

The New School Graduate Program In International Affairs (GPIA)

INDONESIAN MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS

An Analysis on Human Rights, Gender and Migration

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I. INTRODUCTION

The case study of gender and migration or the feminization of migration is a “general” problem that can be encountered in other countries. Although the factual narratives described in the case study are content specific to the situation, the analysis presented in this paper can be applicable to cases of domestic workers’ abuse in other countries. The analysis applies the toolkit of the human rights based approach (HRBA), which is organized as follows: 1) rights holder and obligations of duty-bearers, 2) right to equality and non discrimination, 3) true participation and empowerment, and 4) indivisibility and interdependence of rights. In addition, the analysis will identify best practices and approaches that have been applied by NGOs and international bodies to address the problem of migrant workers’ whose rights are denied. By incorporating government and policymakers’ responses to legislative reforms, the HRBA provides a holistic analysis that takes into account the reality behind implementing laws, so that it promotes a participatory method involving all relevant groups, and uses international human rights norms as instruments of change.

II. POLICY DEBATES

2.1 The Feminization of Migration

Policy debates have centered on the need to pay particular attention on women migrant workers because they experience migration differently from men. The director of the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) Carmen Moreno stated that “Nowadays, women were increasingly migrating as the main economic providers, or “breadwinners” for their households.”¹ However, the feminization of migration has created particular female forms of migration, such as the “the commercialized migration of domestic workers and caregivers, the migration and trafficking of women for the sex industry, and the organized migration of women for marriage.”² Observers have argued that globalization has created this gender-based and uneven social division of labor that uses relatively poorer women from developing countries to carry out tasks, traditionally given to women in the private sphere. Due to their unequal status in the richer destination countries, female migrants are more susceptible to human rights violations and falling prey to exploitation.

Several literatures have analyzed the rights violations from an economic perspective in the sense that receiving countries are benefitting from the cheap labor at the expense of migrant workers.³ The destination countries of the Middle East, Malaysia, Singapore and Hong Kong are growing economies that rely on migrant workers to fill labor shortages that arise when their citizens are unwilling to take up low-paying jobs with poor working conditions. Female migrant workers have contributed to improving the quality of life and living standards of people in the receiving countries, but their rights are not represented in national laws due to their migrant status and the type of work that they do. Observers have argued that labor receiving countries have the obligation to place laws that protect migrant workers and improve immigration laws for them. For instance, the Malaysian government’s immigration policies establish harsh punishment (caning), deportation, and jail sentences for immigration violations, which make female migrant workers even more hesitant to report abuses or escape from their employers.

¹ United Nations Information Service, “Feminization of Migration, Remittances, Migrants’ Rights, Brain Drain among Issues, as Population Commission Concludes Debate.” (April 6, 2006).

² Ibid.

³ See Human Rights Watch (2004), Christine B.N. Chin, “Walls of Silence and Late Twentieth Century Representations of the Foreign Female Domestic Worker: The Case of Filipina and Indonesian Female Servants in Malaysia” *International Migration Review*. 31.2 (Summer 1997), and Brenda S. A Yeoh, S. Huang, and J. Gonzalez III, “Migrant Female Domestic Workers: Debating the Economic, Social, and Political Impacts in Singapore” *International Migration Review*. 33. 1 (Spring 1999).

Other literatures have focused on the rights violations encountered during recruitment and placement of female migrant workers. Violations occur not only in the receiving countries by abusive employers, but they, in fact, start in the worker's home country. According to Rebecca Surtees, a carefully derived picture of the migration process will show the sites of vulnerability for trafficking and exploitation, which will allow duty bearers to determine where they can effectively intervene.⁴ Surtees states that a central contributing aspect of violations is "the corruption and complicity of the Indonesian government" at every stage of the migration process, which includes the lack of oversight of legal and illegal agencies, taking bribes from recruitment agencies who violate migration laws, issuing falsified documents, and extortion by officials upon return because migrant workers are processed under a separate terminal in the Jakarta airport.⁵ The socio-political acceptance and economic needs of this migration process has allowed for the rights violations to take place. Surtees argues that by understanding the migration of female workers from the standpoint of trafficking and exploitation, international actors can place pressure on the Indonesian government to enact policies that protect their workers from being trapped in debt bondage.

