by friends can enhance the awareness about the importance of an organisation.

She participated to explain the role of organisation for migrant domestic workers. She provided various examples that emphasised the capabilities of the migrant domestic worker community to organise collective actions successfully. Her posted message helped other members to understand the importance of the community. Then, she successfully invited others to join the community. Participant 5 was aware that organisation creates power to make changes. Becoming involved in organisational activities can make the organisation's power stronger.

Sixth, Participant 5 criticised the government policies regarding salary increases. She expressed the view in the online communities that the policy negatively impacted those who planned to re-enter the host country. They would find it difficult to get jobs as the employer would feel it was difficult to satisfy the new salary.

Seventh, Participant 5 voiced her aspirations in the online communities about the need to reform the government's placement and protection of Indonesian migrant workers. She expressed the opinion that the protection is not good as many migrant workers still experience injustice. She posted messages which attract others to make comments and support her opinion. Her posted messages reached wide audiences and made others aware about the need to take actions towards changes. In addition, the

posted information improved the community members' spirit to struggle to break down barriers and reach better wellbeing:

Information and pictures in Facebook group enhance the spirit of community for struggling.

4.4.1.6 Participant 7

Participant 7 worked as a domestic worker in Hong Kong. She said that she had no serious problems as she felt confident to voice her aspirations to the employer; for example, she protested to the employer if the employer did not follow the law. She positioned herself equal with others:

...after first contract, my boss always obey the law as I have protested them when they asked me to extend the contract.

Participant 7 had good self-esteem and self-confidence which could be seen from her profile in the online world. Participant 7 was proud of herself and was confident to share her profession in the public area. Some national mainstream media had covered her online activities.

Although she faced no serious problems, Participant 7 was aware about three main problems faced by her fellow migrant workers in Hong Kong. First, she said that migrant workers do not have a good understanding about their rights. Second, they lack information, such as passport extension procedures. Third, they lack protection from the authorities and are frequently disadvantaged by public policies. These conditions make migrant workers less empowered when faced with problems and exploitative practices.

Participant 7 accessed the Internet using her laptop or mobile phone. Night time was the best time for her to access the Internet. She said that she conducted various online activities in online communities. She maintained contact with her friends:

For socialising and positive interaction.

She actively interacted with others through Facebook. She liked to share her perspectives about migrant workers' social condition through the online world. She wrote frequently through her popular blog. Her blog was well known and visited by many people, including non-migrant domestic workers. She emphasised that the online community enabled her to interact positively with her friends and access information which benefitted Indonesian migrant workers:

To get information, socialising and positively interact with others.

~~Participant 7~~ joined many migrant worker online communities, including ATKI Hong Kong. She shared up-to-date information related to migrant worker issues, and she shared her feelings. She frequently used her Javanese terminology when sharing her feelings. Her Javanese words conveyed her straightforward expression when discussing common interests and problems, voicing her aspirations, maintaining contact with migrant organisations, responding to some collective actions and advocating.

However, Participant 7 also pointed out that sometimes migrant workers were not ready to debate in the online world which sometimes led to misunderstandings among community members. This sometimes influenced the relationships among the members. In addition, participation in the online world can become addictive for migrant workers, which influences their work performance.

4.4.1.7 Participant 8

Participant 8 worked as a caregiver for elderly people in Taiwan. She was also a student and tutor in a university in Taiwan. She identified four main problems faced by Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan. First, the actual job of many migrant workers did not match the employment contract. Migrant workers often lacked understanding about the employment contract. This put them in a position of low bargaining power when dealing with the employer and agency, and increased their vulnerability to exploitative practices. Second, migrant workers lack understanding about the social and culture environment in the host country. They need to make a great effort to adapt to the environment. In addition, they lack Cantonese language skills, making it difficult for them to communicate in the surrounding social environment. Third, migrant workers receive low wages. They need to spend the money to repay the recruitment fee, send money home to their family and cover their living costs in the host country. These pressures create an economic burden. Fourth, migrant workers lack awareness about migrant workers' rights.

Participant 8 joined migrant workers' online communities, including ATKI Taiwan, in 2013. She accessed the online communities by using her laptop and mobile phone and she covered the cost of the Internet connection herself. However, she only accessed the online communities when she felt the need to. She spent most

of her time working and studying; therefore, she had limited time to access the online communities.

Participant 8 identified several ways in which participation in the online communities provided her with space to conduct shared practices. First, she voiced migrant workers' aspirations through the online communities:

From my perspective, I prefer to use online communities to voice migrant aspirations than discussing politics and socialising.

She was aware that voicing migrant workers' aspirations through online communities reached wide audiences. The aspirations can be equipped with data, photos and videos which can attract others to respond. Participant 8 voiced her opinion about the online service provided by the Indonesian Embassy. She demanded improvements to the embassy's online service which were perceived to be inefficient. The posted message attracted others to comment and support her views. Participant 8 used the online communities to explain how the embassy's online service should be provided. In addition, she voiced her opinion about the salary increase for domestic workers. She expressed the view the policy about salary increases was unfair. Her posts attracted others to voice their views about the fairness of the salary increase.

Second, Participant 8 maintained contact with family and friends through the online communities. When she participated in a conversation, she used this opportunity to get friends. She greeted others and made appointments to meet face-to-face with others. The online community helped her to make these appointments; by responding to the requests and proposing a schedule to meet.

Third, Participant 8 shared her feelings in the online communities when she was disappointed with a public service:

Very disappointing!!!!

She was disappointed in the services provided by the Government of Indonesia; in particular, she was disappointed with the procedure of passport extension. She felt that the procedure wasted her time as she needed to go to the office although she had already filled in the online form. When she went to the office she needed to fill in another form which wasted more of her time. Expressing her feelings in the online community enabled her to get positive responses from similar others. This expression attracted others to respond with positive comments. All of the

commenters agreed with her view, and that helped her to release the negative feelings.

Fourth, Participant 8 joined various discussions about common interests and problems faced by the community. She joined in order to discuss migrant workers' rights. She explained her perspective about those rights and received various responses. She said that joining the discussions enabled her to share her opinions and get valuable feedback. This practice enabled her to enhance her critical thinking skills and acquire knowledge. She shared her opinions and learned how other migrant workers viewed the topic of discussion.

Fifth, Participant 8 criticised the public services by posting messages about how the public services performed. She provided detailed information about the processes of the services and also an evaluation of the services. These posts attracted others to respond by agreeing with her view and providing other examples of bad experiences with public services. This information enabled users of the community to understand what aspects of public services should be enhanced.

4.4.1.8 Participant 9

Participant 9 had worked as domestic worker in Hong Kong since 2005. At the beginning of the employment, she faced many problems such as a low wage, violence in the workplace and limited opportunities to interact with the outside world. She worked for the first employer for two years, and then she moved to the new employer. She felt happy in the new workplace as the employer always followed the law. The employer only gave her one day off per month, but she received additional money from the employer in compensation for working during the holiday.

She actively accessed the Internet and conducted various activities in the online world. She was an online writer who actively posted information in social media. She was a well-known writer as she actively contributed her writing to www.kompasiana.com, a popular Indonesian citizen journalism managed by the biggest national media company in Indonesia and many blogs, including www.buruhmigran.or.id, a blog dedicated to migrant workers. She said that writing in her blog give her more opportunities to make new friends. She also accessed online communities, including ATKI Hong Kong. Night time was the best time for

her to access the online community. She spent between two to three hours daily to access the online world.

Participant 9 said that an online community plays an important role in helping migrant workers cope with problems. She said that if a new migrant worker faced problems, they can access the online community, especially on Facebook, as most migrant workers' union activists have Facebook accounts. She highlighted the contribution of online communities to migrant workers:

My fellow migrant workers can deny any news which is not fit with the reality, this shows that migrant workers in Hong Kong are more critical, smart and open, and all of those are started from information shared within Facebook.

Participant 9 was aware that online communities can be sources of knowledge for Indonesian migrant users of the online communities. She understood that accessing information through online communities can help migrant workers to gain a better understanding about migrant workers' issues and help them understand about the surrounding social environment.

Participant 9 identified several practices that were facilitated by online communities. First, she maintained and developed social networks. She made many new friends from the online communities, especially the ones who read her posts through Facebook and blogs. She was contacted by many Facebook users and made friendships with them. She felt happy after she made new friends as it reduced her feeling of loneliness. In particular, she felt happy if there was a friend request from someone who had read her writing. She met online with her existing social network as she had few opportunities to interact with the outside world.

Second, discussing common interests and problems helped her find new ideas. She felt happy when there were many comments to her posts. She could get a new idea from the shared practices. She also said that online discussions can enhance the critical thinking skills of migrant workers:

Of course, they learn to be someone who is critical, more critical, if Indonesian migrant have a good critical thinking skill, they are not just following what the government said.

Participating in online discussions helped her to learn about a topic from multiple perspectives. She read and then constructed their own ideas to respond to the topic

being discussed. This enables them to create new knowledge, which is related to their critical thinking skills.

Third, the online community helped her to learn about migrant worker rights:

Our friends who just enter and join to migrant organisation in Hong Kong, most of them use Facebook to share information about migrant rights.

She emphasised that Facebook is an easy-to-use application which is accessed by a large number of Indonesian migrant domestic workers in Hong Kong. A new migrant worker who has just come to Hong Kong can access Facebook to find the community and post questions about migrant workers' rights. She compared this with her experience in the past when she found it difficult to locate the Indonesian migrant domestic worker community. She had no mobile phone which limited her opportunities to find information. She emphasised that migrant workers can now easily access Facebook to get information especially about migrant workers' rights. Participating in the online discussions helped her to keep her knowledge about migrant workers' rights up to date. Information about migrant workers' rights in online communities can be accessed any time, which resolves migrant workers' problem of lacking time off and holidays.

Fourth, Participant 9 said that she had the opportunity to learn coping strategies from others through online communities:

She experience problem with the agency, employer, she can easily access the information.

When someone posted information about how to solve a problem regarding an agency or an employer's treatment of a migrant worker, she responded to others who posted a question about how to solve problems. She participated in the online discussion and also she responded through private messages in Facebook. She discussed how to solve the problem with her fellow migrant workers.

Fifth, Participant 9 expressed her solidarity for the migrant worker community through the online community. When her friends expressed negative feelings through the online community, she responded to them. She provided support to them, which was followed up by a conversation through private message:

I don't want it is happen to my Facebook friend. We should remind her.

Participant 9 stated that she stood by her friend's side when she found her friend met difficulties. She supported her friend to help her release her negative feelings. Participant 9 said that she found that many Indonesian migrant domestic workers expressed their emotional tension in online communities. Sometimes they appeared to be aggressive to others which potentially attracted others to respond. She reminded them through private message that their practice can break community cohesiveness. She emphasised to them that she was reminding them because she did not want them to face any difficulties as a consequence of their strong expression.

Sixth, Participant 9 believed that online communities helped migrant workers to clarify some issues with confidence. In this case, she illustrated the processes of clarifying an issue about migrant wage increases. Migrant workers' communities had spent much effort to ask for an increase of salary; however, a government official claimed that the salary increase was a result of his efforts. The migrant worker community united to clarify this statement and emphasised that the salary increase was a consequence of their efforts.

4.4.1.9 Participant 11

Participant 11 was a leader in the migrant worker community in Hong Kong. She migrated to Hong Kong for a domestic worker's job several years ago. As a community leader, she had an excellent awareness of migrant workers' problems of which she emphasised four main problems. First, all migrant domestic workers are required to live with the employer; consequently they are isolated from the outside world and lack the opportunity to develop themselves. The employer has more power to monitor the migrant worker's movements and activities. Employers can control what the migrant workers do, even controlling the way migrant workers communicate with others especially their fellow migrant workers. Participant 11 said that having a day off work provides a good opportunity for migrant workers to interact with others as they can escape from the workplace. Second, migrant workers experience violence and abuse in the workplace. They have a low bargaining position when dealing with the employer. Third, the recruitment processes are not beneficial for migrant workers. They need to pay a high recruitment fee which creates an economical burden for migrant workers. In addition, the agencies do not provide a clear job contract and there is a lack of preparation before departure to the host

country. Consequently, migrant workers lack an understanding about the job contract, the culture in the host country and migrant workers' rights. Fourth, migrant workers are not well protected by the government; she found that some public policies disadvantaged migrant workers. She said that the government does not stand on the migrant workers' side.

Participant 11 created the ATKI Hong Kong online community for Indonesian migrant workers in Hong Kong. She also joined many migrant worker online communities. She said that the online community was created to respond to the isolated work conditions of migrant workers. She experienced difficulties to interact with the outside world when she first arrived in Hong Kong as she had no access to the online world. She lacked information about what was happening in the outside world. She believed that the online community can break the isolation by providing a virtual space for interactions among Indonesian migrant workers. She believed that interaction among migrant workers is a foundation of migrant workers' self and community development. She believed that the online community she created was very helpful and cheap and made it easy to facilitate migrant workers' interactions:

Because online community is cheap, easy and able to reach a lot of Indonesian migrant workers.

As a leader of the migrant worker community, Participant 11 conducted seven types of practices in the online community. First, she greeted migrant worker community members on special occasions. This activity enabled her to develop social networks and maintain her social connections. She received many positive responses both from her existing friends and new friends. She felt more connected with her social environment as she could maintain a communicative relationship with her social networks. This activity broke the isolation in the workplace.

Second, she encouraged others to keep their spirits high in the host country. She was aware that migrant workers often lack psychological wellbeing as their work requires them to live with the employers who have power over their daily lives. She was aware that many migrant workers faced problems and needed support:

Hello, how's going my fellow migrants, Good morning and have a great day. Take care and of course you need to keep the spirit high!

She also provided support for her fellow migrant workers who faced problems; for example, she supported a fellow migrant worker who had been exploited by the

agency. She encouraged her to fight against the exploitation. Her encouragement of other migrant workers through online communities reached wide audiences. This activity attracted other migrant workers to respond positively.

Third, as a community leader, Participant 11 frequently enhanced the cohesiveness of the community. She was aware that the cohesiveness of the community can be enhanced through improving the feeling of connectedness among community members. She conducted this practice through various ways, including expressing solidarity when migrant workers experienced problems, persuading others to unite in the community, and inviting others to join community activities. These activities improved the members' awareness of the power of the community. There were various responses which highlighted the importance of the organisation. They also highlighted that the community needed to unite to break down the common barriers effectively.

Fourth, Participant 11 provided detailed information about migration and migrant workers' rights. She frequently uploaded messages about migrant workers' rights and the implementation of the rights. She supplemented the information with some best practice examples about migrant workers' rights.

Fifth, Participant 11 criticised the public policies that were perceived to disadvantage migrant workers. She revealed many facts that showed how the public policies disadvantaged migrant workers. She informed others about how the government protected migrant workers in some cases; for example, she posted detailed information about the progress of reforming the Indonesian migrant worker law. She provided information about the processes to revise the law and highlighted some important information.

Sixth, Participant 11 voiced migrant workers' aspirations. When violence was experienced by a migrant worker, she voiced the demands of the migrant worker community through the online communities. She frequently voiced migrant workers' aspirations as she was aware that her voice would reach a wide audience.

Seventh, Participant 11 organised collective actions to pressure the authorities to change the public policies. She discussed with others about the issues, invited others to join the actions and posted the results of the actions.

4.4.1.10 Participant 12

Participant 12 was a leader in an Indonesian migrant workers union. She had worked in Hong Kong as a domestic worker since 2001. She identified five main problems faced by a domestic worker. First, migrant workers lack language skills and cultural awareness. Consequently, migrant workers face difficulties in the settlement processes. Second, migrant workers lack understanding about migrant workers' rights. They were not well prepared to migrate. In most cases, the migrant workers' rights were not well explained to them by the agency. Consequently, migrant workers lack an understanding about their rights. Third, migrant workers lack psychological wellbeing, and they experience loneliness and low self-efficacy when dealing with the employer and agency. Migrant workers feel afraid that their job contract may be terminated as a consequence of expressing their views to the employer or agency. Migrant workers need their jobs as they have spent a lot of money to cover the recruitment fee. In addition, this situation is made worse as there is not enough protection from the authorities. Fourth, migrant domestic workers live with the employers who have more power to control and monitor their daily activities. Migrant workers feel isolated, and lack self-efficacy and self-esteem. Fifth, the government does not stand on the migrant workers' side. She believed that some public policies disadvantaged migrant workers.

Participant 12 had interacted with online communities since 2008 when she created a Facebook account. She used a mobile phone and laptop access the online communities. She accessed the online communities 24 hours a day, but she hid the laptop in her cabinet at work. She felt a lack of freedom to access the online communities openly because she lived with her employer. She found it difficult to access the online communities as she had a high workload. However, she always accessed the online communities during her limited free time, mostly at night. In addition, she needed to spend a lot of money to pay for her Internet connection.

Participant 12 said that she accessed the online communities because of her roles as a parent and migrant worker community leader. As a parent, she needed to maintain contact with her children. Accessing online communities enhanced her knowledge about teenagers and youngsters which was beneficial when she interacted with her children.

As a migrant worker community leader, she conducted various types of shared online practices in the online community. First, she greeted the members of the online community and also her family. On special occasions, she greeted members of the online community. She was aware of the need to preserve a communicative relationship with friends and family.

Second, Participant 12 learned about migrant workers' rights from the online community. She posted information about migrant workers' rights which attracted others to respond. She received some best practice examples from others. These conversations were beneficial to her as she acquired knowledge about migrant workers' rights.

Third, she provided consultation about coping strategies. She had a lot of experience about the way to solve migrant workers' problems. She was well known as a senior migrant worker and leader of the migrant workers' union, so many migrant workers contacted her to discuss some migrant worker problems. She preferred to discuss these through private messages.

Fourth, she discussed common interests and problems through the online community:

We also discuss with member of the online community, if face-to-face discussion, they lack of self-efficacy to speak.

She was aware that many Indonesian migrant domestic workers experienced a lack of self-efficacy to voice their aspirations, and even to voice their aspirations in the community. She preferred to conduct an online discussion which enhanced their self-confidence to speak. When she asked others to voice their aspirations about community activities, she found that her posted messages received responses from many members of the communities. In addition, online discussions enabled the members of the communities to participate at any time. Participant 12 stated that the frequency of discussion increased when the community faced a problem. Members went to the online community to discuss the problem with a wide audience. The online discussion was a record of the conversation, which served the role as discussion material which can be read before migrant workers participate in the discussion. This helps migrant workers to reach a better understanding about the topic.

Fifth, Participant 12 used the online community to invite others to join community activities:

If we plan to conduct a community activity in Victoria Park, including workshop and training, friends who have no information about this activity, finally attend to the activity.

Inviting others to join community activities through the online community reached wide audiences. She posted the detailed information of the event in the online communities. When other members responded to the invitation, she replied to each one and encouraged them to attend the activity. In addition, Participant 12 supplemented the invitation with photos and illustrations that attract others to attend the activity. This practice enhanced the members' awareness of the power of the community as users of the community can learn about the importance of unity.

Sixth, Participant 12 organised collective actions through the online community. She frequently informed others about some migrant workers' issues and campaigned on the issues to wide audiences:

We adopt to campaign, if there is a call from the centre [of organisation], we publish a status, for example about overcharging, campaign to reject KTKLN [ID card] or IMWU [Indonesian Migrant Workers Union] anniversary.

Participant 12 was aware that online communities can reach wide audiences; a message posted in an online community reaches a wide audience quickly. She was aware of the effectiveness of organising collective actions through online communities:

Online community hosted in Facebook is very helpful, because we can campaign, and deliver information to our friends although it is only in a virtual world.

She frequently organised online campaigns. She contacted members of the communities to make sure that they would support the online activism. However, sometimes the invitation resulted in a discussion. Some of her fellow migrant workers felt that the online activism was not important. Their comments sometimes led to blunders that influenced the relationships among migrant workers. Some migrant workers misunderstood others' comments; this influenced their emotional wellbeing and sometimes led to a breakdown in relationships.

4.4.1.11 Participant 13

Participant 13 had migrated to work as a domestic worker in Hong Kong. She identified five major problems faced by migrant workers. First, migrant workers experienced difficulties to adapt to the employer and the employer's family. Migrant workers needed to understand more about the habits and language of the family. Second, migrant domestic workers lack autonomy and authority as they live with the family. Third, migrant workers face economic pressures as they get low wages. At the same time, migrant workers need to spend their income to help their family at home and repay the migration fee. Fourth, migrant workers lack psychological wellbeing as they are isolated and face many problems. Fifth, there is a lack of protection from the authorities.

Participant 13 said that she felt she needed to access the Internet. She was influenced by her fellow migrant workers who actively persuaded her to use social media such as Yahoo Messenger and Facebook. She was fortunate as the employer did not restrict her to access the Internet, and the employer even provided an Internet connection for her. In addition, the employer allowed her to access the Internet when she felt need to. Therefore, she was able to access the Internet any time, especially when she needed to advocate on migrant worker issues.

Participant 13 stated that online communities empower migrant workers by providing virtual spaces in which they can conduct various practices. She identified various practices that she and other migrant workers performed in the online communities.

First, online communities enabled migrant workers to break down the barriers that prevented them from meeting each other. Their working conditions isolated migrant workers from the outside world:

At least helpful, if we want to meet face-to-face, we must wait until holiday, if we have FB, we can share feeling anytime.

The online communities enabled her to greet others at any time she felt the need to do so. She also expressed her feelings through the online community. Many users of the online community responded to her views which made them feel better. Participant 13 also preserved the communicative relationship by listening to others

through the online community. This practice enabled her to maintain contact with her family and friends.

Second, Participant 13 developed her social network through the online community. She met with users of the online community in virtual spaces. She made a friendship with many users of the online community.

Third, she discussed common interests and problems through the online community:

I enter to a community which discusses migrant problems.

She posted various statuses about migrant workers' problems which attracted others to respond. For instance, she posted information about the KTKLN ID card. This post attracted others to respond and to share their views on the issue from multiple perspectives. She shared her opinions, supplemented by some experiences related to the topic being discussed. These conversations enabled her to acquire knowledge and enhance her critical thinking skills.

Fourth, Participant 13 learned coping strategies from others. She said that her fellow migrant workers, especially users of the online community, helped her to solve her problems. She illustrated this point with an example of how an online community enabled migrant workers to formulate coping strategies:

A friend faced a problem about KTKLN, she joined with a community in which most of the users understand about KTKLN, she can interact, ask a question, therefore, when she has returned back to Indonesia, she understands about KTKLN. It is problem solving.

She actively communicated with others about the disadvantages of the KTKLN and how to avoid the problems associated with it. She provided information in the online community which helped others to gain a better understanding of this issue. The information helped others understand how to solve problems. Migrant domestic workers learn the best practices from others and implement the best practice to solve their own problem.