Since there is complicit approval of this exploitative process of migration by the people in power, migrant workers are seldom informed about their rights. Female migrant workers have heard numerous stories of abuse from the workers who return home. However, they are still willing to migrate because of financial necessities. Most of the women come from uneducated backgrounds and do not realize that there are international norms and standards to protect their rights. Female migrant workers experience numerous deceptions because of limited or incorrect information about wages, hours, types and conditions of work. The true participation of female migrant workers is practically zero because even though they give their consent to work, they have no voice in decisions or the contracts that are made under their name. They rarely have a voice in the discussions on work arrangements negotiated by the agents and the employers. If female workers are more informed about their rights and there are available information about the obligations of labor agents, employers and governments, then workers can empower themselves and others to demand their entitlements. This process shows the interdependence of rights, which means that the right to decent work depends on the realization of the right to information.

By applying an empowerment perspective in female migration, women will be seen as agents of change rather than vulnerable victims. Observers note that it is important to move away from the victimization perspective of female migration because it does not necessarily help in preventing abuses. According to Jill Borak, when female migrant workers are placed in the category of victims of trafficking, it "puts migration in a crime control and prevention context," which means that governments will place more restrictive policies on migration and make it even more difficult for migrant workers to gain equal labor rights in the receiving countries.⁶ In comparison, an empowerment perspective will emphasize a women's right to work, equal wage and decent conditions of work. It will bring about the realization that informal work in the service sector is a formal type of work that should be protected under national labor laws. The empowerment aspect of women contributing to their home countries' economies through remittances will increase their agency and decision-making power, especially in the household. There may also be scope for remittances to be invested in productive enterprises, such as through microfinance, so that women can bring themselves and their family out of poverty in a sustainable manner. However, it is important that in addition to women gaining a stronger voice in society, the effects of their remittance contribution should be transformed to the levels of

⁴ Rebecca Surtees, "Female Migration and Trafficking in Women: The Indonesian Context" *Development* 46.3: 99-106 (2003).

⁵ Surtees, p. 101.

⁶ Jill Borak, "Women Migrant Workers: Embracing Empowerment Over Victimization" Presented at "When Women Gain, So Does the World," IWPR's Eight International Women's Policy Research Conference (June 2005).

political decision making on issues that directly affect their lives, such as policies on securing migrant workers' rights.

2.2 The Concept of Domestic Work

Literature on the subject of female domestic workers has focused on the gender biases of female work in labor laws. According to Human Rights Watch, national labor laws reflect “discriminatory social biases that create artificial dichotomies between work associated with men in the formal public sphere, and work associated with women in the private sphere.”⁷ Domestic work is viewed as a female job that is traditionally allocated to women as mothers and care givers in the family. Thus, national policies see domestic work as part of the unskilled and informal sector, and do not allocate rights that normally apply to other workers. For example in Indonesia and Malaysia, domestic workers have traditionally been denied minimum wage protection.

Policymakers in these countries argue that the “closed door” nature of domestic work makes it difficult to monitor the exact number of hours worked by domestic workers. They also argue that since domestic workers are provided with housing, food, and other benefits, it is difficult to calculate how much exactly to deduct from their salary. In addition, government officials prefer to allocate work arrangements to agents and employers, which are based on negotiated agreements. The reason that governments do not want to set a minimum wage protection is because they do not want to hinder employers from hiring domestic workers, which would be detrimental to the economy and the employment opportunities of domestic workers. The Singaporean Employment Act “prefers to leave the free market to determine the wages and other conditions of service for foreign maids because it is too impractical to impose standard terms.”⁸ This unregulated and “hands off” approach that both host and destination governments’ are applying to domestic employment allows the employer and recruitment agency to control every aspect of the domestic worker’s life in such a way that they are not seen as human beings with the right to leisure, rest days, and good working and living conditions. According to Aihwa Ong, this type of control is a form of neo-slavery: “The employer thus gains a de facto ownership over the foreign domestic, who is thus made vulnerable to exploitation of her labor and sexuality.”⁹

Thalia Kidder and Kate Raworth have examined the hidden costs for women workers who are employed in labor intensive jobs like domestic work.¹⁰ By examining contextual determinants, the authors establish four categories that affect women’s hidden costs: 1) community relations, 2) household relations, 3) labour-law enforcement and compliance, and 4) supply-chain pressures. First, there are social pressures and perceptions related to women’s work that may weaken entitlement, marriage and other social roles. Second, household relations can change between husbands and other family members once women are able to make their own money. For example, they may no longer receive income support for their children. Third, there is a lack of labor laws that are being upheld by both the government and the companies that hire women workers, which means that women are susceptible to exploitation. Fourth, the shareholder’s pressure for high returns, consumer needs for low prices, and fast and flexible production create precarious labor practices, such as long hours and few benefits for women workers. As a direct and/or indirect result of the issues above, the authors

⁷ Human Rights Watch (2004), p. 3.

⁸ Cited in Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as exception: mutations in citizenship and sovereignty* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006), p. 202

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Thalia Kidder and Kate Raworth, ‘Good jobs’ and hidden costs: women workers documenting the price of precarious employment,’ *Gender and Development*. Vol. 12, No. 2, July 2004.

identify four types of hidden costs: 1) out-of-pocket costs, such as paying for transportation and health care; 2) income and benefits foregone, such as unpaid overtime hours, 3) human development costs, such as forestalling education and poor health, and 4) self-esteem and equity, such as discrimination and ill treatment.¹¹ The policy implication of this finding is to raise awareness about women's employment in order to rally around policies that can minimize the hidden costs and bring equality in the work force.

III. HUMAN RIGHTS BASED APPROACH (HRBA) TO THIS ISSUE

3.1 An Overview of HRBA

A Human Rights Based Approach (HRBA) is best defined as a comprehensive framework that identifies the rights-holders with their entitlements, and the corresponding duty-bearers with their obligations. In this regard, there are the positive obligations of duty bearers (to respect, protect, promote and fulfill) and the negative obligations (to refrain from violations). HRBA takes into account the indivisibility, interdependency and interrelatedness of rights (civil, cultural, economic, political and social). It believes that there should be no "trade-offs", hierarchy or division of these rights because all rights are equal in importance and the violation of one right will ultimately affect other rights. In correlation, there needs to be the development of adequate laws and institutions of accountability that can deliver the entitlements of rights. This calls for the adaptation of universal norms and standards of human rights into the local context. By agreeing to become signatories to these international treaties, the government has an obligation to enforce these rights and take immediate steps for the progressive realization of the rights concerned.

HRBA overlaps with capability and human development approach by rallying for the same objectives, which are: "the realization of human rights and the respect of human rights principles in the process of development."¹² It is in this sense of enchanting human dignity and freedoms that brings human rights and development together. A rights based approach to development applies the principles and standards taken from international human rights treaties to guide development programs. Therefore, HRBA empowers the capacities of rights holders to demand their right to development, not as a form of charity that only provides basic needs, but instead it focuses on transforming structures for people's own agency to create change.

The mainstream economic development approach tends to focus on poverty reduction through the neoliberal agenda of economic growth. HRBA emerged as a reaction against the mainstream approach of seeking to increase economic welfare and not placing more focus on human capabilities and rights. According to Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, all three approaches (human development, HRBA, and mainstream economic development) actually "share a commitment to policies to expand education, health and nutrition, address gender and other inequalities, promote economic growth, and improve governance. The difference lies in the relative priorities and choices made about trade-offs among them."¹³ The elements of indivisibility and interdependence of rights and providing equal opportunities for individuals, particularly the vulnerable groups, in order to claim their rights through legal frameworks are where this approach contrasts the most with other development discourses.

¹¹ Ibid. pp.16-17.

¹² Sakiko Fukuda-Parr, Forthcoming. "Human Rights and Politics of Development" in Goodheart, M. (ed) *Human Rights and Politics*, (Oxford University Press).

¹³ Ibid.