Fifth, the online community helped the migrant worker community to enhance its cohesiveness. Participant 13 actively participated in distributing information about community activities and invited her fellow migrant workers to join in. She reached a wide audience and received many responses from the online community users. Then,

she encouraged them to join the community activities and urged them to see the important role of the community.

Sixth, the online community enabled migrant workers to organise collective actions. Participant 13 highlighted that the online community made the process to organise collective actions easier:

Online community is more powerful for campaign.

She contributed to the online activism by updating her statuses about migrant workers' issues, and then she invited others to join actions. The information reached a wide audience which would potentially support the collective actions. Her actions improved the chance to influence the social and political conditions as the actions received a lot of support from wide audiences. Participant 13 stated that organising collective actions through the online community enhance the ability of the community to influence public policy; for example, she said that the community successfully influenced the policy on the KTKLN ID card.

4.4.1.12 Participant 16

Participant 16 worked as a domestic worker in Taiwan. She identified three main problems faced by migrant domestic workers. First, many migrant workers experienced a mismatch between the employment contract and the actual job. Second, migrant workers experienced violence or sexual harassment in the workplace. Third, there were limited opportunities for migrant workers to interact with the outside world; in some cases, they were even restricted from using their mobile phone or laptop to access the Internet.

Participant 16 joined many migrant worker online communities. She accessed the online communities when she had free time, using her mobile phone. However, she said she only actively participated in online communities which she perceived helped her to cope with migrant workers' problems. She said that she liked to join online communities where migrant workers shared their solidarity, helped with each other and formulated coping strategies for others who faced problems.

Participant 16 stated that the online community is very useful as migrant domestic workers have limited opportunities to conduct practices freely as they live with the employer:

Online world is very helpful as we have limited opportunity to reach the outside world. We help each other in there [the online community], give suggestion to solve the problem to each other. For migrants face with problems, they will feel relax as they feel their fellow migrants help them.

Participant 16 said that these practices can help migrant workers feel better, and even enhance migrant workers' self-efficacy and self-esteem. She believed that an online community serve a strategic role in empowering migrant workers. She highlighted the egalitarian nature of the online community which enabled migrant workers to conduct practices democratically.

She identified several practices that she conducted which she believed were useful for migrant workers. First, she shared her feelings and thoughts in the online community. She shared her feelings when she felt tired in the workplace. She found that her fellow migrant workers were the ones who listened to her feelings. She felt relaxed as she can release her negative feelings.

Second, she developed and maintained a social network online. She greeted her fellow migrant workers and talked about trivial things. She said that sometimes the conversation started from a trivial topic, and then merged into a serious topic. This practice enhanced her feeling of connectedness to her social environment, especially the migrant worker community.

Third, Participant 16 was involved in formulating coping strategies. She said that online conversations helped her to formulate coping strategies:

Provide and receive the way to solve the problems.

She learned from others' best practices, and then re-formulated the best practices in order to match them with her own problem. This practice enhanced her confidence to cope with problems.

Fourth, Participant 16 encouraged others to be strong when facing problems. The online conversations enabled her to know when her fellow migrant workers were facing serious problems. She felt compassionate and needed to support the victim. She felt a need to persuade her fellow migrant workers to be strong when facing problems:

If there is a story like that, feeling compassion is sure, and gives support.

When others shared stories about migrant worker problems, she felt sadness and compassion. She expressed her sadness and supported the victims through the online communities.

Fifth, Participant 16 was involved in various discussions about common interests and problems. She shared her problems which attracted others to comment:

All problems, we shared.

She said she loved to discuss the common problems and issues in the online communities. She found that she gained various perspectives and new ideas about the topic discussed:

If online community, there are many people, with different characteristics, which ready to help and interact,provide various better ideas.

She liked to talk about various migrant worker issues. She listened to the conversations and sometimes commented in the conversations. She felt that participating in an online discussion improved her critical thinking skills as she recognised and accessed various different perspectives.

Sixth, Participant 16 was involved in practices that enhanced the cohesiveness of the community. She said that migrant workers shared bad experiences and these posts attracted others to comment. It aroused her feelings of solidarity and sympathy with others. These conversations enhanced the feeling of connectedness among members of the migrant worker community and improved the bonding of the community.

Seventh, Participant 16 stated that the online community can be a channel to voice migrant workers' aspirations. She said that migrant worker activists frequently voiced aspirations through the online community. The aspirations attracted others to comment. They also shared the aspirations on their Facebook wall which can reach a wide audience. She said that the group frequently discussed their problems and formulated the advocacy strategies:

If ATKI discusses our problem as migrant worker, it is good, from my perspective, how do they defend our right.

Furthermore, she believed that privacy and freedom of expression are values that support an online community. Facebook provides a message tool which is useful for conducting a conversation with privacy. She said that the Facebook profile is useful

as she can get to know deeper about her online friends from the profile. She talked about freedom of expression in the online world. Sometimes her fellow migrant workers expressed their feelings and thoughts without restriction in the online community. She often noticed some online users uploaded a picture which was unaccepted by the community. This practice triggered debates among them, and in some cases this practice broke the relationships among the migrant workers.

4.4.1.13 Participant 17

Participant 17 migrated to Hong Kong after previously working in Singapore. She felt fortunate as she had a democratic and egalitarian employer both in Singapore and Hong Kong. In Hong Kong, she felt afraid to discuss her activities with her employer. On one occasion, her employer saw her appear on television, and then the employer asked her about activities in migrant worker organisations. The employer told her that she should not be afraid to explain what she is doing. After that, she began to tell her employer about what she does in the Indonesian migrant worker community. The employer supported her, and even drove her to the places where activities were hosted. In addition, the employer encouraged her to access the Internet, even giving her a computer equipped with Internet access.

Participant 17 felt that she had no serious problems. However, she was aware that her fellow migrant workers faced many problems. She read various stories about migrant workers' problems from the online community which aroused her compassion:

Because I prefer to follow online group which is dedicated for Indonesian migrant worker, I listen whatever migrant share their feelings, from those I know that their condition need concern.

She identified four main problems faced by migrant domestic workers. First, the government does not provide enough protection for domestic workers. Some public policies do not accommodate migrant workers' interests. Second, many migrant workers face exploitation from the pre-employment phase until their return to the home country. Third, some migrant domestic workers experienced violence in the workplace. Fourth, migrant workers lack an understanding of their rights; consequently, they have a weak bargaining position in front of their employer and agency.

Participant 17 identified seven practices that she and others conducted in the online community. First, she listened to migrant workers who shared their feelings in the online community:

We encourage our friend to share whet ever they feel, from that we understand that their condition need concern.

She sympathised with the condition of her fellow migrant workers. She acted as a listener who was willing to listen to the negative feelings. This practice helped migrant workers to release stress.

Second, she liked to develop friendships with others online. She accepted all friend requests on Facebook. However, she felt disappointed when somebody posted some inappropriate information on her Facebook wall.

Third, she was involved in formulating coping strategies with others. She said that migrant domestic workers had few opportunities to read important information, for example about the proper procedures when their employment is terminated by the employer. She decided to provide this information online and explain it to others.

Fourth, Participant 17 persuaded others to join the organisation. She approached other migrant workers to unite with the community. She explained to others that migrant workers need to unite to break down various barriers. She also communicated some migrant workers' issues to them.

Fifth, she discussed common interests and problems in the community:

Through the online community, I can read, various things that I don't know before, someone posted a new issues, and then I know

She read and then discussed various migrant workers' issues. She also commented on the issues posted by her fellow migrant workers. This practice helped her to acquire awareness about migrant workers' issues.

Sixth, she monitored and criticised the government. When there was an official visitation from the ministry, she posted the dialogue between the ministry and migrant worker community which was broadcast through the migrant worker community radio. The posted dialogue enabled migrant workers to see how the ministry worked to protect them. They criticised the ministry's work because they perceived the ministry did not stand on their side. Many migrant workers then understood the situation and were able to formulate demands for the government to

improve the protection system. This practice enhanced the power of the migrant worker community to formulate strategies to influence public policies.

Seventh, Participant 17 was involved in organising collective actions:

The online world is very helpful for supporting migrant effort, with Facebook, I felt assisted to help my fellow migrant understand about migrant issues.

She updated information about migrant workers' issues and related public policies. She also criticised the public policies. She believed that this online practice helped to enhance her knowledge about migrant workers' issues.

4.4.1.14 Participant 18

Participant 18 was a migrant worker who worked as domestic worker in Hong Kong. She said that this job required her to live with the employer, where the freedom to perform practices and interact with the outside world was limited. She identified three main problems faced by migrant workers such as herself. First, she experienced difficulties to adapt with the lifestyle of the employer families. She lacked language skills and lacked understanding about the employers' habits. Second, migrant workers lack knowledge of migrant workers' rights; for example, migrant workers often do not know that they have the right to take a day off work once a week. Third, many migrant workers get underpaid and experience violence in the workplace.

Participant 18 was aware that interacting with the outside world was beneficial for her self-development. In addition, interacting with the outside world enhanced her understanding about migrant workers' rights. As she had limited access to the outside world, she joined many migrant workers' online communities. The nature of the online world whereby any uploaded content is recorded helped her to access and acquire knowledge. She accessed the online world mostly at night by using her laptop which was equipped with Internet access.

Participant 18 identified seven practices that she and others conducted in the space provided by the online community. First, she met others and maintained contacts through the online community. This practice enhanced her feeling of togetherness and reduced her loneliness.

Second, she developed her social network through the online community:

From Facebook, I get many friends, before I don't know them, at Facebook I know them, actually people who never meet with me, I can meet with them in Facebook, even old friend, because they have moved to different town, can meet in Facebook.

The online community enabled her to passively monitor others and then contact them if she was interested in doing so. She made many new friends which widened her social network further.

Third, she shared her feelings in the online community:

It could be just an expression of feelings, as they have no place to express their feelings.

Online communities provide an egalitarian and democratic space for the users. They can express their feelings without pressure from others. The online community plays a role as a medium of expression which helps migrant workers to release their stress.

Fourth, Participant 18 shared information about how to cope with problems, especially related to how to demand their rights. Migrant workers frequently faced a problem related to their rights. Participant 18 shared best practices about various problems. Her information-sharing activities attracted others to respond. Then they discussed the best strategy to cope with the problem.

Fifth, Participant 18 accessed the online community to discuss common interests. She lacked the opportunity to read about migrant workers' issues. The online communities helped her to access migrant workers' issues. She posted some questions to get the detail about the issues. The posted questions attracted others to respond. The conversation helped her to acquire knowledge about migrant workers.

Sixth, Participant 18 was involved in enhancing the community cohesiveness. They talked about various topics, from trivial things like the translation of Indonesian to Cantonese, to a range of serious problems. They supported each other, which enhanced the bonding among community members.

Seventh, Participant 18 was involved in organising collective actions. She explained the objective of the actions and then persuaded others to join. She distributed some photos of actions which attracted others to comment. Then she responded to the commenters and persuaded them to join the actions. She also voiced aspirations through the online community which attracted others to respond.

4.4.1.15 Participant 19

Participant 19 worked as domestic worker in Hong Kong. This work required her to live with the employer, which restricted her freedom to access the outside world. She felt fortunate as the employer allowed her to access the Internet, and even provided her with free Internet access. She said that she faced the effects of some public policies which did not accommodate migrant workers' interests. In addition, she said that many migrant workers lack an understanding about their rights and they experience violence in the workplace.

Participant 19 felt that she needed to access the online community. She was aware that the online community provided a space for her to conduct many practices. In addition she was aware that the online community helped migrant workers to cope with problems:

Using Facebook [online community], they can search information and group within Facebook can help them to solve their problems.

Participant 19 conducted three main practices in the online community. First, she learned about migrant workers' rights. She shared her experience about migrant workers' rights which attracted others to respond. She learned from the conversations and acquired knowledge about the implementation of migrant workers' rights.

Second, she learned coping strategies from others. She was involved in formulating coping strategies when someone asked about how to solve a problem. She joined the conversation and shared her experiences. She also suggested the way to solve the problem:

This is how to help others, for example someone confuse how to get KTKLN [ID card], how to solve it, I caught with this case, how to solve it. From the information we find that the organisation can support, can provide a consultation.

Third, she was involved in organising collective actions. She accessed some important information about migrant workers' cases through the online community; she shared the information in the online community and persuaded others to fight against injustice. She provided detailed information, supplemented by the rationale behind the actions. Then she persuaded others to support and join the actions.

Participant 19 said it was necessary to utilize all the tools available in online communities for migrant worker advocacy. She put a logo which symbolises migrant workers' struggle in her Facebook profile and added a statement asking for migrant

workers' justice. She said that many migrant workers did not utilise the tools on Facebook for migrant workers' advocacy.

4.4.2 Participants Who Do Not Live at Their Workplace

4.4.2.1 Participant 6

Participant 6 worked as a factory worker in Taiwan. He was actively involved in various Indonesian migrant worker community activities. He was aware that Indonesian migrant workers face various problems such as lack of protection, high recruitment fees, lack of opportunities to interact with the outside world, excessive workload, employers' failure to comply with the employment contract and many public policies that do not accommodate migrant workers' interests. He said that Indonesian migrant workers who work in the domestic sector are the group most likely to experience those problems.

Participant 6 said that it was important to access online communities. He created a Facebook account after he migrated to Taiwan. He joined various online communities, but he only actively participated in the conversation in the ATKI Taiwan online community on Facebook. He said that he lacked ICT literacy, so he only accessed Facebook and YouTube. He preferred to access online communities through his mobile phone in the night after he finished his work. He rarely initiated a conversation but he commented on many posts that discussed public policies and migrant workers' rights. He frequently posted, sometimes by copying and pasting from the online communities, about migrant workers' issues on his Facebook wall as he thought that it would reach a larger audience.

Participant 6 identified seven practices that he conducted in the online community. First, he developed his social network through the online community. He commented on various posts and interacted with many users. These activities enabled him to get to know others and make new friends. He felt happy as he felt more connected with the surrounding environment.

Second, he encouraged others to defend migrant workers' rights. He made comments to others who faced challenges that they do not need to be afraid even though they were under many pressures. He said that migrant workers need to be brave to fight against any exploitation:

As long as we are in the right position, we do not need to be afraid to agency.

Participant 6 supplemented the encouragement with advice on best practices. The encouragement lifted the spirits of migrant workers in their life in the host country. Likewise, he received encouragement from others which lifted his spirits about his life:

Your posts message enhances our struggle.

Third, he maintained contact with his friends through the online community. He conducted this practice through various ways, such as greeting others, appreciating others and making appointments with others. He felt that the online communities enabled him to preserve his communicative relationship with his friends.

Fourth, he expressed his feelings through the online community. When migrant workers experienced problems such as violence, he expressed his feeling of solidarity within the online community. He also expressed his disappointment about the government's performance through the online community.

Fifth, he was involved in several online practices which aimed to formulate coping strategies. He commented on several posted messages which discussed coping strategies. He provided detailed information and constructed a formula to cope with challenges for those who experienced problems.

Sixth, he liked to express his opinions about government activities regarding migrant worker protection. He criticised the government's performance especially in relation to policy-making. He said that he had better awareness about migrant worker policy after learning about some issues posted in the online community. This activity increased his awareness about how to influence public policy.

Seventh, he was involved in some activities to organise collective actions. When the migrant worker community experienced a common problem such as the inappropriate implementation of the KTKLN ID card, he voiced his views and joined online collective actions to reject the KTKLN. He expressed this on one post in simple terms as follows:

Delete KTKLN.

Participant 6 posted this message on his Facebook wall many times over a period of time. He joined the online activities on this issue which were conducted by many Indonesian migrant workers.

4.4.2.2 Participant 10

Participant 10 migrated to Taiwan when she married a Taiwanese man. She joined the ATKI Taiwan online community because she was aware that many migrant workers face problems and need support. She noted five particular problems faced by migrant workers. First, many migrant workers do not have holidays or days off work which means they have limited opportunities to interact with others. Second, migrant workers lack psychological wellbeing. Third, migrant workers lack an understanding of Taiwanese culture and lack Cantonese language skills. Fourth, migrant workers have a low bargaining position in front of the employer and agency. Finally, sometimes they have no information about how to get support when faced with a problem such as violence in the workplace.

Participant 10 accessed the online community in order to support migrant workers who faced problems. She usually accessed the online community at night, and sometimes during the day if she had free time. She said that the online community provided an alternative space for conducting practices for migrant workers who are isolated in the workplace:

We could have a lot of friends, at least although they have limited opportunity to hang out, they can chat and meet friends through Facebook where they can share their feelings.

Participant 10 usually acted as a listener to migrant domestic workers who faced problems. This practice enabled the migrant workers to release their negative feelings and feel relaxed. Her fellow migrant workers felt they had a friend who was ready to help them. Migrant workers feel relaxed as they can meet online with someone who is able to listen and persuade them. Participant 10 also provided advice which can help migrant workers to solve their problems. She persuaded migrant workers to reach better self-efficacy. Participant 10 also helped migrant workers to formulate coping strategies and informed them how to get support if they faced problems

Participant 10 also played a role as a language and cultural teacher for migrant workers. She helped migrant workers who lacked understanding about Cantonese

language and local culture. She helped migrant workers to interpret the language and gestures used by the employer when interacting with the domestic worker. This practice helped migrant workers who felt annoyed or frustrated by the employer's communication.

4.4.2.3 Participant 14

Participant 14 was a migrant worker from Indonesia who developed a small business in Hong Kong. She was a participating member of the migrant worker online community, and actively participated in various migrant workers' activities. She was aware that her fellow migrant workers, especially those who work as domestic workers, face many serious problems. She said that migrant domestic workers experienced discrimination and violence in the workplace.

Participant 14 joined the online community as she was aware that the online community can provide a space for interaction. She was happy to develop friendships with various people. She participated in the online community by liking and positively commenting on some posts. She also greeted others through the online community. She believed that the online community can help her to make new friends and maintain contact with them. She felt happy as she can interact and preserve the communicative relationship with her fellow migrant workers.

Participant 14 said that the online community can help her to enhance her knowledge about migrant workers' issues. She said that the online community can help migrant workers enhance their abilities to cope with problems in the host country:

Because I can find answer of the faced problems from the online community.

In addition, she actively participated in many online advocacy activities on Facebook that were organised by the Indonesian migrant worker community. She participated by changing her profile to a logo symbolising migrant workers' efforts to fight against injustice. She also uploaded various statuses to support migrant workers' struggles.

On the other hand, she said that there are some negative effects of online communities. Uncontrollable debates sometimes negatively affect migrant workers' friendships, especially when there was a misunderstanding among them. In addition,

she said that online games and pornography reduced the usefulness of the online community.

4.4.2.4 Participant 15

Participant 15 had been an activist in the Indonesian migrant workers' association in Taiwan since 2010. He worked in Taiwan from 2010 until 2012 as a factory worker. He returned to Indonesia in 2013. He planned to migrate to Taiwan in 2014.

Participant 15 had a good awareness of migrant workers' social conditions, especially domestic workers' social conditions, as he actively participated in the community. In his view, migrant workers face five main problems. First, there is a lack of protection from the authorities. Second, he himself experienced a difference between the actual salary and the employment contract. Third, domestic workers have no set work hours. They often work more than eight hours per day. Fourth, migrant workers have a low bargaining position in front of the agency and employer. Fifth, many migrant workers were overcharged for the recruitment fee which created an additional economic burden for them.

Participant 15 was aware that the Indonesian migrant worker community needed to break down the barriers to interaction and occupy a space to conduct practices. He initiated an online conference using mobile phones, and introduced the benefits of the Facebook community to leaders of the Indonesian migrant worker community in Taiwan which brought about the establishment of the online community. He was aware that the online community provided a room for meeting and strengthening the cohesiveness of the community to fight against injustice:

At that time, the association did not use online community yet, I recommended to them for adopting an online community. As we can communicate with each other any time anywhere, it is better.

Participant 15 was aware that interactions are the foundation of community cohesiveness and power to achieve objectives. He actively communicated through the online community using his mobile phone and laptop. In addition, he maintained his channel of interactions through Facebook by uploading various statuses including a statement for the just treatment of Indonesian migrant workers.

Participant 15 conducted eight particular online practices in the online community. First, he maintained contact with his friends. He shared information about the social conditions in Taiwan with his friends which helped him to preserve a

communicative relationship with his surrounding social environment. This practice enhanced his feeling of connectedness.

Second, he developed his social network around migrant worker community activists:

*Because, she has more social network, then she endorse me to ATKI HK, led by ***and ***, ATKI Korea and other Indonesian migrant worker network, YLBHI.*

Participant 15 had a wide social network around migrant worker community activists. He shared information about migrant workers' problems which attracted others to become his friends. His awareness of migrant workers' social conditions attracted others to develop a friendship with him. They were tied by an objective to demand fair treatment for the migrant worker community.

Third, Participant 15 encouraged others to fight against any exploitation and unjust treatment experienced by migrant workers. He responded to various posts providing information about migrant workers' problems and encouraged others to be strong. He showed his strong self-efficacy which helped him to fight against any unjust treatment. He was optimistic about the ability to reach a common welfare agenda for the migrant worker community.

Fourth, he learned coping strategies from others. He responded to information about migrant workers' problems and discussed the ways to resolve them. He said that the discussions helped the community to formulate a coping strategy:

Regarding with information about migrant problem, we debate it and formulate the solution.

Fifth, he liked to join online discussions to debate common migrant workers' issues and problems. He debated the processes of recruitment which he perceived were unfair for migrant workers. The community members viewed the topic from multiple perspectives which helped them to construct new knowledge about migrant workers' issues. He reached a better understanding about various migrant workers' issues and enhanced his critical thinking skills.

Sixth, Participant 15 voiced the aspirations of the migrant worker community. He was aware that this kind of migration was not a good choice as migrants worked as low-skilled workers. He voiced their expectation of good leadership in Indonesia.

He said that good leadership can help the migrant worker community to reach its common welfare agenda.

Seventh, Participant 15 articulated the community's future objectives. He attracted others to comment and share their views about their common welfare agenda and its achievement.

Eighth, he was involved in organising collective actions. He played the role as a person who invited and encouraged others to join the collective actions. He posted comments emphasising that they needed to fight against exploitation and unjust treatment together. He was aware that togetherness will enhance the capability of the community to influence public policies, and even to pressure the authorities to make changes.

4.5 CONCLUSION

Indonesian migrant workers usually work as low-skilled workers and are perceived as a vulnerable community because they experience various problems. They lack the authority and autonomy to conduct practices, which makes them less empowered. In this study, most of the participants emphasised that they faced many challenges from the recruitment process until they returned to the home country. Those who worked as domestic workers lived with the employer, which meant they lacked opportunities to access the outside world. They spent most of their time at their workplace where the employer had power to monitor and control them. They also lacked psychological wellbeing and bargaining power in front of the employer and agency. In addition, most domestic workers had low awareness about their rights, which influenced their courage to voice their views. Furthermore, they were afraid to lose their jobs as they faced continual pressure to earn money for their families. Some participants who had fair employers and faced no serious problems clarified that their fellow migrant workers faced difficult situations. In addition, domestic workers are less protected by the government as they are usually categorised as informal workers and not covered by the labour law. Furthermore, the workplace is not an egalitarian place which makes it difficult for domestic workers to voice their views and conduct practices to develop themselves.

Online communities provide migrant workers with an egalitarian space where people can exercise their power and develop themselves. This is an essential part of

the empowerment process. In online communities, participants conduct practices without fear and without pressure from others. They can access information, interact, share their feelings and thoughts, collaborate and take actions together towards changes. These practices contribute to enhancing the psychological wellbeing of migrant workers, helping them to acquire knowledge and take actions towards changes.

These findings help to enhance the understanding about the processes of empowerment within online communities. Further examination of the data is presented in the following chapter. Specifically, the following chapter discusses the themes which emerged from the data on online practices. In addition, the following chapter discusses the themes which emerged from the data on outcomes.

Chapter 5: Research Findings: The Empowerment Processes of Migrant Domestic Workers

5.1 CHAPTER PREVIEW

This chapter presents the findings from the virtual ethnographic study which shows the interpretation of the empowerment processes for migrant domestic workers in the online community context. In particular, this chapter presents detailed descriptive material which forms a bridge from the analysis processes explained in Chapter 3 to the more detailed analysis in Chapter 6. The material presented in this chapter is categorised in three groups. The first group presents the online practices which are perceived to empower migrant workers. This group includes the various online practices which are perceived to contribute to the processes of empowerment. The second group presents the outcomes of the online practices which are evaluated from the individual perspective. The third group includes the empowerment outcomes from the community perspective.

5.2 SHARED ONLINE PRACTICES WHICH ARE PERCEIVED EMPOWER MIGRANT WORKERS

This section discusses the online practices which are perceived empower migrant workers. Online practices are described as the application of methods, ideas or beliefs in the online community context (Puig-i-Abril & Rojas, 2007). Such practices manifest in the various online activities conducted by members of the community. Empowerment is described as a process which contributes to the capabilities of migrant workers and their community to cope with challenges, break down barriers, take actions towards change and reach better wellbeing (Adamson, 2010; Hennink et al., 2012; Kroecker, 1995; Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995; Tengland, 2008). Practices which are perceived to empower refer to a group of online activities that result in various outcomes which enhance the capability of migrant workers to cope with challenges, break down barriers, take actions towards changes and reach better wellbeing. Ten practices were identified from the online observation and interviews as follows:

- Socialising with each other
- Discussing common interests and problems
- Organising collective actions
- Discussing community vision.

5.2.1 Practice of Socialising With Each Other

The participants were found to engage in the practice of socialising with each other through the online communities. Socialising with each other was revealed within various online activities which aimed to maintain and develop social relationships, such as developing social networks, maintaining contact with families and friends and providing emotional support for those who were experiencing problems.

The participants developed their social networks and connections in various ways. They developed relationships with anyone who had common interests. From the online observation and interviews, the participants were found to respond to various postings which attracted their interest. Then, they talked with each other and developed friendship with other users. This was expressed by Participant 9 as follows:

The total number of my friends is increase. There are a lot of people add me.

Facebook provided many tools for users which help them to get to know each other and enhance their social relationships. User profiles helped workers to know about each other. Migrant workers who had a Facebook account recognised and identified other users through the online profile. They accessed and recognised a variety of information related to a person's profile. Then, they sent a friend request to others which would allow them to access much more information within this profile and begin to conduct a communicative relationship with others. The participants viewed the expansion of social networks as a positive activity. As Participant 14 stated:

The positive side, adding friends.

Commonly, the Indonesian migrant workers welcomed friend requests from various people. They had a strong sense of community life where people share mutual affection with each other. Having new friends improved the sense of being connected with the social environment especially with similar others.

The participants were also found to develop communicative relationships with a new member of the online community by responding to a new member's introduction. Commonly, other members, especially the leader of the community, responded to this introductory message by welcoming the new member. Comments such as the following welcome were posted by Participants 1 and 11 who led the migrant worker community:

Welcome to this online community.

It was common that welcoming new members was followed by several conversations and friend requests in Facebook. Members talked about common interests, invited the new members to join community activities and highlighted that other community members were happy to support them if they faced problems.

For members who only lurked in online communities, it was common that they conducted this practice by passively monitoring the conversations, adding friends and contacting members of the online community through private messages. Commenting on a posted message also helped them to develop social interactions and relationships. Migrant workers tagged others in their comments which attracted others to respond. These activities helped them to know each other and improved their social relationship, as Participant 1 said:

So, migrant workers can know with each other.

Migrant domestic workers typically live in isolated and circumscribed working spaces. They have limited opportunities to interact with others. On the other hand, Indonesian migrant domestic workers have a strong sense of community life, where social connection plays an important role. They have left their established social connections and entered an isolated and difficult life which often leads to the feeling of loneliness. Therefore, developing social networks contributes to the wellbeing of migrant workers by reducing the feeling of loneliness.

The participants were also found to conduct several activities to maintain contact with family and friends. Migrant workers are geographically separated from

their family and friends. The participants therefore felt a need to maintain contact with their families and friends in their home country. However, they had limited opportunities to interact with their families and friends because their job requires them to live in isolated conditions. Communicating with families and friends through online communities enabled them to preserve the feeling of connectedness.

The participants appreciated the support they received from their friends and families through the online communities. This activity indicated that they valued the efforts of families and friends to maintain contact with them, as Participant 11 commented:

Thank you all of my friends and families for the support and prayers.

It was common that members provided persuasive support for others who were experiencing a problem. Support was a manifestation of attention which was embodied in a communicative relationship among the actors involved. Therefore, responses to friends and families indicated a feeling of connectedness among them. In other words, it can be seen that they were still maintaining a good relationship.

The participants also posted greetings to their families and friends on special occasions. For example, Participant 1 posted:

We, all the families of ATKI Taiwan, say Happy Eid Mubarak 1434 H.

This greeting attracted members of the online communities to respond. The greeting was also followed by a conversation including updates on the social conditions in both the host and home country, and talking about some trivial matters with their families and friends. The conversations helped the migrant workers to preserve their communicative relationships with families and friends.

In addition, the participants were found to adopt online communities to provide and receive emotional support especially for those who were isolated in the workplace. Providing and receiving emotional support refers to persuasive activities to support someone in order to build self-confidence when faced with problems. It was common that participants explained their problems in online communities by sharing their feelings which attracted others to respond. The participants, mostly members who had better knowledge about how to solve the problem and better self-confidence, gave support to those who faced difficulties to solve problems and experienced a lack of self-confidence.

Migrants experienced a lack of confidence when dealing with the agencies and employers which are more powerful. They felt afraid to voice their opinions to the agency and employer as they were afraid of losing their job. They felt pressure because they needed the money to repay the debt taken for the migration fee. In addition, they were aware that the money was needed by the family at home to ensure their welfare. Consequently, they tended to keep silent when they were pressured by the employer or agency. In addition, they had limited opportunities to interact with others who were able to encourage them to have more confidence.

The participants provided emotional support as a response to the sharing of feelings by others. The participants were found to express their feelings in the online communities. They felt a need to communicate in a space where they can meet with others and then express what they feel to others. The participants felt a need to find someone who was willing to listen to their feelings. The migrant domestic workers frequently experienced various situations which affected their feelings. When the migrant workers experienced problems, they felt uncomfortable and needed to release those feelings. Migrant domestic workers, in particular, had limited alternative opportunities to release their feelings as Participant 10 stated:

They can't go outside, at least they can release their feelings, chat with their friends, talking about their problem.

Typically, they released uncomfortable feelings regarding the treatment they received from the employer and the agency. As they lived with the employer, they faced difficulties to release these feelings. In addition, they had low bargaining power in front of the employer and agency. They had no-one to listen to their feelings in the workplace. They experienced a situation where they faced difficulties to find someone who was willing to listen to them. They had a limited opportunity to talk about the problems and release their negative feelings. Likewise, when they felt happy, they found it difficult to meet someone who was willing to listen to them. The workplace was not an egalitarian place where migrant workers can release their feelings freely; therefore, they accessed online communities to release their feelings as Participant 18 stated:

It could be the impingement, as they have no place to express their feelings.

The online communities provided an egalitarian space where they could share their feelings freely. Migrant domestic workers shared what they felt in the online

communities. They expressed their feelings using text and emoticons. Sometimes they also expressed their feelings using pictures. Other members of the online communities served the role as a friend who listens. The release of a negative feeling requires someone who is willing to act as a friend. Releasing this feeling in the online communities usually attracted others to comment positively.

Migrant workers conducted the activity of sharing feelings in the online communities using text, emoticons and pictures. The text included an explanation about the situation that caused the feelings. Emoticons represented the feelings through symbols. Uploading pictures enabled them to represent the situation and their feelings in their own symbols. Releasing comfortable and uncomfortable feelings can help them to reward themselves. In other words, releasing feelings helps the migrant workers to reduce the strong emotional states such as anger and anxiety. Releasing feelings helps migrant workers to achieve a calm emotional condition which contributes to their ability to solve problems and improve their wellbeing.

Sharing feelings through online communities attracted others to give support and advice for others to raise their spirit when they struggled with many problems. They frequently uploaded messages to remind the community members to keep fighting and to enhance their self-confidence. As Participant 4 said:

Keep the spirit high....

The participants were found to respond to various pressures by persuading others to be more confidence when struggling with various problems. For example, the participants provided and received support from others to fight against discrimination. The participants provided responses to cases of discrimination which were experienced by members of the community. These cases of discrimination attracted others to provide advice and support. They provided hope for those who experienced discrimination. As a leader of the community, Participant 1 highlighted that migrant workers did not need to feel afraid when fighting against discrimination. In her online comments, she emphasised the need to be confident when fighting against discrimination:

Fights against discrimination!!!

Leaders of the communities highlighted that they have the confidence in the ability of members to fight the discrimination. They highlighted that the migrant

domestic worker will be the winner if they persistently fight against the discrimination. Leaders of the community also provided various examples of fighting against discrimination which affected the self-efficacy of migrant workers.

The participants also supported others to fight against exploitation with strong self-confidence. For example, many members of the online community persuaded those who experienced pressure from the employer or agency to take action. For example, Participant 1 highlighted in the following comment that she had strong self-confidence when dealing with the problem:

...If you have no mistake, you do not need to be afraid. If there is a CCTV camera installed in your working place, you do not need to be afraid, it is important if you have no mistake why you are afraid? Whatever the problems, you must have a strong self-confidence...

Migrant domestic workers were upset when CCTV cameras were installed in the workplace as it meant they were monitored 24 hours a day. They felt they had no authority and autonomy to conduct practices for their self-development. They felt afraid to conduct practices as they had no freedom. Support from Participant 1, as the leader of the community, made migrant workers aware that they had the right to conduct practices. They were aware that they need not be afraid to conduct activities in the workplace.

In addition, the participants supported members of the community to voice opinions. They not only provided advice but also suggested best practices in voicing opinions to others, even to pressure other parties who were perceived to disadvantage the community. One of the leaders of the community, Participant 11, highlighted in her posts that:

... we hope the court decide to defend the rights of the victim and emphasised to every employer that they must aware with the rights of their migrant domestic workers.

Participant 1 emphasised that migrant workers must have strong self-confidence in order to pressure the agency. She highlighted that migrant workers must be confident to move to a new employer if the existing employer does not follow the law. Participant 1 posted a comment on this point as follows:

You can pressure the agency to provide a new employer.

Participant 3 also highlighted that migrant domestic workers need to be more confident to voice their opinions to other more powerful parties. She even tried to

persuade migrant domestic workers to be more confident to put pressure on other parties by emphasising that migrant workers have much more support from their community.

Socialising with other aims to develop a mutual affection amongst people which improves the feeling of connectedness with the surrounding social environment. Socialising can be seen as interactions that allow the emergence of new friendships. A friendship can be seen as a relationship of mutual affection and concern among people. The participants developed a new communicative relationship which could be followed up by face-to-face interaction and collaboration.

The practice of socialising with others aimed to develop social connectedness with each other through developing social networks, maintaining contact with families and friends and providing emotional support for those who experienced problems. This practice enhances the feeling of connectedness with others through a communicative relationship amongst migrant domestic workers.

Developing social networks helps migrant domestic workers penetrate the boundary of isolation in order to develop connectedness with the social environment. In online communities, migrant domestic workers who have limited opportunities to interact with the outside world have flexibility to find new friends and develop a social connection with them. Having a good connectedness with the social environment improves their feeling of connectedness and reduces the feeling of loneliness.

Maintaining contact with family and friends is important in order to keep the feeling of connectedness with family and friends. Migrant workers feel lonely as they are separated from their families and friends. They need to maintain contact with their families and friends in order to reduce the feeling of loneliness. Online communities enable migrant workers who have limited opportunities to communicate with their families and friends to maintain their communicative relationship through greetings and talking about serious or trivial matters. This practice enhances the emotional wellbeing of migrant workers, and especially reduces the feeling of loneliness.

Providing emotional support can be described as the provision of persuasive support to others in order to enhance their self-confidence when facing problems. Migrant workers usually lack self-efficacy when dealing with more powerful parties. Therefore, migrant workers need support from others in order to enhance their self-efficacy. It is common that members of the online community who have more self-confidence and who have experience in solving a similar problem will provide persuasive support to others. They provide a strong argument informed by their successful experience to cope with the problem and advice in order to enhance the self-confidence of their friends.

Providing emotional support affects the wellbeing of migrant workers. Specifically, encouraging others enhances the feeling of self-efficacy and self-esteem. Participants who have self-efficacy and self-esteem will have a better capability to tackle problems and attain better wellbeing.

Finally, socialising with others through online communities helps migrant workers to achieve wellbeing. This practice helps migrant workers to enhance the feeling of connectedness with the surrounding social environment including family and friends, and improves their efficacy and self-esteem as consequence of emotional support from others.

5.2.2 Practice of Discussing Common Interests and Problems

The participants were found to be involved in various activities to discuss common interests and problems. They revealed various facts about migrant domestic workers' issues, viewed the facts from various perspectives, proposed ideas for solving the problems, and then made their own judgements. Migrant domestic workers revealed various facts, supported the facts with data and proposed a judgement or strategy. Common interests and problems were topics which can be understood by all of the community members, including social conditions experienced by the migrant worker community, injustice, migrant rights and unfair migration processes.

Discussing common interests and problems in the online communities typically began with the sharing of an experience by a migrant worker which led to an in-depth discussion to solve the problems. The topics attracted many members to comment as most of them understood the issue and had similar experiences. The participants criticised various migration processes which they perceived to be unfair.

For example, they discussed the unfavourable performance of several agencies. They revealed facts about the agencies' performance and expressed judgement backed up with plausible arguments, as posted by Participant 1:

AGENCY IS ODD BUT REAL:

Are the agencies blind, they can't see any legal law in Taiwan?? Do the policies released by the agencies fit with humane treatment? Of course, the answer is "NO" .

As the agencies are involved in the processes of migrant worker recruitment and placement, they have power in the migration processes. Migrant worker community activists, such as Participant 1, understood the issues related to the performance of the agencies. Migrant worker community activists highlighted their judgements about the unfavourable performance of the agencies. The community activists often criticised the agencies when they saw that migrant domestic workers in particular were treated inhumanely by the agency. Migrant worker activists posted information about the unfavourable performance of agencies, which attracted many comments. They also criticised the agencies for not doing their job properly, as posted by Participant 4:

Every Indonesian domestic worker must be informed about domestic migrant workers' rights, and it is the main task of the agency where we were recruited and educated as domestic workers.

Participant 4 also emphasised what the agencies must do. There were various perspectives and judgements from many members of the online communities. Many members of the online communities participated in the discussions, which made the discussions become long threads. The discussions enabled them to socially construct new ideas about the issue.

The participants were also found to talk about migrant workers' social conditions in the host country. The social conditions were perceived to be unjust especially for domestic workers. Usually, the posted information was equipped with a plausible argument and was supported by data, as posted by Participant 3:

A hot morning, I feel want to have a sit in a house with air conditioned...waaah...it could be enjoyable, but it is impossible for a domestic worker. In a hot morning, we must ride the bicycle, bring agricultural tools and some sheets, ready to do a gardener job after finish to do caregiver job. It is the situation of most of migrant domestic worker in Tainan, a village.

Participant 3 illustrated the unjust conditions experienced by migrant workers. She perceived that domestic workers were exploited by the employers. Domestic workers were employed in multiple jobs with a low salary. This posted message attracted many comments and likes. Members of the online communities added comments to support the situation revealed by Participant 3. They viewed the topic from multiple perspectives including agreeing, revealing the rationale behind the situation and arguing that the government needed to take action to prevent the situation.

In addition, the study found that participants discussed the procedure of re-integration with the home society, the processes of recruitment, salary increases and other topics which attracted the attention of others. In addition, they shared their ideas or opinions regarding the topics discussed, as stated by Participant 7:

...share ideas or notion....

Participant 7 highlighted that members shared their ideas as a result of their serious reflection. Sometimes they used their emotion when debating the topics. The discussion led to the creation of new ideas which would enable migrant workers to solve some common problem. As stated by Participant 16:

When members of ATKI online community talk about some topics with regard to our statuses as a migrant worker, it is good from my perspective, how the discussion can contribute to us and then emerges....

An online discussion enables members of the online communities to learn coping strategies from others. The participants were found to actively share knowledge about the coping strategies by providing best practices, lists of contacts of those who were able to provide support, and detailed information about their experience. The online communities enabled them to access a source of knowledge to solve various problems faced by migrant workers. Participants were also found to engage in various activities which enabled them to learn and mimic various coping strategies; they sometimes conducted an in-depth discussion to know further about the problem and how to resolve it. In addition, the participants were found to engage in various activities to acquire and distribute knowledge about migrant workers' experiences and rights. Learning about migrant workers' rights from other migrant workers enabled them to contextualise the terminologies which made migrant

workers' rights more understandable. The online communities provided spaces for members to learn about migrant workers' experiences and rights which were perceived to align with the migrant worker context. In other words, discussing coping strategies enabled them to contextualise the problems and construct new coping strategies which were perceived to fit with their social conditions.

The participants were found to engage in various activities to share and acquire knowledge and skills about how to solve problems which were commonly experienced by migrant workers. The migrant workers usually had a lack of preparation before migrating to the host country; consequently, they lacked understanding about migrant workers' rights and the social conditions of the host country. Therefore, migrant workers experienced problems such as adaptation, job contract, and abuse and violence in the workplace. Learning coping strategies from others included various activities to enhance migrant workers' capability to negotiate in the host country, and the capability to tackle problems during the migration processes. In addition, learning coping strategies enabled migrant workers to understand the social conditions in the host country and migrant workers' rights.

The study showed that migrant workers adopted various ways to learn coping strategies from others. They discussed various issues related to labour rights and migrant workers' rights. It was common that the discussion was initiated by a posted question such as the following post by Participant 3:

I can ask in ATKI online community, the essence is searching and providing information about labour issues.

Posting a question attracted others to respond, especially those who were aware and had knowledge. The posted question was often followed by a long discussion which enabled them to provide a further description about the problem and how it can be resolved. As the discussion involved various online users, it enabled the topic to be viewed from various perspectives. They discussed the problem in detail, and they also talked about some best practices. They accessed the best practices which helped them to formulate the coping strategies, as Participant 4 stated:

Yes learning, I also provide information if someone face a problem.

Participant 4 felt that she had various experiences dealing with various migrant workers' problems. She shared her experience on how to resolve the problem which enabled others to access best practices from her.

The participants also provided lists of contacts that were considered able to provide support. For example, Participant 11 posted:

*Normally, need work document (passport, visa) and ticket Sister; you can contact ***** if you need further explanation.*

Contacting others who were able to provide support was one way to develop coping strategies. Migrant workers communicated with the party who was recommended as a person who could provide support. This process helped them to formulate coping strategies.

When the participants perceived that the way to resolve a problem needed awareness about migrant workers' rights, they also posted various questions about migrant workers' experiences and rights in the online communities. Posting a question can be seen as querying information through online communities. Asking about migrant workers' rights within online communities attracted others to answer the question. Asking about migrant workers' rights was an efficient way to get the expected answer, as Participant 3 stated:

I can ask questions about migrants' rights and problem.

The questions attracted others to respond by answering the question. The questions attracted responses from many members of the online communities, especially from those who had similar experience and enough knowledge about this issue. As Participant 8 stated:

There is a friend who experience working in a non-job contract, I try to explain what her rights in order to minimize the disadvantage.

A question about migrant workers' rights posted in online communities attracted others to respond. They provided explanations which sometimes included some links. They also provided many best practices about the topic discussed. Best practices and explanation from others enabled the contextualisation of migrant workers' rights which made the terminology of the rights more understandable.

Therefore, a discussion about problems and how to resolve them helped migrant workers to mimic coping strategies. Migrant workers who faced problems acquired in-depth knowledge about how solve the problem. The discussion also contributed to the formulation of the best strategies to be adopted by migrant workers, as Participant 5 stated:

How to solve the problem is usually emerging from various friends' recommendations.

The online communities enabled the participants to learn coping strategies from others; this process usually started from discussions in which migrant workers read, scrutinised and agreed or disagreed with an idea. Then, they constructed new knowledge about how to solve the problem. Discussions enabled them to contextualise the coping strategies in order to suit their social condition.

The participants learned coping strategies by observing the online communities. The participants frequently posted information about problems and how to resolve them. They frequently posted information about migrant workers' rights, as Participant 1 explained:

Through many posted information about migrant rights, therefore it can help migrants to understand their rights.

They posted information that had been contextualised to fit the migrant worker situation. Accessing coping strategies from similar others was perceived to be easier as the terminologies were contextualised, as Participant 9 stated:

She experiences a problem with the agency, employer, she is easier accessing the information.

The online communities also provided a source of knowledge which could be accessed anytime and anywhere. The online conversations were automatically recorded which made the knowledge accessible. Union activists often posted information about how to solve problems which was read and learned by others. They could access the online communities to find a post about migrant workers' experiences and rights, as Participant 3 stated:

I want to learn what I don't know, what I don't know about migrant rights.

Online communities were seen as a database of coping strategies where migrant workers could read the answers about how to solve problems. Migrant workers were able to access the recorded discussions and posts about various coping strategies from others. The online discussion enabled migrant workers to actively construct coping strategies.

Discussing common interests and problems was an idea-sharing process which involved many people from various backgrounds. The discussions enabled people to access a source of knowledge and enhance their critical thinking skills. Participants

in the discussion had an opportunity to propose an idea and argue for or against the idea. In addition, the discussions contributed to the construction of a new idea which was socially constructed by the community.