3.2 Rights Holders and Obligations of Duty-Bearers

Identifying the rights-holders and the duty-bearers in the case of Indonesian migrant domestic workers is one of the important steps in understanding how rights have been violated and identifying the actors responsible for providing protection of those rights. In general terms, rights-holders are all individuals or groups who are entitled to the same rights without distinction based on sex, age, race, social, economic or any other condition. Rights-holders should be taken into account in matters that directly affect their lives and should have the ability to exercise their rights, formulate claims and seek redress. In general terms, duty-bearers are primarily governments and policymakers who have the obligation to respect, protect and fulfill human rights based on international standards and the national laws. There are, however, other non-state actors (international bodies, individuals) who have a duty to aid in the realization of rights. The following table shows the rights-holders and duty-bearers for the case of Indonesian migrant domestic workers.

RIGHTS-HOLDERS	DUTY-BEARERS
Indonesian Domestic Workers	Home Country
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Specific people in the case study:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ <i>Nirmala Bonat</i> ○ <i>Samirah and Nona Enung</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>The Indonesian government, specifically the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration</i> ▪ <i>The recruitment agency</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Women and girls</i> ▪ <i>Typical age ranges between 14- 40 years old, but can also be as young as 12 years old</i> 	Host Countries
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Mainly from rural areas in Indonesia where there are high levels of poverty, unemployment and lack of educational opportunities</i> ▪ <i>East and West Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi, Lombok, Flores and different parts of Java</i> 	<p>Malaysia:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>The Malaysian Government, specifically Ministry of Labour and Human Resources</i> ▪ <i>Domestic workers labor agency</i> ▪ <i>The employers</i> <p>United States:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>The U.S. Department of Labor, The U.S. Department of State, The U.S. Department of Immigration</i> ▪ <i>The employers</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Mainly employed in the Middle East (Saudi Arabia), Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan</i> 	International/ Regional Bodies
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>International Labor Organization (ILO)</i> ▪ <i>The U.N.</i> ▪ <i>ASEAN</i>

Obligations of Duty-Bearers

Home Country-Indonesia

This case study has highlighted that the inability to claim and realize rights start in the home country. First, the root cause of Indonesian female workers migrating abroad is the lack of decent employment opportunities for poor women in Indonesia. The government of Indonesia is accountable for the violation of women's right to employment and to receive proper and equal remuneration in the home country. Gender inequality and poverty are two serious problems that manifest itself in Indonesia. It has been identified that lack of access to key social services such as healthcare and education is one of the main causes of poverty in Indonesia, and the opportunity cost for these issues are greater for women and girls from poor households. Indonesia's poverty reduction strategy, especially during the financial crisis, focused on aggressive labor export policies, instead of job-creation at home. Domestic job scarcity forced thousands of Indonesian women to find jobs overseas where there was gender discrimination in the types of jobs available, which were mostly in the service sector. In addition, Indonesian domestic workers abroad receive the least amount of wage than other nationalities partially because of their low education level. They are depicted as having fewer skills than other workers, such as the Filipina domestic workers who can speak English. The Indonesian government as a signatory to the UDHR and the ICESCR has an obligation to fulfill the following rights:

UDHR: Article 23

- 1) *Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.*
- 2) *Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.*
- 3) *Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.*
- 4) *Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests*

ICESCR: Article 6

- 1) *The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right to work, which includes the right of everyone to the opportunity to gain his living by work which he freely chooses or accepts, and will take appropriate steps to safeguard this right.*
- 2) *The steps to be taken by a State Party to the present Covenant to achieve the full realization of this right shall include technical and vocational guidance and training programmes, policies and techniques to achieve steady economic, social and cultural development and full and productive employment under conditions safeguarding fundamental political and economic freedoms to the individual.*

Second, the Indonesian government, specifically the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration, which is the main department in Indonesia that develops labor regulations and issues licenses to labor agencies, has created a labor recruiting environment that permits the violations to take place. According to Human Rights Watch (HRW), Indonesia has over 400 labor recruitment agencies with countless other illegal ones.¹⁴ The Ministry has a lack of oversight over these agencies, and the only form of penalty for violating workers rights is to cancel or suspend the license of the agency. However, the penalization of agencies is rare because the Ministry does not monitor the agencies regularly. HRW has reported that even

¹⁴ Human Rights Watch, *Help Wanted* (2004).

when the agencies are penalized or suspended, they can easily continue their operations by creating a new agency under a different name.¹⁵ Due to the inefficient supervision from the ministry of manpower, the recruitment agency has the freedom and incentive to extort high fees from prospective migrant workers, which would eventually make the domestic worker fall into debt bondage. Despite the flexibility that the Ministry provides to labor agencies, it creates a long process full of “red tape” and complex requirements for the migrant workers. Based on interviews, HRW accounts how a labor supplier in Jakarta has to provide regular bribes to avoid delays in processing workers’ documents and falsifying travel documents.¹⁶ It is not unusual in Indonesia for corruption to take place among government officials. This corruption is a result of the government’s inherent flaws to vigorously apply the national laws that would prevent such illegal practices from taking place.

Third, the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration has an obligation to protect their citizens abroad. In the wake of the Nirmala Bonat case in 2004, the Indonesian and Malaysian governments announced that they would establish a bilateral agreement on addressing abuses against migrant workers. However, the 2004 MoU specifically excludes domestic workers by referring to them as “unskilled workers”, and only applies it to migrants in construction and agricultural jobs.¹⁷ Instead, the Indonesian government relies on the labor agencies to monitor the workplace conditions of domestic workers, even though these agencies are allegedly responsible for exploiting the workers. In 2006, the two countries signed another MoU, which introduced a standard contract for domestic workers and protections against cutting workers’ salaries for fees that should be borne by the employer. This MoU, however, still allows employers to restrict worker’s freedom of movement by withholding their passport, and does not have clear standards on a minimum wage, a weekly day off or monitoring mechanisms for labor agencies.¹⁸ Unlike the Philippine government that has managed to ensure a minimum wage for Filipina domestic workers including a weekly day off, the Indonesian government has failed to protect their migrant workers’ rights abroad.¹⁹ The government is weak at negotiating labor protection because it wants to maintain its status as an exporter of cheap labor, and the power structure between sending and receiving countries also influence the policies that are enacted.

The Indonesian government is one of the few Asian countries that have ratified all eight core ILO labor conventions that are considered fundamental to the human rights of workers.²⁰ However, it is ironic that Indonesia has not ratified the U.N. Migrant Workers Convention or the ILO Migrant Workers Conventions even though Indonesia sends a high number of workers abroad and remittance is important to the economy. Indonesia controls overseas labor migration through ministerial decrees from the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration. These decrees mostly address the administrative aspects of recruiting migrants abroad, and do not outline the necessary human rights protection in employment. A draft legislation to protect migrant workers

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Human Rights Watch, “Indonesia, Malaysia: Overhaul Labor Agreement on Domestic Workers: Proposed Malaysian Migrants Bill Would Violate Basic Freedoms.” (February 20, 2007).

¹⁹ Unlike Indonesians, Filipinas are entitled to a minimum wage of U.S.\$200 per month, a mandatory rest day once a week, a limit of ten working hours per day, and payment of their wages in cash every month. Filipina domestic workers may keep their passports in their possession. The contract further stipulates that workers should be provided transportation to and from Malaysia, access to health care services, and employer assistance to send remittances to designated beneficiaries regularly. Employers have the obligation to treat the worker in a “just and humane manner” and to refrain from physical violence under all circumstances. Information from Human Rights Watch (2004) and Department of Labour and Employment, Philippines Overseas Employment Administration, “Standard Employment Contract for Filipino Household Workers in Malaysia.”

²⁰ The eight core ILO labour conventions are: Collective bargaining convention, equal remuneration convention, minimum age convention, worst forms of child labour convention, the forced labour convention, discrimination (employment and occupation) convention, freedom of association and protection of the right to organize, abolition of forced labour.

has been presented to the Indonesian parliament. However, budgetary constraints have stalled the enactment of the law.