Discussing common interest and problems enabled migrant domestic workers to learn coping strategies and facts about migrant workers' rights from others. Migrant domestic workers, especially, had the opportunity to learn from the contextualisation of coping strategies and migrant worker rights. Learning coping strategies can be described as the process of acquiring knowledge and skills about how to solve a problem. Users of the online communities conducted this practice through raising queries within the online communities and observing the information provided by others within the online communities. The interactions among users of the online communities enabled migrant workers to discuss and then construct the ways to solve problems. Thus, learning coping strategies from others enhances the self-efficacy of migrant workers, especially their self-confidence to solve problems. In addition, learning coping strategies from others enables migrant workers to enhance their awareness of migrant workers' rights and their knowledge. Migrant workers who have better self-efficacy, awareness of migrant workers' rights and knowledge have an increased capability to exercise control over their migration processes.

The practice of discussing common interests and problems improves migrant workers' critical thinking skills and their knowledge. Migrant workers who have good critical thinking skills and knowledge have a better ability to view problems from multiple perspectives. The combination of critical thinking skills and knowledge contributes to the capability of migrant workers to decide what to do and believe when facing a problem. Therefore, this practice contributes to the sense of control over their migration processes.

5.2.3 Practice of Organising Collective Actions

The participants implemented a series of activities to systematically coordinate actions taken together by the community. Collective actions can be described as processes to achieve a common goal which represents a shared interest of the community members. The members were found to become involved in various actions to prepare, execute and evaluate their collective actions. The online

community provided spaces for preparing the collective actions in several ways. The migrant worker community distributed learning materials about the collective actions by conducting online campaigns on migrant workers' issues as Participant 12 said:

Online communities for campaigning.

This practice aimed to distribute several important messages to wide audiences. There were several examples of online campaigns. For example, they changed their profile to the slogan of "JUSTICE for [name of migrant worker]" when a migrant worker experienced violence. This message attracted the awareness of the public about violence in the workplace experienced by migrant workers. In addition, they utilised the statuses in Facebook for a campaign to reject the KTKLN ID card. They uploaded a status "delete KTKLN" for a period of time to express their disagreement with the government's ID card policies.

They also updated the issues through Facebook as Participant 13 stated:

Updating statuses about migrant worker issues.

Updating the issues attracted discussions among members of the community. This activity facilitated learning processes among users of the online communities about migrant workers' issues. This activity also influenced users to participate in the collective actions. They also used the online community to distribute invitations to join collective actions as Participant 1 posted:

We invite you to attend the first Asian Migrant Worker Dialogue.

The invitation asked other migrant workers and related parties to join an action which aimed to urge for better protection of migrant workers. They supplemented the invitation with the rationale of the collective action, pictures and videos as Participant 11 stated:

But KTKLN is still implemented for migrant who will migrate to foreign country. Delete KTKLN! Don't forget to join an action in KJRI, Sunday 06-10-2013 as part of ATKI anniversary.

Migrant workers expressed their spirit to demand changes through the online community. They supplemented the invitations with information which attracted many people to join the collective actions. The invitations were followed by long conversations which enabled the migrant worker activists to explain and encourage others to join the actions.

Online campaigns and invitations enabled the migrant worker community to distribute learning materials about the collective actions. The online campaigns were equipped with various supporting data which clarified the aims and objectives of the collective actions. They also explained the rationale behind the collective actions. The online campaign invitations were followed by various conversations which enabled the members of the community to learn about the collective actions. They posted various questions about the rationale behind the collective actions, how the collective actions will be executed and what kind of support was needed for the collective actions. The invitations and discussions attracted many people to join. These activities also improved the participation of the community members to support the collective actions.

The collective actions were then executed by members voicing their opinions online and connecting their offline actions with the online actions. Participants conducted several efforts to express the community's hopes and political aspirations to the government and other parties. The migrant workers expressed their thought and hopes about the reform of government policies. There were various examples of members voicing their views to the authorities. For example, Participant 1 posted:

An online petition for removing food and accommodation fee of fisherman. We support a policy to remove food and accommodation fee and urge the Government of Indonesia and Taiwan to do it and prohibit agent to take the money.

They organised an online petition to urge the government to amend a policy. They adopted the online communities to attract support from wide audience. They also voiced their hopes for better migrant workers' protection as Participant 5 posted:

BNP2TKI is very proud as she get many awards! In the name of protection, although she only save some migrant! There are a lot of migrant have no protection. Please come to us!

The members responded to several cases of violence and abuse experienced by migrant workers. They expressed the view that the government did not protect them appropriately. They expressed their thoughts in text which was supported by data, pictures and video related to the issues. They also explained the rationale behind their aspirations, in particular the negative impact of the policies on them. For example, when a case of violence was published, the migrant worker community expressed their hope that migrant workers would receive better protection. They also voiced their aspirations regarding some policies that were perceived to negatively

impact migrant workers and their families at home; for example, when the Indonesian government announced a decision to increase the price of fuel, the migrant workers expressed their disagreement with the decision and explained the impact of the policy on their families.

Migrant workers also expressed their political aspirations by posting comments on the criteria of future leaders in the government of Indonesia. They expressed their disappointment with the existing leaders and government officials as they were perceived to not be supportive of migrant workers, as Participant 4 posted:

Hopefully in the future, there will be born a leader who defend the marginalised people and stand for justice!

They were disappointed with the existing leaders who did not protect them. They expressed their disappointment by giving their views on the criteria for future leaders. They felt that the weak leadership was the main cause of the injustice experienced by the migrant worker community.

In general, voicing aspirations can be conducted by sending the opinions directly to the government and voicing the aspirations in online communities which attract the support of wide audiences. Voicing aspirations is an activity to express a hope towards social change. Migrant workers voiced their aspirations to targeted policy-makers, particularly the government, to respond to their hopes. By voicing their aspirations through the online community, the migrant worker community can reach wide audiences and build public awareness. Public support can enhance the power of the migrant worker community to influence the government to respond to their demands.

The members of the online community also connected their online collective actions with the offline actions. They provided detailed information about the offline collective actions, including video and pictures of the offline collective actions. They updated the results of their offline collective actions which linked to the online actions. Data gathered from the online collective actions was also used in the offline actions. They used the data reciprocally. The online and offline actions were mutually supportive.

The participants were also found to engage in activities to maintain the spirit of collective actions. In the case of the KTKLN ID card campaign, the collective actions to reject this public policy took many years. The law required every

Indonesian migrant worker to apply for the KTKLN ID card before they left Indonesia. Indonesian migrant workers who did not have a KTKLN ID card experienced difficulties to leave the host country at the airport; in some cases, they were asked to pay money to corrupt government officials. In addition, the KTKLN ID card was not part of the immigration documents. This card was also perceived to contribute nothing when migrant workers experienced problems in the host country. Migrant workers perceived the KTKLN ID card as a useless procedure. They urged the rejection of the KTKLN ID card through the online communities many times, and frequently updated the results of the online actions and offline actions. They also provided various facts showing that the policy was not necessary and disadvantaged migrant workers. They also informed each other about various cases indicating that nothing happened when migrant workers left Indonesia without the KTKLN card. However, this collective action was taken for many years. After the government changed, the President directly conducted an online dialogue with migrant worker communities. The President accepted their views and decided to change the policy. The new policy emphasised that the government was responsible for the protection of Indonesian migrant workers. The government must provide the KTKLN as part of migrant workers' protection. The policy changed from making migrant workers responsible to apply for the KTKLN to making the government provide the KTKLN. In addition, the government changed the KTKLN to an electronic version which made the process simpler. However, the migrant worker community continued to monitor the implementation of the new policy and criticised some unfavourable aspects of the implementation which were perceived to disadvantage migrant workers.

Migrant worker communities maintained the spirit to persistently conduct collective actions through some activities. First, the leaders and activists of the community persistently updated the progress of the collective actions. They emphasised where they were and what should be done to achieve their goal. They also highlighted some results which shed light on how to achieve the goal of the collective action. Second, they persistently persuaded users of the online community to support the collective actions. They highlighted that they were standing in the right position. In the case of the KTKLN ID card, they posted information about migrant workers who successfully left Indonesia without the KTKLN ID card.

Maintaining the spirit to conduct collective actions was also conducted through convincing members of the online communities that they were taking the right position and highlighting the positive hope about the objective of the collective actions.

Organising online actions refers to a series of online activities to plan, execute and evaluate online activism. The online communities enabled migrant worker community to identify the problems which need to be supported, discuss the strategy to be implemented, campaign the issues to wide audiences, invite wide audiences to support the actions, facilitate the actions and evaluate the actions. The online communities gave the migrant worker community the opportunity to attract support from wide audiences which enhanced their power to take actions towards changes. In addition, organising collective actions enhanced the capabilities of the community to demand the policy-makers to change the policies. Therefore, the practice of organising collective actions contributes to the empowerment processes of the migrant worker community as a whole.

The migrant workers conducted several online practices which enabled them to observe, check and make a judgement about the government's actions and policies, especially in regard to migrant workers' protection. The migrant workers were geographically separated from the home government and had limited opportunities to access information about governmental processes; the online communities provided information about the policies developed by their home government. They interacted with community members who lived in Indonesia and accessed information about government processes. They did passive monitoring, accessed the information, added the information with various facts related to the topic, and made judgements about the government processes.

There were various activities to monitor and criticise the home government in the online communities. Participants distributed information about the government's performance in regard to Indonesian migrant worker protection as Participant 11 stated:

*The meeting between House of Representative and Government about the revision of UUPTKILN 20 May 2014 indicated that the Government prioritize the placement issue. Protection was ignored!
Today, there is a debate about the title of the Act, there are two versions, The House of Representative version, protection is in the first, the Government*

version, and placement is in the first.

Participant 11 discussed the processes of debate and making law in the parliament. In detail, she revealed the items of information debated in the parliament. This can help other migrant workers to understand the process of law-making in detail. Several processes which were perceived to impact on migrant worker protection were revealed in the online community where the members can access and discuss it. Migrant workers learned about the processes and responded to several processes which they perceived disadvantaged them. They also responded to the information by posting several comments which made the information more complete.

The participants updated information about the government's performance. As Participant 17 emphasised, the online community provided updated information about the government's actions. For example, when representatives from the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration visited Hong Kong, some migrant workers gave updates to the online community on the result of the dialogue between the migrant worker community and the ministry. This information attracted others to respond. For example, Participant 1 posted the following response to the dialogue:

Parties which regulate the placement fee are the ministry and the Directorate General, however, PJTKI are more powerful than them, there several evidence, but they never learn from the evidence.

Participant 1 emphasised that the government had the authority to decide the cost of the placement fee. However, the participants perceived that the government did not use its power to set the fee. Participant 1 added the comment to explain how the government works.

Participants expressed their judgement about the government performance in the online community. They voiced their judgement supported by the rationale behind the judgment and data. For example, Participant 1 posted the following critical post about the government's performance:

*Today, the realities shows that the Government wants to rob, with an alibi of KTKLN, prohibition independent contract, insurance and many other new regulation which can reduce the income of Indonesian migrant workers. This can make the migrant situation worst as a result of overcharging. The country run WTO message where privatization is important.
For me, this is the aim of Congress Diaspora Indonesia 2 and the National*

Meeting for Indonesian migrant workers protection which was held in JCC and need 3 milliard Rupiah. Not Indonesian migrant workers protection but privatization.

Participant 1 expressed the view that the government did not improve the processes for protecting migrant workers. She emphasised that the government policies placed an economic burden on migrant workers. This message was supported with the evidence of cases where migrant workers faced economic difficulties as a consequence of government regulation. This comment attracted many people to respond as it went to the core of the problem and criticised the actual government activities.

The practice of monitoring and criticising the government was conducted through various activities, including revealing what the government was doing, providing detailed information about government actions and policies, and making judgements about the government performance. This practice enabled migrant workers to gain knowledge of government processes and construct a judgement about the processes.

The practice of monitoring and criticising government contributes to empowerment at the community level. Specifically, this practice enhances the capabilities of the community to influence policies. Monitoring and criticising the government improves the awareness of the community members about how the government works. This awareness is related to the capabilities of the community to decide the best strategy to influence the policy-making processes.

5.2.4 Practice of Discussing Community Vision

The participants were involved in many activities which aimed to remind members about the various community goals that had not been achieved, what should be done by the community, and their expectations for the future. They provided various facts about the community activities, supported the facts with their feelings and thoughts, and then proposed hopes for the future objectives of the community. The discussion enabled members of the community to understand various issues about the community activities, reflect on the community activities, and view the community activities from various perspectives. Then, they highlighted the future objectives of the community.

The participants communicated their views on the direction of the community as demonstrated in the following post by Participant 1:

Vision and Mission of ATKI Taiwan are as follows:

ATKI Taiwan is built, ran and designated for Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan.

ATKI is built to provide a space for fighting Indonesian migrant workers welfare in Taiwan.

As a migrant worker, we face many problems, from the Government of Indonesia, the Government of Indonesia representative in Taiwan, the Government of Taiwan, Agency, PJTKI and many more.

Therefore, ATKI actively fights against the problem by conducting discussion, demonstration, pers conference, ally and urging our rights which has been robbed by other parties.

Up to now, there are many exploitation and offence to migrant rights experienced by Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan. For example, placement fee is too high, insurance and KTKLN, immigration document has been taken by the agencies, unpaid, unlimited working hours, no holiday, employed in non-working contract job, and many more.

Regarding with the condition in Taiwan, therefore Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan are aware the need to build an organisation for urging migrants rights.

Fighting spirit of Migrant Worker...!

As a leader of the ATKI Taiwan community, Participant 1 emphasised that the community was working for all Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan. She highlighted that the community provided a space to demand migrant workers' rights. She reminded all of the community members that they faced many problems and they needed to communicate the problems to other parties. The members were reminded that they needed to unite together to fight against exploitation and abuse. All of the community members needed to be aware of the need to fight against the problems.

The leaders of the communities also emphasised that members needed to be aware that the community had conducted many collective actions to fight against exploitation and demand migrant workers' rights. In addition, leaders of the communities emphasised the significant role of the organisations in reaching the common welfare goals. The leaders of the community emphasised that the migrant worker community was a group of migrant workers who dedicated their efforts to reaching common welfare goals.

The participants were involved in responding to the problems faced by other migrant workers. Participants reminded the community that supporting migrant

workers who faced problem was part of the community vision, as Participant 15 emphasised:

This is the job of ATKI Taiwan to defend migrants who faced any problem as above.

The online community provided a space where migrant workers can remind all members of the community that they experienced common problems and faced similar common barriers. The posted messages reached wide audiences and attracted others to comment.

The practice of discussing the community vision was conducted in various ways including reminding the community members about what they have done, discussing the future objective of the community and strategies to break down the barriers to the community's common welfare goals. This practice enables members of the community to be aware that they have a common welfare agenda which must be supported by all members of the community. It also helps the community to align their activities with the future objectives of the community.

In addition, the practice of discussing common interests and problems is linked to the ability of the community to advance the common welfare agenda. This practice impacts on the ability of the community to organise its resources and deploy them to achieve common welfare goals. Therefore, this practice contributes to the empowerment processes of the community as a whole by enhancing the community's capacity to break down barriers and achieve better wellbeing.

5.3 EMPOWERMENT OUTCOMES AT THE INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

This section presents the themes on the perceived outcomes of online practices. Outcomes are described as consequences of online practices which are assessed from the individual and community perspective. This section presents the following empowerment outcomes at the individual level:

- Self-efficacy
- Self-esteem
- Reduced loneliness
- Reduced stress

- Knowledge
- Critical thinking skills

5.3.1 Self-efficacy

The participants were found to express their self-efficacy in online communities as a consequence of the various online practices in which they were involved. They expressed their commitment to be persistent in struggling with various challenges and their courage to negotiate with more powerful parties. In addition, they expressed their self-efficacy by repeating various tasks which were successfully conducted in the online communities. Self-efficacy refers to a state in which migrant workers have sufficient self-confidence to perform an activity and cope with challenges. In addition, self-efficacy is a manifestation of their positive future expectations.

Participants expressed their self-efficacy as a response to various challenges shared in the online communities. Participants expressed their confidence to respond to the exploitation experienced by migrant workers as Participant 3 commented:

More active, moving forward and persistent.

Participant 3 emphasised that all the community members needed to be persistent, move forward and maintain the spirit high in order to reach the common welfare goals. She expressed her self-efficacy to show other members that self-efficacy was needed to survive in a challenging environment.

Members of the online community also showed their self-confidence to support the community activities. They expressed their commitment to fight against the exploitation. They emphasised that they have sufficient self-efficacy to urge the authorities to restore their rights and provide better protection as Participant 4 commented:

That's right...Migrant domestic worker is a temporary profession when we are working overseas and no one allowed to abuse us...fights against all employer who abuse us.

Participants showed their self-efficacy by repeating similar practices in the online community. For example, Participant 1 and other community activists frequently criticised the agencies and government. They also frequently encouraged

others to fight against the exploitation. Participant 4 drew many pictures which illustrated the unjust conditions experienced by migrant workers. She conducted this practice frequently. It can be seen that she felt more confident when she received many positive comments from others.

Migrant workers' self-efficacy was expressed as a response to various topics of conversation in the online communities. They expressed their self-efficacy by highlighting their spirit and positive expectations of their future. In addition, they expressed their self-efficacy by repeating various activities in the online communities.

5.3.2 Self-esteem

The participants' self-esteem was enhanced as a consequence of various practices in the online communities. This outcome refers to a situation where migrant workers feel proud of themselves and have sufficient self-acceptance. They expressed their self-esteem by expressing their pride as migrant workers, and pride in facing their struggles in a new social environment. They highlighted their courage to take actions towards changes. The migrant workers expressed their pride as people who had the courage to overcome the barriers to prosperity in their home country and to take an opportunity to develop themselves and get better income to support their family. The migrant workers expressed their self-esteem through various ways. The participants felt proud of their community as the community persistently fought against exploitation as Participant 4 commented:

.....Viva...ATKI Taiwan!!!!

Participant 4 was proud of the community spirit to fight against any exploitation persistently. She was involved in community actions, and revealed her involvement in social media without any doubts. She was proud as an active member of the community. In addition, Participant 4 showed that she was proud as a domestic worker who had the courage to fight against exploitation.

Participants also showed their self-acceptance by revealing their identity as migrant domestic workers on Facebook. The participants felt pride as domestic workers as they felt that they struggled for the welfare of their family. They also felt pride as they were able to make changes to some public policies. Therefore, they were proud to reveal their job statuses in the online communities. Positive responses

from various people made them proud of their profession; as Participant 4 commented:

My working quality is no doubt; I have been recruited three times.

Migrant workers viewed their job as a professional job and they felt proud as they did a professional job. They also considered themselves to be equal with others, as Participant 6 commented:

Migrant workers are not a waste Sir...! Training, education or whatever but..at the end we need to pay...so how should I call you sir..!???

Indonesian migrant workers were proud of themselves as they were able to survive in a stressful situation. They worked for their family and contributed to the welfare of the country. They were heroes in the eyes of their family.

Self-esteem is a manifestation of self-acceptance which refers to a state of acceptance and pride in the migrant workers' profession. Migrant workers are low-skilled workers and many of them experience various problems and inhumane treatment by others. Their self-esteem shows that they take pride as workers by emphasising the positive side of their profession.

5.3.3 Reduced Loneliness

Participation in the online communities reduced the members' feelings of loneliness. Participants expressed the feeling of connectedness with their social environment in the online communities. Members of the online communities showed a sense of connectedness with their social environment in several ways. Participants greeted others in the online communities. The greetings indicated that they felt connected with their social environment. Greetings were expressed on every occasion, such as Idul Fitri, New Year and Labour Day.

Participants tagged others when they posted important messages in the online communities. Tagging indicated that they felt a strong connection with the tagged people. The tagged people can be seen as part of the circle of the member who posted the message. Tagging was also an effort to develop a social network with people who were considered similar others.

Participants were found to respond to others' posted messages by clicking "like" and commenting. Liking can be described as a positive support to others'

posted messages. Commenting also can be seen as an effort to pay attention to other parties. In addition, commenting can enhance the feeling of connection among people who are involved in a conversation. The feeling of connectedness with other parties can reduce the feeling of loneliness as Participant 4 stated:

...online community make us feel closer although we are geographically separate as we can chat every day so we feel that we have friends.

Friendships require communication among the people involved in those relationships. Communicating is an effort that members make to maintain the relationship. It was found that the migrant workers maintained the relationships with others through several ways, from “liking” to positively commenting on others’ message. A feeling of connectedness with others made them feel solidarity in a new environment where they faced many challenges.

5.3.4 Reduced Stress

The participants were found to reach a relaxed state of mind or reduced stress as a result of participation in the online communities. This condition was a consequence of the release of negative feelings which occurred in online communities. It was also a consequence of finding others in the online communities who could understand what they feel. Having a friend who is able to listen to them and understand their feelings helped them to reach a relaxed state of mind. Participants were found to spend their time listening to their fellow migrant workers who faced problems. This activity created a feeling of empathy where they can listen to others’ negative feelings and understand the problems faced by others. It can help the ones who face problems feel less stressed, as Participant 10 stated:

Released negative feelings, she feels calm.

Migrant workers who face problems often have strong emotions such as anger or anxiety. They need to release the negative feelings by expressing their strong emotions. When they meet someone who is willing to listen to their problem, they can express any negative feelings, as Participant 13 stated:

After released the negative feeling, I feel more relaxed.

Coping with problems in a new social environment can increase stress. Migrant workers feel anxious as they have no friends to talk with. Strong emotions such as

anxiety or anger make them feel more tense. Talking or communicating with the right person helps them to reduce the feelings of anxiety and anger.

5.3.5 Knowledge

Accessing the online communities enabled participants to acquire knowledge in various ways. Online communities facilitate a basic process of knowledge sharing such as writing and reading activities. The participant wrote about various topics in posts that were read by others. The followed up the posts by debating and constructing new ideas in the online communities.

Participants accessed online communities as a source of knowledge. The online communities can be seen as a medium which provides updated news about politics, education, migration and any interesting topics for migrant workers. The migrant workers accessed the knowledge as Participant 17 explained:

At the beginning, I want to enjoy, knowing what happens in Hong Kong.

Participant 17 also emphasised that she shared news by updating her status on Facebook. These activities help others to know any news in the host countries as Participant 17 stated:

I have published statuses and my friends have read it, at least they knew the updated issues in Hong Kong.

Members were aware that they needed to update their knowledge by accessing the online communities. They were aware that the online communities enabled them to share news with each other as Participant 2 stated:

Important information, the administrator often shared in the online communities.

Migrant workers have limited opportunities to access information from television, newspapers and other information channels, but the online communities provide them with an alternative way to acquire knowledge.

Online communities provide a space for interactions that enable migrant workers to acquire knowledge. If they do not find the information they need, they post a question which will be responded to by others. For example, in the case of the KTKLN ID card, they posted questions to others in the online communities as Participant 13 explained:

...Because we have Facebook, people who know nothing will have

knowledge when they ask a question, they have better knowledge.