Host Countries- Malaysia and the United States

When we are talking about the obligations of duty bearers in host countries, it is difficult in transnational situations because even though human rights are supposed to be universally applicable to everyone, in practice, access to rights are mediated through notions of citizenship. Indonesia and Malaysia have signed a bilateral labor agreement or a MoU on Indonesian domestic workers in order to guarantee rights that transcend borders. Nirmala Bonat's case showed that the Malaysian government was willing to hold offenders responsible and provide justice for the rights-holder. However, there is still more that needs to be done to address the systemic issues within Malaysia's legal system, which lacks an effective reporting and assistance mechanism for abused domestic workers. In fact, the response of the Malaysian government, specifically the Malaysian Ministry of Labor and Human Resources and the immigration department, has been particularly exclusionary and punitive by criminalizing domestic workers who seek redress.

Similar to other top destination countries for domestic workers, Malaysia's Employment Act of 1955 excludes domestic workers from its provisions. Even though Malaysia has placed some basic protection for domestic workers, there are still limitations to these laws. For instance, the Immigration Department has a small Housemaid Unit in the Foreign Workers Department for dealing with domestic workers, but it only consists of one full time director and an official for the over 400,000 domestic workers in Malaysia.²¹ Although domestic workers have some rights to file complaints for unpaid wages to the Labor Department and report physical and sexual abuse to the police or the Ministry of Home Affairs, the legal framework of the Malaysian immigration law punishes them for not having their papers at the time of reporting.²² Malaysia's immigration laws make it a crime for migrant workers not to have valid documents. Since the employers tend to hold on to workers' passports, the domestic workers who escape exploitative situations are afraid to seek redress because of the immigration rules. The Malaysian government has not ratified the ICCPR or the ICESCR, but it has ratified five of the core ILO labor standards, which involves the forced labour convention and the equal remuneration convention (*see Appendix P*). Under these conventions, the Malaysian government has an obligation to provide fair wages, and penalize its nationals who violate the provisions against forced labor. In addition, as a signatory to the CEDAW convention, the Malaysian government has an obligation to protect women, regardless of nationality, from domestic violence.

The situation in the U.S. is comparatively different from the one in Malaysia. The U.S. has only signed two out of eight core ILO labor conventions: forced labor convention and worst forms of child labor convention. The U.S. is also the only industrialized country that has not ratified the CEDAW and it has not ratified the convention on the protection of the rights of all migrant workers (*see Appendix Q*). However, the U.S. as a duty-bearer has managed to fulfill some of its obligations in relation to domestic workers' rights. The slavery case in Long Island shows that federal and state law can provide effective remedy through a civil lawsuit or other legal channels. The Trafficking Victims Protection Act (TVPA) expanded the definition of trafficking to encompass forced labor, and document servitude, which is "knowingly destroy, conceal, remove, confiscate, or possess any actual or purported passport or other immigration document in furtherance of trafficking, peonage, slavery, involuntary servitude, or forced labor",

²¹ Human Rights Watch, *Help Wanted* (2004).

²² *Ibid*

a criminal offence.²³ The TVPA also guarantees that victims of trafficking can obtain immigration relief and social assistance. Other domestic workers who are not victims of trafficking can still have protection under the U.S. Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), which sets a minimum wage standard regardless of immigration status and a full day off each week (See *Appendix O*).²⁴ Some state laws are actually more advantageous than the federal law. For instance, California state law entitles live-in domestic workers overtime compensation, which is excluded in the FLSA.²⁵ Despite the promises of these laws, the unique circumstance of domestic workers who live in private homes and whose freedom of movement is often controlled by the employers are not addressed in the U.S. laws because there is still a lack of monitoring mechanism and oversight on the treatment of domestic workers in the U.S.

International/ Regional Bodies

In order to facilitate the realization of rights by state actors, international organizations like the U.N. and the International Labor Organization (ILO) have an obligation to set standards for domestic workers' rights so that they would have the status of "real workers." At the moment, the ILO itself does not have a specific convention on domestic workers. The ILO's draft framework on labor migration does not specifically refer to the problems suffered by domestic workers as a result of their position in the private sphere and their status as migrants. The ILO governing body has recently decided that the issue of domestic workers will be placed on the agenda of the ILO conference in 2010.

The Association for South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) has recognized the importance that remittances play in the ASEAN economies. With this recognition came the 2007 ASEAN Multilateral Agreement: "The Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of Migrant Workers." This agreement acknowledges "the need to adopt appropriate and comprehensive migration policies on migrant workers."²⁶ It assigns particular obligations on both the sending and receiving countries, which includes promoting fair and appropriate labor protection and decent working and living conditions. It also asks states to facilitate access to resources and remedies for justice.

3.3 Right to Equality and Non-Discrimination

The right to equality and non-discrimination is outlined as follows:

UDHR Article 7: *All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.*

ICCPR Article 2: *1. Each State Party to the present Covenant undertakes to respect and to ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.*

This "universal" right not to be discriminated and to receive equal treatment has not been upheld by the duty-bearers in the case of Indonesian migrant domestic workers because they are discriminated on two basis: 1) for their status as a woman, and 2) for their migrant/ transnational

²³ TVPA 18. U.S.C 1592.

²⁴ Della Bahan and Puja Batra, "Seeking Justice for Trafficked Domestic Workers in American Courts" Presented at "When Women Gain, So Does the World," IWPR'S Eight International Women's Policy Research Conference, June 2005.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 5.

²⁶ See ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of Migrant Workers. Available at: <http://www.aseansec.org/19264.htm>

status. First, it is important to look at the context that has placed the female workers in the situation that they are in. The root causes go back to their status in their home country. Most of the female domestic workers come from rural areas in Indonesia where it is still underdeveloped. There's a disparity between provinces in Indonesia and where the government chooses to target development projects. As women, their education is limited because families prefer to put sons to school rather than daughters. In addition, the jobs that are available to women are based on reproductive functions and stereotypical roles of women as caregivers. Since these jobs are considered "unskilled" and an extension of a woman's natural role, the national legislations set biased standards that pay women in service jobs lower wages than male dominated jobs. Under Article 7 (a)(i) of the ICESR, which Indonesia ratified in 2006, Women should be "guaranteed conditions of work not inferior to those enjoyed by men, with equal pay for equal work."

When women choose to migrate abroad for work, they encounter the same gender division of labor, and end up working in jobs associated with domestic functions. Once again, these jobs are not protected under the national labor laws of the destination countries because it is considered "unskilled" or "informal." In addition, the recruitment process of migrating abroad is also influenced by discriminatory practices. Women are seen as tradable goods between suppliers and buyers, and marketed as "hardworking, submissive and obedient" by the labor agencies, which only emphasize women's inferior status as docile bodies.²⁷ The profile that is sent from the home country to labor agencies in the destination countries emphasizes women's physical appearances, marital status and number of children. Labor agents and employers tend to have different preferences, such as for married women or unattractive older workers. The stipulated labor requirement from the Indonesian Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration tends to discriminate by stating that workers must be twenty-one years old or married in order to migrate.²⁸ Due to this reason, the labor agencies falsify travel documents in order for female workers to work abroad.

Female migrant workers encounter inequality and discrimination in the destination countries due to their migrant status, which can be undocumented for some workers. As mentioned before, the immigration policies in some of the destination countries, particularly Malaysia has been harsh on migrants who do not have proper documents. Some reports have stated that migrant workers do not obtain the same equal treatment under the law as nationals, and the police have often times favored the nationals by believing the employers when they claim that the domestic workers ran away because they stole money or conducted other criminal activities.²⁹ Female migrant workers feel deterred in seeking redress because of the discriminatory attitudes of the officials, especially when they are confronted by the unequal power structure of "the master-servant" relationship. In some destination countries, the migrant workers' transnational status as a person from a poor developing country has translated into practically having no claims to the rights to be free from torture, slavery, or forced labor that should be guaranteed regardless of nationality. In a way, the female workers structural subordination within the global economy has made them vulnerable to the discrimination and abuse.

A rights-based approach to this violation of the right to equality and non-discrimination would take into account the vulnerable status of women as a group and the barriers to achieving gender equality. HRBA will demand legal reforms by incorporating the CEDAW as one of the core international human rights treaties that prevents discrimination based on gender. In

²⁷ L.T. Lyons, "Embodying transnationalism: The making of the Indonesian maid," in E. Lorek-Jezinska and K. Wieckowska (eds) *Corporeal inscriptions: Representation of the Body in Cultural and Literary Texts and Practices* (Torun, Poland: Nicolas Copernicus University Press, 2005) pp.171-185.