Interaction among members of the online communities can be a source of knowledge as they are willing to respond to others' questions. In addition, interaction among member of the online communities enhances their possession of knowledge as a result of any discussion as Participant 1 explained:

...based on friends' sharing about a topic, we can reach better understanding.

Discussing a topic enabled them to view the topic from many perspectives. It can enhance their awareness of the topic and help them to see any contrary opinions about the topics discussed. This can enhance their awareness of the topics being discussed; for example, discussing migrant workers' rights improves their awareness of those rights.

The participants gained an improved awareness of migrant workers' rights as a result of discussing common interests and problems in the online communities. Awareness of migrant workers' rights refers to a condition in which migrant workers reach a better understanding about migrant workers' rights. Awareness of migrant workers' rights can be described as the knowledge possessed by migrant workers and the capability to apply the knowledge of migrant workers' rights when they face problems, especially cases of exploitation which require migrant workers to defend their rights. Knowledge about migrant workers' rights can be accessed by migrant workers through becoming involved in a discussion or reading posts about migrant workers' rights, as Participant 1 emphasised:

...online communities can provide enlightens about migrant rights for Indonesian migrant workers.

Participant 1 highlighted that the online community not only provides knowledge about migrant workers' rights but also enlightens migrant workers. She was aware that a discussion helps the participants of the discussion to construct new ideas; for example, how to defend their rights when they face a problem, how to demand migrant workers' protection from the authorities and how to voice their rights to the employer and agency. Better understandings about migrant workers' rights help the migrant workers communicate their rights to the employer. For example, Participant 15 posted the following response to a member of the online community who asked a question about the requirement for the migrant worker to give all their documents to the agency:

No one have the rights to save the document without permission of the owner.

It was a common practice for the employer or agency to seize the immigration documents of a migrant domestic worker. Consequently, the workers had limited opportunities to find a new job as they had no immigration documents. These cases occurred because they lacked bargaining power in front of the employer and agency when they faced a problem.

Migrant worker community activists frequently posted messages about migrant workers' rights, problems and how to defend the rights. The participants liked and commented on many of these posts. They commented with various perspectives which can enrich the conversation. They added value to the conversation by adding various best practices about migrant workers' rights, as Participant 18 highlighted:

Through Facebook, we can share many important information, what is migrant rights, how to defend the rights when exploited, how to demands to the rights, we can share through the online communities.

Involvement in a conversation about migrant workers' rights enhances their understanding about migrant workers' rights and the implementation of the migrant workers' rights in their daily routines.

Online communities enable migrant workers to access knowledge. This can be in the form of facts, news or opinions as a result of discussion. They can access the knowledge by reading other's shared statuses, being involved in a discussion or posting a question to the online communities. It can be seen that a social network can be a source of knowledge.

5.3.6 Critical Thinking Skills

The participants were found to engage in various activities which indicated an improvement of their critical thinking skills. They observed and evaluated a topic using plausible arguments. They provided data which supported their argument and debated with others about a topic. Their critical thinking skills can be seen in their ability to evaluate a topic from various perspectives, judge a topic and construct a new idea with plausible arguments. Critical thinking skills could be seen in the participants' responses to various topics raised in the online communities.

The participants conducted various activities which indicated their critical thinking skills in various ways. They judged the performance of agencies and the government with regard to the migrant workers' protection processes. They not only judged the government, but they also provided the data and plausible arguments to back it up. These posted messages attracted others to comment by agreeing or disagreeing. The commenters debated the issue from their perspectives. This enhanced the capability of the members involved in the conversation to view the topic from multiple perspectives.

The participants criticised the conditions faced by migrant workers. The posts included data and plausible arguments. These criticisms attracted others to comment and started long conversations.

Critical thinking is a skill that develops as a result of learning processes. Online communities provide a space for participants to enhance their critical thinking skills as they learn from every posted message. They view the topic from multiple perspectives, and they learn from and interpret the comment posted in the online communities. They believe that getting involved in a conversation in the online communities enhances their critical thinking skills and can enrich them, as Participant 9 stated:

Of course, I got more inspiration when people respond to my posted messages in Facebook and my blog, inspiration and a new writing come if we comments each other's, comment column can help me to emerge ideas.

The online debate enhances migrant workers' ability to develop an argument. They make comments expressing their agreement or disagreement, and support their comments with data. They have a capacity to argue and create new ideas. In general, critical thinking skills refer to an ability to evaluate a migrant workers' issue from multiple perspectives. This outcome also relates to their capability to form a judgement about issues supported by plausible argument and data.

5.4 EMPOWERMENT OUTCOMES AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL

This section presents the two themes on empowerment outcomes which emerged from the data. As explained in the previous section, outcomes are consequences of online practices which can be assessed from the community perspective. The following themes emerged on empowerment outcomes at the community level:

- Increased awareness of the power of the community
- Increased capabilities to take actions towards changes.

5.4.1 Increased Awareness of the Power of the Community

The participants were found to show an awareness of the power of the community. They emphasised the need for togetherness and unity by using the word “kita” which means “all of us”. The use of “all of us” showed they were aware of the strength of togetherness in efforts to achieve common welfare goals. “All of us” can be perceived as a term to represent a group identity which indicate a strong bond within the community. They used ‘all of us’ to persuade others to be involved in the community activism against any exploitation and injustice as Participant 1 commented:

Let's reveal the Government's reason that KTKLN is aimed for collecting the data of Indonesian migrant workers.

Efforts to fight against unjust policies need more strength as they face a more powerful party. They need to be united as a community to be able to demand their rights. Unity in the community will give them more power to influence social change as Participant 15 emphasised:

Of course sister, all of us will simultaneously urge justice for migrant, fights against all of accusation from KDEI to us as migrant workers....

Participant 15 emphasised that the power of the community to fight against exploitation was very strong. Any exploitation experienced by migrant workers can be fought by the community together. Fighting as a group will result in better outcomes than individuals fighting sporadically. Therefore, they were aware that the organisation has a significant role in bringing about social changes as Participant 5 explained:

Posts from friends can awake awareness the importance of organisation.

For migrant workers, the organisation is a vehicle to reach common welfare goals. They were aware that they have a common identity as migrant workers who face similar problems. They were aware that they needed to be united in one community to fight against any problems. In general, they were aware that struggling within a community will result in a significant impact on the desired social changes.

The power of the community is linked to a perspective about the capacity of the community to demand social changes, especially in relation to migrant workers' rights and protection. In this context, the power of community highlights that actions by a group of people will result in a stronger impact than individual actions.

5.4.2 Increased Capability to Take Actions Towards Changes

The study found that the community had better capability to take action towards changes. The community successfully influenced the Government of Indonesia policies as consequences of their long-term online campaign and petitions. Their successful online activism indicated that they also had better capabilities to set their priorities to reach their common welfare agenda. The community was found to set its priorities based on common problems which members perceived must be addressed immediately. Members of the community voiced their opinions which emphasised various problems requiring the response of the community. Likewise, the common welfare agenda was also organised based on the problems that must be addressed; for example, the community aimed to achieve cheaper recruitment fees as the existing recruitment fee was perceived to be too expensive. The community showed its ability to set a goal and organise activities to deal with an issue which should be treated as more important than others, as Participant 15 explained:

Therefore, from now, let's stop injustice experienced by migrant workers in Taiwan.

In addition, injustice was experienced by many migrant workers, especially those who worked in the domestic sector. They were aware that activities to stop injustice should be treated as the most important activities. They discussed these activities as the most important activities as well as the need to reach their common welfare agenda, as Participant 11 commented:

Continue to expand and strengthen the struggle to achieve common welfare agenda.

They conducted many discussions which aimed to design efforts to support the attempt to advance the common welfare agenda. They discussed what they had done and what should they do in the future. They emphasised many activities which needed to be treated as the priority activities. They highlighted their objective to contribute to community efforts to break down barriers and reach common welfare goals.

The community organised collective actions to influence government policy. In this context, government policy includes decisions which are manifest in a course of action or regulatory measures or laws taken by the authority on migrant workers' issues. The community was able to influence government policy such as the KTKLN ID card policy and improved domestic workers' protection in Hong Kong after cases of violence experienced by migrant workers. The community's capacity to influence government policy was expressed by Participant 13 in the interview as follows:

In fights against KTKLN, there are several outcomes which can be measured clearly: price of KTKLN was decreased, first 400 thousands rupiah, and protection fee 150 thousand, then protection fee was deleted and insurance fee was decreased. All of us still fight against this policy to urge the government provide more KTKLN making offices.

The migrant worker community had struggled to reject the KTKLN ID card since this policy was first issued. They highlighted the disadvantages of this policy to the public. This effort attracted public awareness about this policy and gathered public support for their aspirations. They also revealed corruption by several government officials regarding the implementation of this policy. After a lengthy campaign, the community sent an online petition to the government and directly to the President's social media account. As a consequence, the KTKLN policy was reviewed by the government after the President of Indonesia conducted an online dialogue with them.

It can be seen that the community had better capabilities to take actions towards changes. They had the power to respond to a common problem experienced by migrant workers and then demand the government to introduce policies to prevent the same problem recurring.

5.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented the categories of empowerment practices that emerged from the virtual ethnographic data. These online practices were perceived to empower migrant workers at the individual level and community level. This discussion enhanced the understanding of the phenomenon of empowerment practices and the related empowerment outcomes. In addition, the discussion laid the foundation for developing a model of migrant worker empowerment in online communities which is presented in the next chapter.

Chapter 6: Model of Migrant Domestic Workers' Empowerment in Online Communities

6.1 CHAPTER PREVIEW

This chapter presents the model of migrant worker empowerment in online communities which was built from the findings discussed in Chapter 5. The model was developed by generalising and organising the findings presented in Chapter 5. This chapter is organised as follows. Section 6.2 describes the model of migrant worker empowerment in online communities. The model describes how the empowerment processes of migrant domestic workers occur in the online community context. In this research, empowerment processes unfolded in the form of online practices and their related outcomes. The proposed model provides a clear picture of the relationship between online practices and the empowerment outcomes. Section 6.2.1. discusses the goal of empowerment processes for migrant domestic workers. Section 6.2.2. discusses empowerment processes at individual level. Section 6.2.3. discusses empowerment processes at community level. Section 6.2.4. discusses the relationship between individual and community empowerment. Section 6.3 the significance of the model. This section is divided into three subsections. Section 6.3.1. discusses how the goal of empowerment relates to the existing empowerment theory and the differences between the goal of empowerment to the existing theory. Section 6.3.2. discusses how empowerment at individual level relates to the existing theory. Section 6.3.3. discusses how empowerment at community level relates to existing theory. Finally, Section 6.4 presents the conclusion.

6.2 MODEL OF MIGRANT EMPOWERMENT IN ONLINE COMMUNITIES

This research developed a model which was built on the findings presented in Chapters 4 and 5. The aim of the model is to provide a clear picture of how migrant worker empowerment processes occur for migrant domestic workers in the online community context. This study developed a model which clearly outlines

empowerment processes at individual level and community level. Empowerment processes is described as a group of online practices and related outcomes. Then, the model provides a clear picture how online practices result outcomes at the individual level and community level. In similar vein, this model describes a group of online practices and the relationship between online practices and their related outcomes. An online practice is described as the implementation of ideas which is manifest in various online activities conducted by migrant workers in the online community context. Outcomes are described as the consequences of the online practice which can be evaluated from individual and community perspectives.

This research contributes to the body of knowledge by describing empowerment for migrant domestic workers in the online community context. In a similar vein, this research provides a description of empowerment by providing an enhanced understanding of how empowerment processes occur in the online community context. As illustrated in Figure 6.1., migrant domestic workers empowerment in online communities is described as a group of online practices and their related outcomes which contribute to the enhancement of migrant and their community' capabilities to reach common welfare agenda. These processes are contributed by empowerment at individual level and community level which are interrelated with each other's. The interrelationship between empowerment at individual level and community level is illustrated by two ways arrow and discussed in detail at section 6.2.4.

Empowerment at individual level is described as a group of online practices and their related outcomes which contribute to the capability of migrant to reach wellbeing and awareness of migration challenges as illustrated at Figure 6.1. Wellbeing and awareness of migration challenges contribute to the capabilities of migrant to take control over their migration processes. Control over migration processes which can be described as capabilities to act and respond to various migration challenges. This research found that a group of online practices such as discussing common interest and problems and socializing with others are contributed to migrant wellbeing and awareness of migration challenges. The relationship between online practices and their related outcomes is presented using one way arrow which means result. Further discussion about this relationship is presented at section 6.2.2 and summarize at Figure 6.2.

In this research, empowerment at community level is described as a group of online practices and their related outcomes which contribute to enhance community' external engagement. Community external engagement can be described as a connection of the community to external parties such as government and civil society organization for purposively applying community vision which benefit to community member and community as whole. The processes of enhancing community engagement consist of a group of online practices such as organising collective actions and discussing the community vision. Summarize of the relationship between online practice and related outcomes are illustrated at Figure 6.3. Further discussion of their relationship is presented at section 6.2.3.

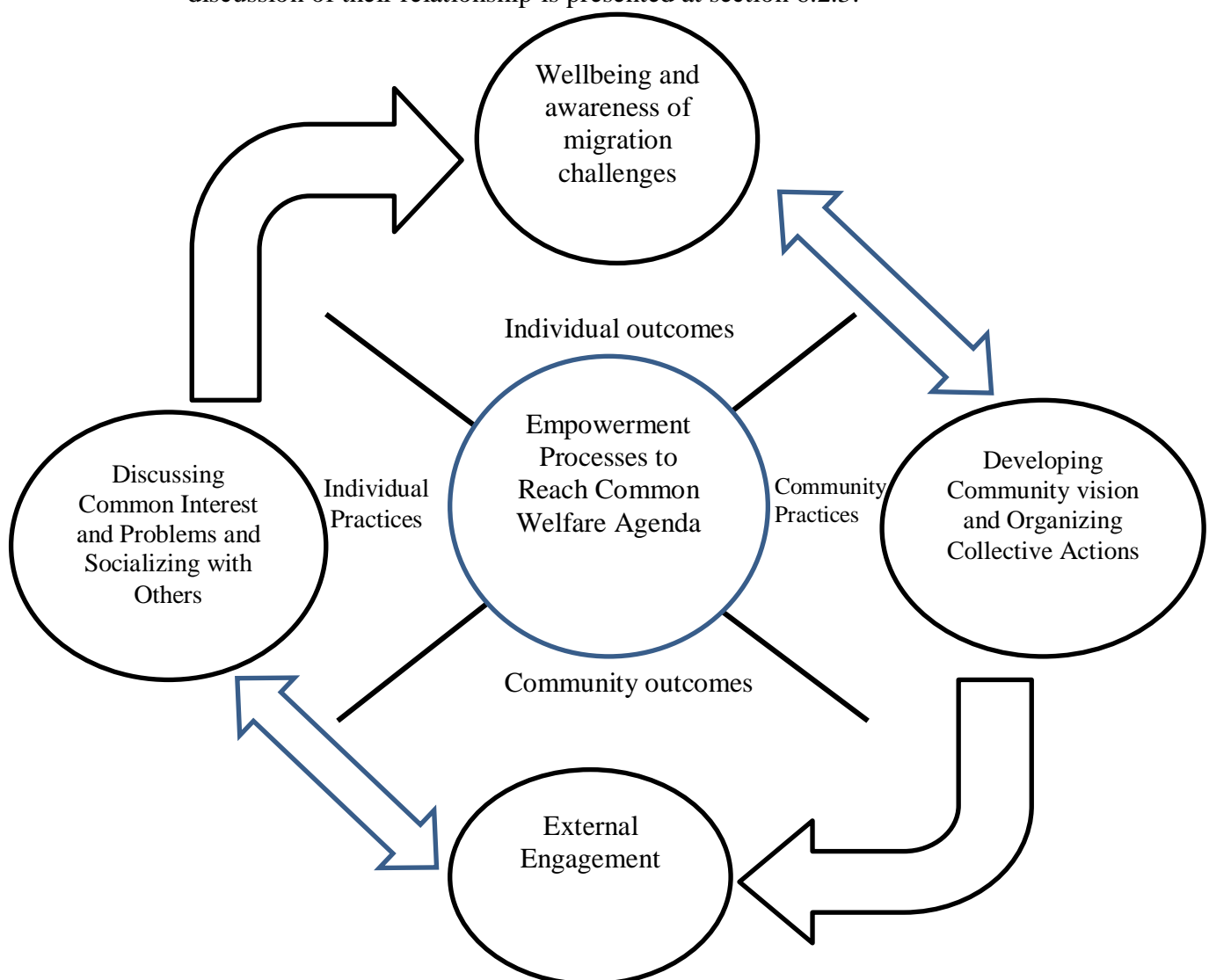


Figure 6-1: Model of migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities: Empowerment processes to reach common welfare agenda

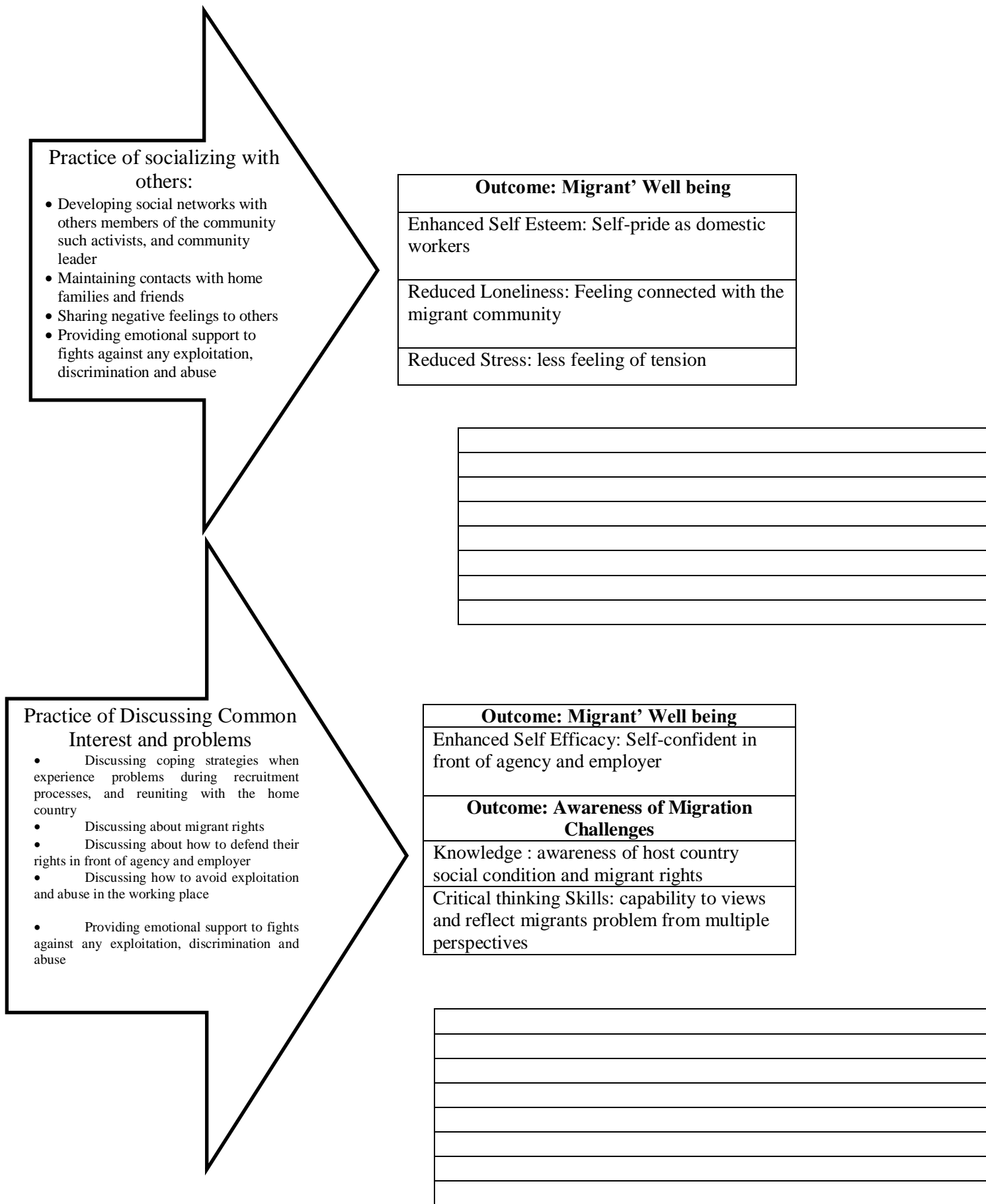


Figure 6-2. Empowerment processes at Individual Level.

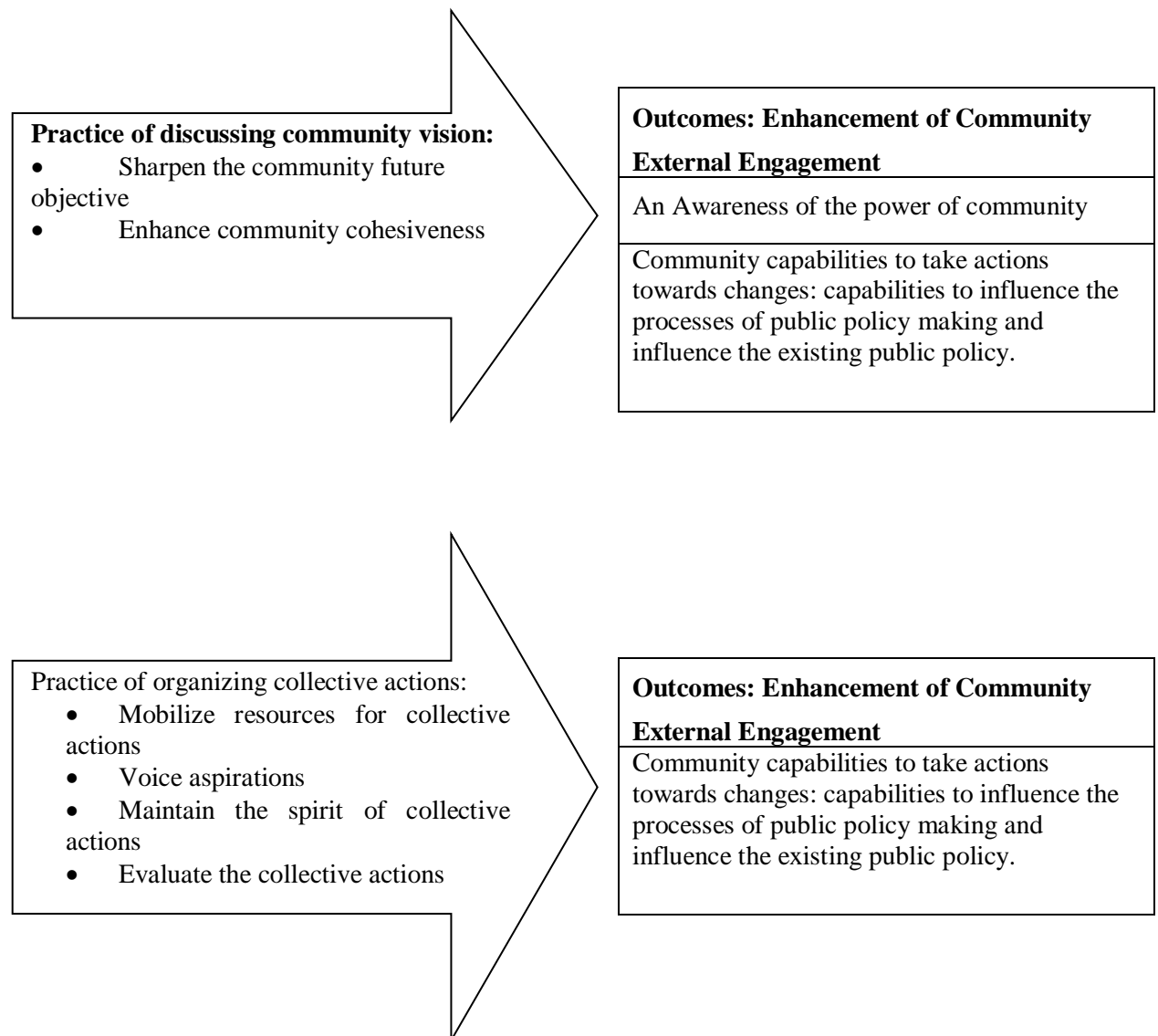


Figure 6-3. Empowerment processes at community level.

6.2.1 Empowerment for migrant domestic workers in online communities

The aim of empowerment for migrant domestic workers in online communities is to enhance the capabilities of migrant domestic workers to advance their common welfare agenda. Indonesian migrant domestic workers' common welfare agenda can be described as a group of important aspects which further the wellbeing of migrant domestic workers. The essence of the migrant workers' common welfare agenda is a

realisation of good migration processes which are free from exploitation and abuse, supported by a system of protection for migrant workers' rights. In addition, migrant workers' welfare requires that employers treat the migrant workers as labour not as slaves.

This research found that the Indonesian migrant domestic workers were struggling to reach their common welfare agenda, as presented at Chapter 4. In general, migrant workers' common welfare can be described as a condition where a migrant worker enjoys a feeling of satisfaction with the migration processes including the recruitment processes, employment and return to the home country. However, in fact, this community is vulnerable as they suffer from various problems in the recruitment phase, in employment and when they return home. In the recruitment phase, Indonesian migrant domestic workers suffer from an exploitative recruitment procedure organised by private agencies which disadvantage them. The agencies have more power than the migrant domestic workers. They make the rules and tend to exploit the migrant domestic workers. They stand on the employers' side which makes the agency less interested in listening to the migrant domestic workers. The agencies often hide the job contract or make it unclear for migrant domestic workers to understand. Indonesian migrant domestic workers also face the imposition of high recruitment fees, as explained by Participant 15:

The recruitment fee was too expensive, it was 18 or 19 million [rupiah], then increase to 23 million [rupiah], it was just for down payment

The cost of the fee is too high for Indonesian domestic workers. Most of them come from rural areas with low socio-economic conditions and low levels of education, making it difficult for them to compete in job markets. They believe it is necessary to explore other opportunities overseas by applying to work as low skilled migrant workers. They then pay a lot of money to migrate from Indonesia which forces them to take risk and incur a financial burden, as Participant 12 indicated:

We still pay the debt; warrant the land certificate, married certificate.

They need to borrow money from a bank or the agency, which creates financial difficulties. They repay the debt during their employment. It is common that the agency also deducts a percentage from the monthly salary of the migrant workers.

Therefore, they lack bargaining power when dealing with the agency, as Participant 4 stated:

The agency shows their power in front of us.

Indonesian migrant domestic workers continue to experience problems during the employment phase. They experience various types of exploitation in the workplace as the employer exploits them to work in multiple jobs, as Participant 15 explained:

There are many friends , who work in informal sector, domestic workers, they work 1 month full time, no holiday, extra money, 1 month working nonstop, working from early morning until evening, sometimes 16 hours or 14 hours a day. So there were many cases faced by migrants, such as determination and agency which standing in the employee side.

This exploitation is experienced by many Indonesian migrant domestic workers. They are employed in various domestic jobs which require them to work more than 8 hours per day, with no holidays and no extra money. They receive a low wage although they work hard. In addition, the employer often did not fulfil the conditions of the job contract, as explained by Participant 17:

70% of employer did not satisfy job contract.

In most countries they are categorised as informal workers which consequently excludes them from the labour law. Therefore, they are not protected by the authorities, leaving them vulnerable to exploitation and abuse in the workplace. They are also required to live with the employer which makes them isolated and restricts their ability to interact with the outside world. They lack the opportunity and authority to conduct empowerment practices. That is why they demand to be treated as workers and not as slaves.

Indonesian migrant domestic workers also suffer from various public policies which disadvantage them. They consider that the policies discriminate against them.

When Indonesian migrant domestic workers return to Indonesia, they still face various problems such as a public policy which does not stand on their side. For instance, the policy on the KTKLN ID card for Indonesian workers who work in a foreign country did not provide any benefits for them. When they returned back to

Indonesia, they experienced various difficulties at the airport as they had no KTKLN card.

The processes to enhance the capabilities to reach the common welfare agenda can be facilitated by online communities. The main reason is the capability of online communities to provide autonomy and authority for conducting various practices. Online communities also provide flexible access which penetrates the boundary of isolation and the restrictive circumstances experienced by migrant domestic workers. Online communities are also able to help migrant workers to mobilise support from a wide audience.

Online communities provide spaces which enable the processes of empowerment to work at the individual level and the community level, which contributes to the capabilities of migrant domestic workers to reach their common welfare agenda. At the individual level, empowerment occurs through processes that enhance the capabilities of the individual to exercise control over migration processes. Empowerment at the community level occurs through processes that enhance the community engagement. The processes of empowerment are supported by various practices which benefit the individual and the community as a whole.

6.2.2 Empowerment at the individual level

Empowerment at the individual level refers to the processes to enhance the capabilities of migrant workers to exercise control over their migration processes. These empowerment processes contribute to the personal development of individual migrant workers. These processes take place through the various online practices which enhance the capabilities of migrant workers to improve their wellbeing and raise their awareness about migration challenges.

The capabilities to exercise control over migration processes are related to the capabilities of migrant workers to decide and act when responding to various problems in migration and employment. Exercising control over migration processes requires a sense of wellbeing and awareness of migration challenges. Migrant workers with a sense of wellbeing are those individuals who have good self-efficacy and the confidence to deal with other parties such as the agency and employer, who take pride in their status as migrant domestic workers, enjoy a good feeling of connectedness with the social environment and do not feel strong emotional tension.

Wellbeing can be assessed by reference to various outcomes such as self-efficacy, self-esteem, reduced loneliness and reduced stress. Awareness of migration challenges means a state of being aware about the problems that potentially emerge as a consequence of migration. Awareness of migration challenges can be assessed by reference to the demonstration of critical thinking skills and knowledge.

This research found that the practices of socialising with others and discussing common interests and problems enhanced the capabilities of migrant workers to exercise control over their migration processes.

As discussed in Chapter 5, socialising with others occurs through online practices which aim to maintain and develop social relationships such as developing social networks, maintaining contact with families and friends and providing emotional support for those who are experiencing problems. Socialising with others was manifested in various communications, on topics ranging from trivial matters to serious matters.

The aim of developing social networks is to grow or deepen the social interactions and relationships which improves the feeling of connectedness with the surrounding social environment. The migrant domestic workers in this study developed their social networks by introducing themselves in the online community, and expressing a desire to make new friends. Activities that develop social networks are interactions that allow the emergence of new friendships. A friendship can be seen as a relationship of mutual affection and concern among people. Developing social networks was done by new and existing members of the online communities. The participants developed a new communicative relationship which could be followed up by face-to-face interaction and collaboration.

Maintaining contact with families and friends occurred through online activities to maintain the communicative relationship with friends and family. Family and friends remained part of the existing social environment around the migrant domestic workers. Family members and friends frequently provided emotional support to migrant workers when they experienced problems.

Providing and receiving emotional support can be described as a further communicative relationship. Emotional support was frequently provided in response to individuals' sharing of feelings, which attracted the empathy and sympathy of others in the social environments.

The practice of socialising with others reduces the feeling of loneliness

The research found that socialising with others reduces the feelings of loneliness. Reduced loneliness is described as an improved feeling of connectedness with their existing social environments. Participants felt loneliness as they were isolated within their workplace. They often spent all of their time in their workplace, giving them limited opportunities to interact with others, especially to keep in contact with their families and friends. Participants were found to have a good feeling of connectedness with their surrounding social environment as a result of socialising within online communities, as Participant 4 illustrated:

... online community make us feel closer although we are geographically separated as we can do a conversation every day.

They felt close to others even though they were separated from their usual social environments. A feeling of connectedness with the established social contacts, especially families and friends, was maintained through the online community. Participants felt a connectedness with their established social contacts as a result of the online conversation. This online practice aroused a feeling of happiness as the participants were able to penetrate the boundary of isolation and then develop the connectedness with the social environment, as Participant 2 said:

...get many responds from others as I posted a message, I felt very happy.

Textual interaction facilitated by online communities facilitates the feeling of connectedness among people who are geographically separated. Responding to others' statuses shows a mutual affection which gives rise to a friendship, as Participant 9 said:

Get new friends, make me feel happy.

The practice of socialising with others enables the participants to reduce the feeling of loneliness. Online communities provide a space for socialising which enables those who are geographically separated to interact. Users of the online communities can develop textual interactions which show mutual affection. Posted textual messages in online communities are able to represent the individual, and then responding to the online textual statuses can generate a communicative relationship.

The communicative relationship enhances the feeling of connectedness with the social environments.

The practice of socialising with others enhances self-esteem

The research found that socialising with others enhances the self-esteem of the participants. Socialising with others enables migrant workers to be informed about their struggle to reach the common welfare agenda. Being informed about their successful struggles and their capabilities to take actions towards changes creates self-pride. They understand that they contribute significantly to the welfare of their home country, especially their home families.

Migrant domestic workers' self-esteem refers to an emotional condition wherein participants feel proud of themselves and have sufficient self-acceptance. They take pride in themselves as heroes who are able to overcome the barriers to prosperity in their home country by taking an opportunity to work in a foreign country and earn a better income to support their family.

The practice of socialising with others enables migrant workers to be informed about the struggle of migrant domestic workers and enhances their self-esteem, as Participant 16 stated:

If there is a story like that, of course I feel empathy, and a need to encourage each other.

It was common that the Indonesian migrant domestic workers in this study shared their feelings related to various problems. These shared stories influenced the emotional condition of others. Furthermore, the participants were also found to have a better feeling of self-esteem as a consequence of sharing various stories about migrant workers' struggles, as Participant 4 stated:

Unity will help to cope any problem ...Supporting each other to fights

against any injustice, Viva Indonesian migrant worker...!!!

Participants felt proud as migrant domestic workers as a result of socialising with others, especially from listening to others' efforts to fight against discrimination. Their self-esteem was also demonstrated when participants proudly identified themselves as domestic workers within the online communities.

Sharing migrant domestic workers' struggles to defend their rights and tackle various problems aroused the feeling of sympathy as well as self-pride. The participants felt pride as migrant domestic workers who were capable of tackling various problems, contributing to the welfare of the home country and able to take actions towards changes. The practice of socialising with others enabled them to understand the story of migrant workers' struggles which aroused the feeling of self-esteem.

The practice of socialising with others reduces migrant workers' stress

The practice of socialising with others enabled the participants to release their negative feelings, which consequently reduced the feeling of stress. Socialising with others enabled them to find someone who understands and is able to listen to their problems. This activity created a feeling of empathy whereby they can listen to others' negative feelings and understand the problems faced by others. Online communities can provide spaces to share feelings, which helps members to escape from an uncomfortable situation.

Migrant workers have the freedom to express their thoughts and feelings in online communities, and can even talk openly about the treatment of the employer or agency. There are many responses from other migrant workers who can understand the situation. Socialising with others enables them to release their negative feelings. This reduces the feeling of stress or anxiety, as Participant 10 said:

Thinking first, in order to calm his heart.

When migrant workers feel anxiety in trying to cope with a problem, they need to meet with someone who is willing to listen to the problem. They need to release their negative feelings which can help them to reduce their strong emotions, as Participant 13 stated:

After released negative feeling, I feel more relaxed.

Participants felt less stressed when they released their negative feelings. Strong emotions can be reduced by releasing the feelings to someone who has empathy and who will listen. This practice can help the migrant workers to reduce the feeling of anxiety, anger and nervousness.

The practice of discussing common interests and problems

The practice of discussing common interests and problems refers to various online activities that reveal various facts about migrant issues, view the facts from various perspectives, formulate the problem and propose solutions. Migrant workers revealed various facts, supported the facts with data and proposed a judgement. Common interests and problems are topics which can be understood by all of the community members, including the social conditions experienced by the migrant worker community, injustice, migrant rights and migration processes which are perceived to be discriminatory. The discussions often began with the sharing of an experience by the migrant workers. The uploaded topics attracted many members to comment as most of them understand and have a similar experience. This practice also enables migrant workers to learn about migrant worker rights and coping strategies from others. This practice results in various outcomes such as self-efficacy, knowledge and critical thinking skills.

The practice of discussing common interests and problems enhances self-efficacy

Discussing common interests and problems is beneficial for migrant workers as it enables them to learn coping strategies from others. The migrant worker who faces difficulties in solving problems will then feel more confident when they are able to formulate the way to solve the problem. It can be compared to a situation where a man walks into a dark tunnel. A torchlight can help in choosing the path to the end of the tunnel. When he has found a way to exit the tunnel, he will feel confident. Sources of knowledge can be compared to the light which can help someone to decide what to do and what to believe in choosing the path to find the end of the tunnel. In other words, the information helps migrant workers to decide what to do and consequently will enhance migrant workers' self-efficacy as they can formulate their coping strategies. Participant 2 stated:

At least I have something which guide me, and then I know what step should be conducted.

Participant 2 posted a question in one of the online communities. The question was responded to by various users who provided information about how to solve the problem. She felt very happy and confident about how to solve the problem after discussing the problem in the online community.

Self-efficacy is improved when migrant workers are not afraid to fight against intimidation even from a party which usually has more power. Domestic workers are a vulnerable community as they face many problems. In addition, they lack self-confidence as they have limited opportunities to access knowledge about how to solve problems. Therefore, accessing knowledge enhances their self-confidence as they know what to do and what to believe.

The practice of discussing common interests and problems enhances migrant workers' knowledge

Discussing common interests and problems enhances migrant workers' knowledge, particularly their awareness about the social conditions of the host country, migration processes and migrant worker rights. Leaders of the migrant worker community stated that this knowledge should be understood by migrant workers before they leave the home country. However, most migrant workers have no opportunity to access that knowledge before they leave the home country. The agencies do not provide good training to enable the migrant workers to access the knowledge. Therefore, they lack awareness of the social conditions of the host country, migration processes and migration rights.

Online communities provide spaces to acquire knowledge. The migrant workers in this study posted many questions to wide audiences about common interests and problems which attracted others to respond. They discussed the topics from various perspectives which enabled them to access knowledge and also mimic the coping strategies of others. In addition, the discussion enabled them to contextualise the topic, which made the topic more understandable as Participant 3 stated:

I want to learn whatever I don't understand, whatever I have no knowledge about migrants' rights, I post question into the online community; the essence is searching and providing information about labour.

Online communities provide spaces for learning. Anyone can meet, interact and discuss with wide audiences about migration workers' issues and migrant workers' rights. Any member of the online community can interact with others who have knowledge and experience related to these issues. They access best practices from others which can help migrant workers to reach better understanding about

migration and migrant workers' rights. The conversation can be followed by private conversation through private messages if they intend to conduct further discussion privately. Online discussion can benefit migrant workers as they can access the discussion at a convenient time and they can add links to the conversation as added value. In addition, the thread of the discussion is automatically saved which can help migrant workers to track and learn the discussion material. This practice can enhance the awareness of migrant workers' rights, as Participant 1 stated:

This online community can help migrants reach better understanding about their rights.

Better awareness of migration and migrant worker rights is the outcome of this practice. They can have better understanding about migration and migrant worker rights, and they may come to have an excellent awareness of migrant workers' rights and its implementation in dealing with migrant worker problems. This awareness can give insights to migrant workers, as stated by Participant 18:

I can share information in Facebook, we focus to urge migrant rights in Hong Kong, through Facebook, we can share many important information, what is migrant rights, what should we do if our rights were robbed, how to urge it, we can share through the online community.

The essence of learning within an online community is an interaction which aims to share knowledge amongst members of the online community. The process of learning can be triggered by a question about migration issues and migrant worker rights. This question can attract others to respond in order to answer the questions. As there are wide audiences which can be involved in the conversation, there will be many perspectives in the answers. Members of the online community also have an opportunity to share their experience related to the question. The discussion can provide a contextualised knowledge which can help migrant workers to gain insights

into the critical implementation of their awareness of migration and migrant workers' rights to cope with challenges.

The practice of discussing common interests and problems enhances migrant workers' critical thinking skills

Online discussion provides opportunities for wide audiences to participate and express views on the topic from multiple perspectives. They share their knowledge and view the topic from multiple perspectives, as Participant 1 stated:

There is a contribution of thinking through the online community.

Thinking refers to the processes of reasoning about a topic which are influenced by the background of the migrant workers. As migrant workers come from various backgrounds, there are various perspectives within an online discussion. Migrant workers view the topic from their experience as well as their background. They share their experience related to the topic, as Participant 6 explained:

Online community can benefit to migrant from several posted messages of migrants; it is migrant experience or knowledge.

Every posted message within the online community is automatically stored by the system which enables migrant workers to access the knowledge at any time. This posted message can be seen as a source of knowledge and the migrant worker can interact directly with the individual who posted the message. It can help migrant workers to reach better understanding of the topic. In addition, it can enhance their critical thinking skills as the messages sometimes included critical questions.

Online discussion enables migrant workers to critically construct new knowledge and show critical thinking skills as a result of the conversation, as stated by Participant 4:

Debating within Facebook can help migrant to learn critical thinking skills.

This situation also was influenced by the freedom of expression provided by online communities. Online discussions can help migrant workers to express their opinion without feeling threatened by other parties.

The online community can help migrant workers to enjoy freedom of expression and thinking. It can help migrant workers to enhance their critical thinking skills as there are no barriers to expressing their thoughts. In addition, migrant workers can access the thread at any time which provides flexibility of access to the knowledge. It helps migrant workers to learn and scrutinise the posted messages. They have the opportunity to learn the messages, track some information, learn the opposite opinion and construct new knowledge from the conversation.

6.2.3 Empowerment at the community level

Empowerment at the community level refers to the processes of community engagement which affect the capacity of the community to respond to various civic problems such as lack of protection of migrant rights and public policies which tend to discriminate against migrant domestic workers. Civic problems are the various problems linked to issues of citizenship, rights and duties. Community engagement is manifested in the community's awareness about their power, and its ability to take actions towards changes.

Migrant workers need to organise their community in order to be able to respond to civic problems. In addition, they need to take action towards changes. However, they are isolated in their workplace and have limited free time. Consequently, they have limited opportunities to organise. The online community addresses this barrier by providing them with a space for organising the community. There are two online practices which enhance the community engagement.

Practices to discuss the community vision enhance community awareness about their power and contribute to the capabilities of the community to take actions towards changes

As discussed in Chapter 5, the practice of discussing the community vision involves debating or talking about the community goals that have not yet been achieved, what actions should be done by the community, and future goals of the community. Members provided various facts about the community activities, supported the facts with their feelings and thoughts, and then made suggestions for the future objectives of the community. The discussion enabled members of the community to understand various issues about the community activities, reflect on the community activities, and view the community activities from various perspectives. Then, they highlighted the future objectives of the community. Discussing the community vision enables migrant domestic workers to support each other, persuade others to get involved in the communities' activities and express their solidarity.

This research found that the leaders of the community frequently discussed the vision and mission of the community. They reached out to members of the community and listened to their voices. Many members of the community viewed the community vision and mission from various perspectives, reflected the vision and mission, and evaluated the implementation in many cases. Leaders of the community were aware that the online space was very useful for discussing the community vision and mission.

Discussing the vision and mission of the community with many members of the community enhanced the community awareness of the power of the community, as Participant 5 indicated:

Postings from many friends can help us to be aware the need to join the organisation.

The online community is a place where migrant domestic workers share their common interests. Migrant domestic workers interact and collaborate with each other. They share their opinions about the community mission and the barriers that should be faced together.

An awareness of the power of the community can be seen as a shared understanding about the need of togetherness in realising the community vision. It

can be seen from the use of the word “kita”, meaning “all of us”, which represents the identity of the community as stated by Participant 15:

Of course sister, all of us urge the right of justice for migrant workers.

Participant 15 emphasised that the migrant worker community needs to strengthen its cohesiveness. This is beneficial for urging justice for migrant workers. This was also stated by Participant 11 who emphasised the power of the community. She highlighted that the power of the community is needed to reach the common welfare agenda:

Learn and work together. Service with each other and unite within Indonesian migrant worker. Persistent to expand and strengthen the struggle for reaching common welfare agenda!

She was aware that migrant workers need to strengthen the cohesiveness of the community to fight against injustice successfully. She was aware that bringing other parties together will increase the possibility of social change.

Discussing community vision also enhances the capability of the community to take actions towards changes. Discussing the community vision enables the migrant worker community to be aware about what should be done by the community to respond to civic problems. This enables them to decide what to do, as Participant 11 emphasised:

*The arrival of ** from the Ministry of Manpower is proper, let's welcome him with a big poster of DELETE KTKLN.*

Discussing the vision and mission of the community with many members of the community enables them to prioritise their community activities in order to address the needs and challenges of the community members. In this case of the visit from the Ministry of Manpower, they were aware that they needed to voice their aspirations directly to the Ministry. The posted message received many responses from the community members. They discussed how the community should respond

to the event and they prioritised the mission of the community, as Participant 15 commented:

This is the task of ATKI Taiwan to cope with it

Discussing the community vision and mission helps members of the community to be aware about what can be done regarding the problems faced by the community. They discussed the resources that need to be prepared to support the collective actions. They also emphasised the need to strengthen their cohesiveness in order to reach their common goal. Participant 15 was a former community leader. He was aware that the community needed to prioritise several tasks in order to reach the community objectives. The community needs to coordinate activities in order to advance the common welfare agenda effectively including being aware of the resources required.

Discussing the community vision contributes to the capabilities of the community to take actions towards changes in terms of helping the community to understand how to organise their resources for conducting collective actions. When members discussed the community vision, the topic attracted a wide audience to respond. The conversation helped them to discuss the detail of the action and persuade others to support the actions. In addition, the practice enabled them to discuss what kind of participation was needed from the audience to support the collective actions.

The practice of organising collective actions enhances the migrant workers' capabilities to take actions towards changes

As discussed in Chapter 5, organising collective actions is described as an online of activities to plan, execute and evaluate a collective action. Collective action is an

action taken together and supported by the community to reach their common goal. A collective action is beneficial to the community as a whole.

Online communities provide spaces for arranging actions taken together by the migrant worker community. Organising collective actions can be done through a series of actions within online communities. They invite, persuade and conduct collective actions to influence public policies and fight against injustice. They also explain the details of the action and what kind of participation is needed from the audience.

The online communities enable collective actions to attract support from wide audiences. Online collective actions can steal the attention of the public as in the case of the campaign to reject KTKLN and campaigns to support their fellow migrant workers who experienced violence. When the migrant worker community planned the campaign to reject the KTKLN, they used the online community to invite members of the migrant worker community to be involved in the collective actions. Leaders of the community also explained the detail of the participation required from the migrant worker community, such as the need to post statuses to reject KTKLN for a period of time in their Facebook account. This campaign involved many Indonesian migrant workers and caught the attention of the public. The Government of Indonesia then reviewed the KTKLN policy as a result of public demand.

In another case, they organised members of the migrant worker community to use a symbol of justice as their online profile in order to show solidarity for their fellow migrant workers. This was dedicated to support their fellow migrant workers who faced violence in Hong Kong. One of their fellow migrant workers had been listed as one of the world's 100 most influential people by Time magazine. Her case attracted the awareness of the public internationally. The community leaders used the

online community to organise support, campaign and send the petition about working hour regulations to the Government of Hong Kong. The migrant worker community was organised to support their fellow workers and advocated for better laws to the Government of Hong Kong. The Government of Hong Kong subsequently issued better law for the protection of domestic workers as a result of public demand.

From the evidence presented above, it can be concluded that organising collective actions through online communities enhances the capabilities of the communities to take actions towards changes. The communities are able to attract support from wide audiences and capture public awareness which helps them to pressure the relevant authority to make changes.

6.2.4 Relationship between individual and community empowerment

Empowerment for migrant domestic workers in online communities consists of empowerment at the individual level and community level. Empowerment processes at the individual level and at the community level are interrelated. The processes of empowerment at the individual level influence empowerment at the community level and vice versa.

The processes of empowerment at the individual level contribute to the processes of empowerment at the community level. Empowerment at the individual level includes processes which enhance the capabilities of individuals to exercise control over their migration processes. An empowered individual means an individual who has sufficient wellbeing and awareness about migration challenges. Wellbeing can be assessed from their self-efficacy, self-esteem, connectedness with social environment and good emotional condition. The processes of empowerment at the community level influence empowerment at the individual level: for instance, migrant workers' participation in successful online collective actions influences their wellbeing. Active participation into collective actions can enhance the self-esteem and self-efficacy of migrant domestic workers, especially their pride as migrant domestic workers and their self-efficacy to voice their aspirations in front of the agency and employer. Their active participation also enables them to develop connectedness with the surrounding social environment which reduces the feeling of

loneliness. Participation in online collective action also enables them to be encouraged, which affects their feeling of stress. Migrant workers' participation in discussing the community vision enhances members' awareness of migration challenges. Discussing the community vision covers a wide range of topics from migration challenges to community objectives. Participation in the discussion improves migrant workers' knowledge and critical thinking skills.

The processes of empowerment at the individual level influence the processes of empowerment at the community level. A successful collective action needs a strong leadership and active participation from the community members. Leaders of the community are usually individuals who have a good sense of wellbeing, meaning they have good self-efficacy, self-esteem and strong relationships in the social environment. A collective action without a strong leader is impossible as leaders are needed to communicate and influence other parties. In addition, migrant workers with a good awareness of migration challenges can contribute significantly to the discussion about the community vision. Therefore, online practices which empower individuals are related to empowerment processes at the community level.

A community is a group of individuals who share common interests and needs; however, a group of empowered individuals does not mean an empowered community. Empowerment requires active participation from the members of the community. Empowerment works if and only if there is active participation from the members of the community. Empowerment works if there is a common awareness of the need to conduct social transformation which is supported by members of the community.

Empowerment views individuals not as objects of empowerment but as actors of empowerment. As an actor of empowerment, an individual's active participation in online communities contributes to the processes of empowerment. In addition, it also means that members of the community have the authority and autonomy to conduct online practices. Therefore, their active participation contributes significantly to the processes of empowerment. Empowerment does not simply provide specific actions to targeted individuals but means the active participation of individuals who are involved in the processes of empowerment.

6.3 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MODEL

This section discusses the comparisons between the conceptual model developed from the literature review with the model of migrant domestic workers' empowerment in online communities that emerged from the data and inductive reasoning.

6.3.1 The goal of empowerment

The final model and the conceptual model identified the goal of empowerment for migrant domestic workers in the online community context as the processes to enhance the capabilities to reach the common welfare agenda. Both the literature and the study's data show that migrant domestic worker communities are far from their goals as they experience many common problems. Migrant domestic workers are not covered by labour laws and are treated as informal workers. They live in the workplace which means they lack authority and autonomy to conduct empowerment practices. Without full protection from the relevant authority, migrant domestic workers are vulnerable to exploitation, abuse and discrimination.

The literature review and the findings presented in Chapter 4 emphasise that migrant domestic workers experience a lack of autonomy and authority for conducting practices. In addition, they experience isolated and restricted conditions as they live with the employer. Online communities address this situation by providing a virtual space with a flexibility of access from isolated places.

Online communities penetrate the boundary of isolation and circumstances. Online communities can be accessed from isolated place as long as internet access is provided. Online communities can be easily accessed through mobile phones.

This study found that online communities provide spaces for democratic and egalitarian interactions amongst people, as supported by Feenberg (2012). Online communities also provide authority and autonomy for migrant workers to conduct practices which underlie the processes of empowerment at the individual and community level. Migrant domestic workers can conduct online practices in the virtual spaces without the employer's monitoring and supervision. They have the freedom to develop themselves and organise the community.

6.3.2 Empowerment at the individual level

This section compares the processes of empowerment at the individual level in the conceptual model and the final model. Specifically, this section discusses the themes which emerged from the data and compares these with the themes in the conceptual model.

The practice of socialising with others – This theme was identified in the conceptual model. This practice aims to develop and maintain connectedness with the surrounding social environment through online communities. Socialising with others enables migrant domestic workers to maintain and develop a mutual affection with others. It is conducted through a communicative relationship that discusses topics ranging from trivial matters to serious matters, developing social networks, and providing emotional support for those who are facing migration or employment problems.

Socialising with others was revealed through maintaining contact with families and friends. Maintaining contact can be seen as an effort to preserve the feeling of connectedness with families and friends and reduces the migrant workers' loneliness. Migrant workers, especially domestic workers, have few opportunities to interact with the outside world. They have a limited opportunity to interact with their families and friends. Most of their time is spent in the workplace. Therefore, they have limited opportunity to be emotionally involved with families and friends on special occasions. It is an isolated situation which creates the feeling of being disconnected from their families and friends.

This study found that online communities provide spaces for maintaining a communicative relationship between migrant workers and their families and friends. This is supported by the findings of Bacigalupe and Camara (2012), Benitez (2012) and Tsai (2006). Online communication enabled them to maintain an emotional link with their home families from whom they are geographically separated (Minu, 2011). They can continue to be emotionally involved in the important moments in the lives of their friends and family; for example, they express appreciation for any support received, greet each other and exchange information about the situations they face. Sometimes they only communicate trivial matters with their families and friends, but it still contributed to maintaining the feeling of connectedness. Migrant workers

greeted their families and friends on birthdays and other special occasions by posting greetings with text and pictures. They also tagged others to appreciate the support received. Female domestic workers conducted transnational mothering of their children, as also found by Malik and Kadir (2011). Passive monitoring also helps them to know the social situation faced by their families and friends (Komito, 2011). This practice will help them to feel emotionally connected with friends and family which reduces the feeling of loneliness.

Another aspect of maintaining contact with family and friends is accessing the online communication. Malik and Kadir (2011) (2011) emphasise that domestic workers rely on online communication for maintaining contact with their families and friends. Their type of work requires them to live in their workplace which translates into a circumscribed and isolated living space. Consequently, their access to ICT communication is significant (Malik & Kadir, 2011; Minu, 2011), especially the use of mobile communication. This study highlights that access to online communities provides domestic workers with more meaningful communication compared to phone calls. Domestic workers accessed online communities anytime they can. It means that they can access online communities when they have free time. Accessing online communities also does not rely on voice communication which potentially attracts their employer to prohibit the activities. Communication in online communities is also asynchronous in nature; therefore, domestic workers can access the communication at any time. In addition, Facebook online communities provide various features such as videos and pictures which make the communication more attractive and interactive.

In addition, socialising with others was also revealed through activities to develop social networks and connections. This finding is supported by the findings by Minu (2011), Tsai (2006) and Malik and Kadir (2011). Migrant workers passively monitor others' profiles, comment on their online statuses and then contact them safely (Komito, 2011). It is common that an online meeting is followed up by a face-to-face meeting (Tsai, 2006), which can help migrant workers feel emotionally connected with the surrounding social environment. They need to have a social relationship in the host country. This social networking can enhance the sense of connectedness with the surrounding environment which reduces their loneliness.

The work by Tsai (2006) highlights that online communities enable migrant workers to find similar others in the surrounding social environment and then develop relationships with new friends. Migrant workers targeted those who share geographical proximity to form a new social network and connections. They develop new friendships in order to reach a better understanding of their surrounding social environment and to be culturally accepted by similar others in their environment. However, this study found that domestic workers particularly targeted other workers who shared geographical proximity and community activists to form their new social network and connections. They rarely socialised with their surrounding social environment because of their work circumstances. The main group in their immediate surrounding social environment was their employer and the employer's family. Consequently, they did not target any local person to form a new social network and connection, rather, they targeted similar others and union activists. They needed to reach a feeling of safety by having a good relationship with similar others and union activists.

Socialising with others was also conducted to provide emotional support for those who were experiencing problems. Providing emotional support for others was a response to migrant workers who shared their feelings in the online communities. Migrant workers often face problems which must be solved. They experience negative feelings such as confusion, stress and uncertainty. This situation will affect their psychological condition. In this case, the migrant workers need space to release their negative feelings. If there is someone who is willing to listen, then they feel comfortable because they can release these feelings. Online communities are the most appropriate place to meet someone who is ready to listen to their negative feelings.

Providing emotional support was manifested in providing encouragement for those who were experiencing problems. Migrant workers who have been encouraged by others are likely to mobilise greater efforts to cope with their problems. Encouragement can arouse the emotions of migrant workers. On the contrary, discouragement can awaken negative emotions which erode the individual's power to cope with a problem. Migrant workers can lack efficacy when they face a problem, particularly problems which require them to face more powerful parties such as employers and agencies. Encouragement can arouse their positive emotions

and efficacy. Members who provide the encouragement feel proud of their efforts if the encouragement is accepted. This feeling will enhance a sense of self-acceptance or self-esteem. This practice can empower migrant workers as encouragement contributes to migrant workers' mental health and affects their coping capabilities.

The finding on encouraging others is supported in the literature. This study revealed that encouraging others can be seen as a persuasive activity to support someone to have self-confidence when faced with a problem. This description is supported by the work of Guadagno et al. (2013) which revealed that members of online communities adopt the online space to positively influence others and enhance their optimism when faced with challenges. Another aspect of encouraging others is revealed by Chen and Choi (2011) who found that users provide and receive plausible arguments supported by data and best practices which can influence the motivations of members who are facing challenges. Online encouragement is complementary to face-to-face encouragement. Migrant workers who have stayed longer in the host country mostly use face-to-face interaction for encouraging others.

However, this study highlights that the participants mostly relied on online encouragement as they had very limited opportunities to interact with the outside world. Online communities enabled them to give and receive encouragement supplemented by plausible arguments and various best practices to cope with problems. This type of interaction influences the quality of encouragement, especially for migrant domestic workers who have limited opportunities to get encouragement from the individuals in their surrounding social environment such as the employer, a family member of the employer, or an agency employee.

The practice of discussing common interest and problems – this theme was identified in the conceptual model. Discussing common interests and problems involves critiquing, reflecting on and viewing a certain topic from multiple perspectives (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Buffington, 2004) such as political issues and migrant worker rights (Inna & Kathrin, 2008; Kissau, 2012). This practice can enhance the ability to view a topic from multiple perspectives which is linked to the possession of skills and knowledge (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). Discussing common interests and problems enables migrant workers to learn coping strategies from others and to understand migrant workers' rights.

The findings of this study enrich the existing discussion by revealing some aspects of online discussion. This study revealed that online discussion was beneficial for isolated migrant workers as it enabled them to reach better understanding about the outside world, such as the social conditions of migrant workers. Online discussion allows an exchange of knowledge to take place and facilitates the processes of learning among participants. In addition, as members of the online communities share similar characteristics such as educational and employment backgrounds, a complicated topic can be translated into an understandable topic by contextualising the topic using everyday language. For example, the participants initiated a discussion about injustice which impoverished them and the discussion included examples of the conditions of the migrant workers' lives in the home country. This topic touched the daily life experience of most migrant workers. This discussion enabled the migrant workers to reach better understanding about the issues underlying injustice.

In addition, the practice of discussing common interests and problems enables migrant workers to learn coping strategies from others. This finding is supported by the literature. Amichai-(Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008) emphasises that online communities facilitate the adoption of coping strategies; for example, migrant workers participate in online communities to cope with various adaptation challenges in the host country (Khvorostianov et al., 2012).

The findings of this study enrich the discussion by revealing some aspects of learning coping strategies which are not covered in the literature. Learning coping strategies in online communities plays a significant role for domestic workers as it enables them to meet the right person who can provide advice despite being in an isolated and circumscribed living space. In addition, migrant workers feel it is easier to learn coping strategies from others as they discuss the problems using contextualised terminologies.

This study also found that discussing common interests and problems enables migrant workers to understand migrant workers' rights, which does not appear to be highlighted in the literature. Migrant workers experience various problems related to their rights. The migrant workers then learn about migrant workers' rights as a complement to coping strategies. This study found that migrant workers discussed migrant workers' rights and problems in the online communities. For example, the

migrant workers often experienced pressure from the agency and employer. They needed to better understand their rights in order to cope with this problem. This study revealed that they talked about various best practices for the implementation of migrant workers' rights to deal with various problems. This activity facilitates a contextualisation of migrant workers' rights. They also discussed the social environment in the host country and the various channels which are able to help them when dealing with a problem. The migrant workers provided lists of contacts who can be consulted if others experience a problem. In addition, they were involved in various discussions about the ways to solve a problem. These discussions led to the creation of socially-constructed coping strategies. This study revealed that migrant workers experienced similar problems. For example, the agency pressured them to hand over their immigration documents to the agency. This is an irregular practice which potentially disadvantages migrant workers. In the case of domestic workers, the employer often prohibited them to interact with the outside world and threatened the workers were threatened with termination if they did not obey the instruction. They discussed these problems in the online communities, proposed various ideas to cope with the problems and then constructed the best strategy to cope with the problem.

Learning coping strategies affects the self-efficacy of migrant workers (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008). Migrant workers will have a better understanding of how to resolve a problem. In the special case of experienced migrant workers, they feel they know the answers to the problems faced by others on matters such as passport renewal and recruitment. New migrant workers can ask others who have experience in successfully managing the issues. The answers help migrant workers to have a sense of confidence in resolving the problem.

The outcomes of the online practices are categorised into two groups. The first group is the outcomes that contribute to the wellbeing of migrant workers. Migration is a challenging experience as migrant workers leave their home country and leave behind their established social supports. Migrant workers engage with a new social and cultural environment where they face various physical and social demands. Likewise, Indonesian migrant workers leave behind well-established social supports such as good relationships with their families and friends. Consequently, migration affects the emotional wellbeing of migrant workers as they need to adjust their

behaviour in the host country, miss their established social network and families in the home country and have insufficient emotional support in their surrounding social environment. In other words, migrant workers lack wellbeing as a consequence of their migration processes.

Enhancing wellbeing empowers migrant workers as this practice improves the coping abilities of migrant workers (Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Tengland, 2008; Zimmerman, 1995), especially their ability to exercise control over the migration processes. Migrant workers experience a lack of wellbeing as they feel anxious, lack connection with the social environment, and lack self-efficacy and self-esteem. These emotional situations affect their coping abilities in a new social environment. Migrant workers who have a sufficient competency to cope with various problems have better capability to decide what to do and to believe, which relates to their coping capabilities. They have a good emotional foundation which enables them to act. For example, migrant workers who have self-efficacy and self-esteem have more power to cope with a problem in the workplace. When they face a problem with the employer, they will do their best to negotiate until they can reach a win-win solution.

The four outcomes of the online practices which contribute to the wellbeing of migrant workers are discussed as follows:

Reduced loneliness – This theme is identified in the conceptual model. The migrant workers' feeling of loneliness is reduced by their interaction in online communities. This finding is supported by the findings by Bacigalupe and Camara (2012) and Tsai (2006). They highlight that migrant workers interact with others through online communities which helps them to enhance the feeling of connectedness and reduces isolation by interacting with others and understanding the surrounding social conditions. This study revealed that the feeling of connectedness with others was a result of the online communicative relationship. Migrant domestic workers interact every day with the employer and the employer's family but this does not reduce their loneliness. Domestic workers tend to develop bonding or connectedness with similar others as they have a feeling of similar destiny in the host country. Reduced loneliness is an emotional condition that arises when migrant workers interact with others who understand their feelings and thoughts.

Self-esteem – This theme is identified in the conceptual model. The outcome of self-esteem refers to an emotional condition which is linked to self-respect (Lecomte et

al., 1999). The migrant workers' self-esteem is increased by their interaction in online communities. This finding is supported by the findings by Amichai-Hamburger et al. (2008) and Bacigalupe and Camara (2012) who emphasised that online communities enable migrant workers to find similar others, especially people who are willing to accept them. Interacting with people who are willing to accept them can enhance their self-esteem. The findings of this study enrich the literature by emphasising that online communities enhance the pride of domestic workers. Domestic work is low-skilled work and is often not the primary choice among workers. However, they can feel pride as domestic workers because they are able to survive and cope with various challenges in a foreign country. They feel pride as heroes who struggle in a foreign country and support the welfare of their family at home. Online communities enable them to discuss their struggles, which influences their pride as domestic workers.

Self-efficacy – This theme is identified in the conceptual model. In the literature, self-efficacy is described as an individual's confidence in their ability to tackle problems using their skills and knowledge (Bacigalupe & Cámara, 2012; Tengland, 2008; Zimmerman, 1995). Self-efficacy is linked to people's coping abilities (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Heslin, 1999; Morton, 2013; Pellino et al., 1998). The findings of this study enrich the discussion by confirming that online communities facilitate processes that enhance members' self-efficacy. Online communities provide spaces for learning coping strategies from others and getting encouragement from others, which enhances the feeling of efficacy. Migrant domestic workers who lack self-efficacy can interact with those who have experienced similar problems. They learn from others about how to survive in a foreign country. This influences their confidence to cope with various problems in the host country. In addition, online interactions enhance their courage to face more powerful parties such as the employer and the agency.

Reduced stress – this theme is not identified in the conceptual model. The participants were found to reach a relaxed state of reduced stress as a result of participation in the online communities. This condition is a consequence of the release of negative feelings which is freely conducted in online communities. It is also a consequence of finding people in online communities who understand what

others feel. Having a friend who is able to listen and understand their feelings helps migrant workers to reach a relaxed condition.

The second group of outcomes comprises the outcomes which contribute to the migrant workers' awareness. Migrant workers' awareness refers to the knowledge of and responsiveness to the surrounding environment. Awareness is revealed in migrant workers' knowledge, critical thinking skills and awareness about migrant workers' rights. Migrant worker awareness relates to empowerment as it contributes to the coping capabilities and the processes to reach wellbeing in a new social environment. Migrant workers experience various problems when they migrate to a new social environment. They need awareness about the social situation in the host country, understanding about their rights and good critical thinking skills. Their understanding about the social situation in the host country helps them to settle in the host country. Their critical thinking skills help them to view a problem from various perspectives. Migrant workers' awareness about migrant workers' rights enables them to defend their rights when they experience any exploitation, abuse and violence.

The outcomes of the practices which contribute to the awareness of migrant workers are discussed as follows:

Critical thinking skills – This theme is identified in the conceptual model. The migrant workers improved their critical thinking skills through participation in the online communities. This finding is supported by previous research in the literature. The finding on the critical thinking skills of participants, involving the ability to observe and evaluate a topic using plausible arguments, is supported by Buffington (2004) and Wickersham and Dooley (2006). The findings in the study enrich the discussion by revealing that critical thinking skills appear in the ability of migrant workers to reflect on their experiences. They reflect on their experience in order to provide critical comments on a topic. The participants have limited opportunities to access other sources of knowledge and conduct learning offline, so the critical thinking skills of migrant workers are rooted in their ability to read posted messages and write comments to the posted messages. They mostly posted comments on topics related to migrant workers' issues.

Critical thinking skills help migrant workers to assess the risk and benefit of each action, and take into account the impact of the action when they need to cope

with a problem. For example, when migrant worker needs to choose a recruitment agency, migrant workers with good critical thinking skills will consider the performance of the agencies, compare them and then decide the best agency. When migrant workers experience pressure in the workplace, they are able to view the case from multiple perspectives. Then they are able to formulate the best coping strategies. Furthermore, migrant workers with good critical thinking skills can figure out the knowledge needed to cope with the problem.

Knowledge – This theme is identified in the conceptual model. Knowledge is empowering as it can help migrant workers to decide what to do and what to believe (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Tengland, 2008; Tina et al., 2006). Tengland (2008) emphasises that relevant knowledge is empowering in nature. However, this study revealed that a contextualised knowledge is empowering in nature. For migrant workers, contextualised knowledge refers to knowledge which helps to solve migrant workers' daily problems, explains the social situation of migrant workers in detail, and is presented in an understandable language. For example, migrant workers accessed knowledge about how to prevent unjust treatment from the agency and employer. The knowledge comprised various aspects which contribute to preventing the unjust treatment, explain the nuances of the social environment surrounding the migrant workers in detail, and are communicated in an understandable language.

The online community provides a space to enhance the critical thinking skills and knowledge of migrant workers (Barak & Sadovsky, 2008). Migrant workers can conduct online discussions which enhance their critical thinking skills and knowledge. In an online discussion, the participants share information with the audience. The audience responds by viewing the topic from multiple perspectives. Participation in the online discussion can enhance their critical thinking skills as they are involved in the debate. They practise defending their ideas by providing a plausible argument supported by evidence or data. This practice can lead to the process of generating new knowledge and enhancing critical thinking skills (Barak & Sadovsky, 2008; Buffington, 2004).

With critical thinking skills and knowledge, migrant workers are able to discover and explore inconsistencies among proposed ideas. In addition, knowledge and critical thinking skills help migrant workers to construct new ideas and test the application of the knowledge.

The practice of involvement in the mastery of experiences – This practice is not identified in the final model. The literature explains that involvement in the mastery experience provides the feeling of success in conducting difficult tasks. Online communities can provide a mastery of experience for the users; for example, users are involved in an online training to fight against exploitation in the workplace. Providing the mastery experience requires additional resources, and most Indonesian migrant domestic workers have limited resources. They have limited time to access the online communities and limited resources to allocate to mastery experiences. Most of the migrant workers in this study accessed the online communities through mobile phones with limited features which restricted their ability to be involved in mastery experiences.

6.3.3 Empowerment at the Community level

Empowerment at the community level refers to the processes of community engagement which affect the capacity of the community to respond to various civic problems. Community engagement is described as the processes that implement the community's vision and organise collective actions towards changes. Civic problems are the various problems linked to issues of citizenship, rights and duties. The abilities of a community to respond to civic problems are manifest in the community's awareness about their power, its ability to set its own priorities and its ability to influence government policy. This section discusses the relationships between the practices and their outcomes as presented above in Figure 6.3.

The migrant worker community faces many problems especially regarding migrant workers' protection. Migrant workers, particularly those who work in the domestic sector, are not covered by the labour law. The government often categorises them as informal workers which consequently leaves them uncovered by the labour law. Therefore, they lack protection and are powerless.

Migrant workers need to organise their community in order to be able to respond to civic problems. In addition, they need to take action towards better wellbeing. However, they are isolated in their workplace and have limited time off. Consequently, they have limited opportunities to organise. The online community addresses this barrier by providing them with a space for organising the community. They have their own authority and autonomy to conduct many practices in the online

spaces. There are several processes and outcomes which can be perceived to empower the migrant worker community as illustrated above in Figure 6.3.

The practice of discussing community vision – This theme is identified in the conceptual model. This practice aims to identify the future objectives of the community by reflecting on what has been achieved by the community and articulating the future expectations of the community to reach common welfare goals. Some previous works support this finding by emphasising that leaders of the community play significant roles in forming the community vision (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Avolio et al., 2014). Leaders of the community initiate the communication to discuss and define the community vision for its members (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Avolio et al., 2014). This study revealed that the leader of the community is not the only initiator of discussion, but some community activists also initiated and led the discussion on the community vision. They remind the community about some problems which have not yet been resolved by the community. The online community is egalitarian as each member has the same opportunity to engage in the discussion. They speak about what the community has achieved and what should be done to achieve the future objectives.

The practice of organising collective actions – This theme is identified in the conceptual model. This practice shows the power of the migrant worker community to influence government policies and participate in politics. This practice indicates the power of the community to pressure the authorities to hear and satisfy their demands. In the case of a community where members have limited opportunity to organise, it shows the power of the community to penetrate the boundaries of isolation, gain support from the public and use the support to urge the authority to make changes. This action indicates an empowering process, as it is capable to affect social change, especially the process of achieving the community welfare goals.

Organising collective actions can be seen as an empowering process as supported by several previous works in the literature. Bartunek and Spreitzer (2006) point out that the description of empowerment varies depending on the discipline of the researcher. Bartunek and Spreitzer's description of empowerment involves the capability to participate in politics, particularly having power to influence public policy which matches the practice of organising collective actions identified in this study. Conger and Kanungo (1988) emphasise that a community which has the

authority and autonomy to conduct practices has more power. Migrant domestic workers, in particular, have a limited opportunity to organise as they are isolated in their workplace. However, migrant workers' practice of organising collective actions reveals that they have the authority and autonomy to conduct practices in the online world. They have an authority and autonomy to conduct practices which cannot be hosted in their living space as they are monitored and supervised there by the employer. This aspect aligns with the work of Konger and Canungo (1998). Migrant workers convert the isolated conditions which are potentially a barrier to their autonomy and authority into a capability to organise people, voice their demands aspirations to the government and attract public support for their causes. These aspects align with the work by Hennink et al. (2012) which highlights that empowerment processes are closely linked to the ability to take actions towards changes.

There were several activities in conducting the practice to organise collective actions in the present study which are supported by some previous works in the literature. First, the literature review showed that organising collective actions involves a space for members to learn the aims and objectives of the collective actions. In addition, the literature also highlights that such activities improve the participation of community members in collective actions. This study found that migrant workers received invitations to join the collective actions which were equipped with details about the collective actions including the rationale behind the collective actions; in particular, the community leaders clearly presented their arguments about the importance of collective actions for reaching common welfare goals. The migrant worker community discussed their collective actions through the online community; they talked about the detail of the collective actions. This enabled community members to learn and enhanced their awareness about the collective actions. They also improved the participation by streaming the information to wide audiences which attracted public support to the issues.

The processes to mobilise resources were set out differently in the work by Smales (2011) who revealed that migrant workers adopted the online world to mobilise participation in the collective actions. This study revealed further adoption of online communities for collective actions. The migrant worker community adopted the online community to gather various facts from members of the

community, asked them to fill in the online form and then summarised the facts into a narrative of aspirations. This is the way to penetrate the boundaries of isolation, and then bring the ideas to make changes into the public sphere. They connected various people who otherwise faced difficulties to meet and interact into a single organisation which represented their aspirations.

The findings of this study about the execution of collective actions are supported by some previous works. (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008; Kelly Garrett, 2006; Neumayer & Raffl, 2008; Segerberg & Bennett, 2011) found that executing collective actions through the online world can be conducted through directly sending the demands to the authorities and connecting the online protest with the offline actions. There were empirical findings that the migrant worker community directly voiced its aspirations to the social media accounts of the government members. They sent their demands supplemented with detailed supporting material. There were also various findings which revealed the methods of the migrant worker community in connecting the online collective actions with the offline actions. They uploaded the video of the offline protest and provided detailed information about the activities. They also regularly updated their online collective actions to be aligned with the offline actions.

Another aspect of the practice to organise collective actions in this study plays out differently to the findings of previous work. This is the way to evaluate the collective actions which is linked to the need to maintain their stamina to struggle. The migrant worker community adopts the online communities to maintain the stamina to conduct long-term campaigns. In the case of the “Delete KTKLN” campaign, this online campaign to voice their demands to the government of Indonesia had been conducted for several years. They frequently conducted this activity over a period of time in order to build public awareness about this issue. However, this online campaign needed to be conducted for several years. Members of the community potentially feel bored or run out of stamina as they conduct this practice for a long period. However, the migrant worker community activists used and adopted the online community to maintain the stamina. They regularly reminded the community members about their struggle to reject this policy, encouraged them to be strong, and provided them with regular updates about their struggle. Finally

after several years struggling, they talked through the Internet directly with the President of Indonesia who ultimately agreed to meet their demands.

The outcomes which result from the practices which contribute to community engagement are discussed as follows:

Awareness of the power of the community – This theme is not identified in the conceptual model. This awareness is an understanding about the capability of the community to break down barriers which inhibit the processes to achieve the community welfare goals. This awareness can be seen as a foundation of the community's power to take action towards changes. Each member of the community needs to understand that taking action together provides more significant impact than individual actions. Support from wide audiences, including public support, will be an advantage to the social movement organised by the community. The online community provides migrant workers the ability to access support from wide audiences. In the case of violence experienced by a migrant worker in Hong Kong, the migrant worker community organises support from all over the world. They adopt the online world to broadcast the case and ask people all over the world to support their demands to the governments of Indonesia and Hong Kong. More than 100 thousand people signed the online petition.

Capability to take actions towards changes – This theme is identified in the conceptual model. These capabilities were materialised in the community's power to make affect to the public policy (Eleni & Sakine, 2009; Fitzgerald et al., 2012; Kissau, 2012). In addition, this capability can be assessed by the extent to which policy-makers accommodate the community's aspirations. Support from a wide audience can be seen as a source of power to urge the policy-makers accommodate the aspirations. The online community adopted various Internet applications to raise the support from wide audiences. They need to show their power when they urge the authority to change the law. They need to conduct this action together as this will more significantly influence the policies than individual actions. For example, the migrant worker community needs to urge the policy-makers to change the labour law. They need to show to the policy-makers that they have many supporters. When there was a case of violence experienced by a migrant worker, many supporters from

all over the world supported the migrant workers' demands. Therefore, the government of Hong Kong accommodated their demands.

The research by Smales (2011) supports this finding by emphasising that migrant domestic workers conducted massive online campaigns to influence public policy. Smales (2011) revealed the capability of domestic workers to attract support from wide audiences. However, the present study enriches the literature by revealing that the domestic workers have the further capability to influence public policies. They conducted online dialogue directly with the President, and then voiced the aspirations. They not only conducted online campaigns, but directly voiced their aspirations to the government leaders through social media and online dialogue. They show a further capability to influence public policy through the online world.

6.4 CONCLUSION

The findings show that online communities are able to facilitate empowering processes for migrant domestic workers which consist of individual and community empowerment. Online communities enable migrant workers to conduct online practices which enhance their wellbeing and awareness of migration challenges. Wellbeing is the foundation of individual empowerment. The combination of wellbeing and awareness of migration challenges are the result of the processes of empowerment at the individual level. Migrant workers with good wellbeing and high awareness have more power to take control over their migration processes. On the contrary, migrant workers who lack wellbeing have difficulties to respond to migration problems. They lack passion and commitment when struggling with migration problems which considerably weakens their effort. This condition is referred to as powerlessness.

At the community level, the migrant worker community can conduct practices which enhance their responses to several migrant worker problems. They conduct practices which lead to the enhancement of community engagement.

This chapter provided a model which describes the processes of empowerment for migrant domestic workers in online communities. The next chapter concludes the study by presenting the summary of the findings, theoretical and practical contributions, limitations and future research directions.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

7.1 CHAPTER PREVIEW

This chapter presents a summary of the study by providing a critical review of the whole research. First, the findings are summarised in Section 7.2. This section provides a short discussion about how the study answers the main research question, the themes that emerged and the model of migrant worker empowerment in online communities. Then, the contribution to existing knowledge is presented in Section 7.3. In particular, this section discusses the contribution of this research to the theory of empowerment in online communities, especially in the migrant worker setting. Section 7.4 discusses the practical implications of this research. This section is followed by a discussion about the limitations of the research. Finally, this chapter discusses the conclusions and recommends future potential directions for research in this area.

7.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This research revealed that online communities provide democratic and egalitarian spaces where migrant workers interact and collaborate with others. Migrant workers have more authority and autonomy to conduct practices in online communities. The possession of autonomy and authority to conduct practices with each other is the foundation of empowerment. Online spaces are used to perform various practices which empower migrant workers and their community as a whole.

In addition, this study found that migrant worker empowerment processes in online communities are composed of practices and outcomes. Empowerment processes manifested in various online practices conducted by users of online communities. In this research, empowerment outcomes were assessed from the individual and community perspective.

Empowerment at the individual level is described as a group of practices which enhance the capabilities of migrant domestic workers to take control over their migration processes. The processes of empowering migrant workers at the individual level contribute to help migrant workers solve the encountered problems, and to

break down barriers that impede access to resources such as the knowledge and skills which are linked to their self-development. Several themes were perceived to empower migrant workers at the individual level.

The following practices were found to enhance the wellbeing and awareness of migration challenges amongst migrant domestic workers:

- Socialising with others – an online practice which aims to develop connectedness with the surrounding social environment
- Discussing common interests and problems – an online practice that aims to debate a specific issue.

The practices which enhance the wellbeing of migrant workers are linked to several outcomes as follows:

- Self-efficacy – migrant workers’ beliefs about their capacity to execute actions and cope with challenges.
- Self-esteem – migrant workers’ belief about their self-respect.
- Reduced loneliness – where migrant workers have a good feeling of connectedness with their surrounding social environment.
- Reduced stress – a mental condition of migrant workers who have less tension as an impact of a demanding situation.

The outcomes of practices which enhance the awareness of migrant workers are as follows:

- Knowledge – awareness about a specific topic.
- Critical thinking skills – a capability to view a topic from multiple perspectives and form a judgment.

Empowerment at the community level refers to the processes that enhance the community engagement. Empowerment at this level can be described as online practices which assist the community to break down the barriers which inhibit the processes to advance the common welfare agenda and help the community to take actions towards changes. There were several practices which were perceived to empower the community as a whole:

- Organising collective actions – a series of online activities to plan, execute and evaluate an action taken by a community to make changes and reach common welfare goals.
- Discussing the community vision – online activities to discuss the community's future achievement.

The outcomes of empowerment practices at the community level are as follows:

- An awareness of the power of a community – a concern about the capability of a community to take actions towards changes.
- Capability to take actions towards changes – the capability of the community to influence the development of public policy and affect the existing public policy.

From the discussion of these categories, a model of migrant worker empowerment in online communities was developed. This model aims to provide an understanding of practices which are perceived to empower migrant workers and the related outcomes. This model also provides the relationship between the practices and their outcomes which are assessed from individual and community perspectives.

7.3 CONTRIBUTIONS TO EXISTING KNOWLEDGE

As discussed in the literature review, empowerment needs to be described depending on the context and setting. In addition, how empowerment occurs in online communities needs to be investigated further in the migrant worker setting. Thus, this study contributes to the theory in two parts. First, this study describes the empowerment processes that occur in online community setting by modelling the processes of empowerment at the individual and community level. Second, this research investigates empowerment in a context which scholars have rarely looked at. In this part, this research investigates empowerment in an underrepresented community context, namely, Indonesian migrant domestic worker online communities.

There are many studies which discuss how ICT facilitates empowerment in various contexts and settings. Harrison, Waite and Hunter (2006) revealed that the Internet empowers pensioners by providing information for decision-making processes. The Internet also provides a space for collaboration which empowers

students and their teachers (Ravid et al., 2008). Teachers and students collaborated in an online space to share knowledge and then develop sources of knowledge which benefit both the students and teachers. The Internet also serves to provide spaces for interaction which empower people with a disability (Barak & Sadovsky, 2008). The Internet also provides a space for exercising self-identity construction without threat which benefits those who struggle develop their self-identity, especially adolescents (Zhao, Grasmuck, & Martin, 2008). In addition, the online space empowers people who are ill and their doctors. The online space enables them to communicate and collaborate (Bartlett & Coulson, 2011; Broom, 2005). The online space enables sick people to get support, access to information and meet with similar others (Bartlett & Coulson, 2011; Pitts, 2004; C. F. van Uden-Kraan et al., 2009; Cornelia F. van Uden-Kraan, Drossaert, Taal, Shaw, et al., 2008). Furthermore, (Amichai-Hamburger et al., 2008) provided a model of how the Internet and its application can empower individuals, communities, organisations and the wider societal context.

In the migrant worker context, there is a growing interest among scholars to investigate the role of the online community hosted in social media applications to empower migrant workers. Bacigalupe and Camara (2012) and Malik and Kadir (2011) revealed that social media served roles in helping migrant workers stay connected with their home families and friends. Social media enabled them to maintain a transnational family (Benítez, 2012). Social media also helped migrant workers to develop their social network and gain access to a dispersed community (Dekker & Engbersen, 2012; Komito, 2011; Ogan & Ozakca, 2010; Oiarzabal, 2012; Oiarzabal & Reips, 2012). Migrant workers then voiced their aspirations and conducted collective actions through social media. Finally, migrant workers united with their community of origin and developed a spirit of nationalism in the community (Conversi, 2012; Rinnawi, 2012).

This study contributes to the theory by modelling the process of empowerment for migrant domestic workers in the online community context as presented in the previous chapter. Empowerment for migrant domestic workers in the online community context can be described as the processes which enhance the capabilities of the individual and community to advance their common welfare agenda. Empowerment consists of processes at the individual level and the community level. At the individual level, empowerment refers to the processes which enhance the

capabilities of the individual to take control over the migration and employment processes. The processes of empowerment at the individual level embody a group of online practices which enhance the wellbeing and awareness of migration challenges. Wellbeing can be assessed by reference to self-efficacy, self-esteem, the level of loneliness and the level of stress. Awareness of migration challenges can be assessed by reference to migrant workers' knowledge and critical thinking skills. At the community level, empowerment can be described as processes which enhance the community engagement. This process is embodied in a group of online practices which enhance the capabilities of the community to take actions towards changes and enhance their awareness of the community's power.

This research also provides a clear picture of how online communities empower the underrepresented migrant worker community, which is aligned with the work by Smales (2011):

A research gap exists on the subject of the use and effectiveness of [ICT] by migrant organisations and in particular, by women migrant domestic workers and their organisation.

There is a lack of research which investigates empowerment in the context of underrepresented migrant worker communities including migrant domestic workers, factory workers, and workers in various informal job sectors. This research contributes by providing a detailed picture about how underrepresented migrant worker communities adopt and conduct online practices through online communities. In addition, this research contributes by providing a clear picture of how online practices empower the individual migrant workers and migrant worker community as a whole. In general, this research provides a better understanding of online communities, their adopted practices and the related empowered outcomes.

7.4 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

This section presents the practical implications of this study. The practical implications of this study are presented in three parts. First, the findings of this study have practical implications for policy-makers. This study helps to provide a better understanding of how online spaces facilitate migrant worker empowerment. In particular, this study provides a model which explains a clear picture about various online practices and their related outcomes which are perceived to empower migrant workers and their community as a whole. This awareness assists policy-makers to

develop an appropriate policy to empower migrant workers. In particular, the result of this study provides an insight for policy-makers to adopt online spaces to empower migrant workers by providing access to resources for legal protection, education and healthcare in online spaces.

The Global Forum on Migration and Development emphasised that the world is characterised by people's mobility or migration. Migration is perceived to be beneficial to the process of development in many countries; therefore, many countries welcome migrant workers especially good quality workers. However, on the other side, there are still several migration issues which need to be addressed, especially violence and abuse experienced by migrant workers. This forum called for the empowerment of migrant workers all over the world, especially for those who are not well protected by the authorities. In particular, this forum highlighted the need to provide migrant workers with access to legal protection, education and healthcare.

In the world characterised by the huge adoption of the Internet, a significant role is played by technology in migration processes (Komito, 2011). Moreover, the Internet can facilitate underrepresented migrant worker communities to take actions towards changes (Smales, 2011). Thus, the Internet serves a role in empowering migrant workers.

This research emphasised the roles of online communities in providing migrant workers with access to the outside world, and the ability to then interact and collaborate with others. This role is able to address the needs of migrant workers who are working and living in isolated conditions. For policy-makers who develop a plan to break down the barrier of isolation among domestic workers in particular, this research contributes to a rich understanding of the roles of online communities for providing a space for conducting practices. In addition, this result contributes to the policy of the Indonesian government which announced the need to provide ICT access to Indonesian domestic workers who are isolated in the workplace.

Second, the result of this research gives insights for an online community manager of a migrant worker community. In particular, this research provides awareness about various online practices which are perceived to empower migrant workers and their community as a whole. The result of this research provides a better understanding of various online practices which benefit migrant workers by helping them to cope with migration problems. This awareness assists an online community

manager to manage the community in order to be able to empower migrant workers effectively.

Finally, this research provides insights for industry which develops the social media applications. In particular, this model can be used by the industry to develop the features and functions of social media applications which can empower migrant workers effectively. In other words, the model that resulted from this research provides insights that the software industry can use to develop social media applications which are able to address the need for migrant worker empowerment.

7.5 LIMITATIONS

There were several limitations in this study. First, the concept of empowerment has been evolving for several years. It can be seen from the literature review that scholars emphasise different dimension of empowerment in each period of time (Bartunek & Spreitzer, 2006). Each community, for instance, the community of migrant domestic workers, will experience different problems in each time period. Therefore, it is believed that the surrounding social situation of the research setting will affect how empowerment occurs and how it is described. The themes and categories which were developed in this research can therefore be subject to criticism.

Second, this study has a limitation with regard to the research context and setting. As previously explained in Chapter 3, this study investigated empowerment in online communities hosted on Facebook. Online communities can be hosted in various social media applications. Each social media application has its own characteristics influenced by its features and functions. The characteristics of an application are believed to influence the way in which users conduct online practices, which is linked to the consequences of the practice for the individual and the whole community. As this study only explored online communities hosted on Facebook, there is a possibility that this model is not suitable when implemented in a non-social network online community such as a wiki or blog.

Third, there are various types of migrant worker communities. Each community has its own challenges and needs. It is believed that the adoption of the online community is influenced by the environment of migrant workers and their social challenges. This study only explored low-skilled migrant workers' online communities which have similar social challenges. Therefore, it is plausible that

other migrant worker communities conduct different practices to cope with their challenges. Therefore, the research context and setting of this study may lead to the limitation of the applicability of the model for different communities of migrant workers.

Fourth, the ethnographic study was conducted in a short time period. However, some empowerment processes may involve a longer cycle and were thus not perceived by the researcher.

7.6 CONCLUSION AND FUTURE WORKS

Migrant domestic workers who are isolated in the workplace have a lack of authority and autonomy for conducting practices as they live with the employer who is able to monitor and supervise them 24 hours daily. This research found that online communities have some characteristics which align with the need of empowerment processes. Online communities serve the role of empowering migrant workers as they provide egalitarian and democratic interactions. In addition, online communities enable those who are isolated in the workplace and have a lack of authority and autonomy to conduct various practices with others. Thus, this research found that online communities enable migrant workers to conduct practices which are of benefit for themselves and for their community's development.

This study revealed various online practices which consequently empower migrant workers and their community as a whole. In particular, this study found that online spaces enhance migrant workers' authority and autonomy for conducting practices which enhance their psychological wellbeing, improve their knowledge and critical thinking skills as well as their awareness of migrant worker's rights. For the migrant worker community, online spaces enabled them to conduct practices to overcome various civic problems and take actions towards changes.

This study proposed a model of migrant worker empowerment in online communities. This model describes how empowerment processes work in the online community context. This model contributes to the existing literature on migrant worker empowerment and social media in terms of providing a clear picture on how online practices empower migrant workers. In addition, this model is unique as it provides a better understanding of how underrepresented migrant worker communities empower themselves through online spaces.

This study highlighted that there is a need for further research in various areas. First, empowerment need to be investigated further in a different context and setting which has similar characteristics; for example, future research could investigate empowerment in communities of migrant domestic workers from Bangladesh and the Philippines and other Indonesian migrant domestic workers who live in the Middle East. This study investigated practices which enhance psychological wellbeing, migrant workers' awareness and community engagement. Investigating each of these themes in a different context and setting will improve the applicability and generalisability of the findings.

Second, the processes of empowerment need to be investigated from different perspectives, such as migrant domestic workers' empowerment from organisational perspectives which would involve an investigation of the processes of empowerment from the government and civil society organisation perspective.

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