²⁸ Human Rights Watch, *Help Wanted* (2004).

²⁹ Human Rights Watch, *Help Wanted* (2004).

addition, HRBA will analyze the root reasons, whether it is social, cultural, or political, that cause unequal treatment. It will enact development programs that promote equality of opportunity, such as changing cultural norms through legal reforms, which would recognize domestic work as a real job that should be equally valued, remunerated, and regulated just like other forms of work.

3.4 True Participation and Empowerment of Domestic Workers

True participation is defined as “genuine influence over fundamental structures and strategies” by focusing on the operation of institutions and implementation of policy.³⁰ True participation means that individuals are consulted in the decisions that directly affect them, and they can effectively exert some influence or pressure on the outcomes. The implication of this concept allows for policymakers to reconsider the overused idea of participation, especially the forms of participation that bring little effect.

In the case of Indonesian female migrant workers, they have not been involved in any of the process that truly concerns their rights. During the bilateral agreement between Indonesia and Malaysia on the situation of domestic workers, none of the Indonesian domestic workers were consulted. In addition, the proposed national bill in Indonesia on migrant domestic workers does not link domestic workers’ perspective in the policy processes. Rights based approach would involve domestic workers’ report of the violations they experienced, their concerns for improvement, and initiate ways that can increase their active participation in the decision-making process.

The ability to become agency of change rather than just objects of the state is where empowerment comes into place. Empowerment is about exercising the rights rather than just possessing them. A rights-based approach to empowerment “helps move from ‘passive beneficiaries’ to ‘active citizens’, and therefore implies greater attention to advocacy and capacity building.”³¹ The basic elements of empowerment in a rights based approach can range from having the ability to exercise one’s own decision-making power to having access to adequate information and resources. Empowerment also places focus on people’s realization of their rights and capabilities. Empowerment can be a step to realizing that a domestic worker is not “just a maid” without any rights. In the case of domestic workers, they have some economic and social constraints on their capacity to make a change in their life, so there needs to be structures set in place to further empower them. For instance, Indonesian domestic workers are mostly poor and uneducated, and they do not realize that there are international standards that should protect them from abuse. There needs to be a way to publicize the laws and standards that are in place so that it would raise awareness among the workers that there are provisions that can be applicable to their situation. Providing information to migrant workers is critically important in order for them not to be deceived by labor agents and employers, extorted for money or fall into debt bondage. Labor agencies and employers tend to take advantage of women’s poor education background, so that they can misinform them about the conditions of work. Indonesian domestic workers are rarely allowed to keep a copy of their employment contract and sometimes these contracts are purposely written in a foreign language, so that they would not understand the content.³² The lack of information about their rights has prevented Indonesian female workers from reporting abuse, obtaining help or escaping their abusive employers. Additionally, the isolation of their work place means that they are less likely to join unions or access support services for domestic violence, and obtain other information,

³⁰ Henry Shue, *Basic Rights: Subsistence, affluence, and U.S. foreign policy*. (Princeton University Press, 1980) p. 71.

³¹ Cecilia Luttrell and Sitna Quiroz, “Linkages between human rights-based approaches and empowerment” in the Poverty-Wellbeing Platform, October 2007.

³² Rebecca Surtees, “Female migration and trafficking in women: The Indonesian context,” *Development* 46.4: pp.99-106. (2003).

such as contractual rights (stipulations regarding wages) from interactions with other workers, which could raise their rights' awareness levels.

3.5 Indivisibility and Interdependence of Rights

The concept of the indivisibility and interdependence of rights is ingrained in the Universal Declaration of Rights, which "treats internationally recognized human rights holistically, as an indivisible structure in which the value of each right is significantly augmented by the presence of many others."³³ This concept means that each right is important in its own way and cannot be traded off for other rights. The issue of the indivisibility and interdependence of rights has been vigorously debated in the case of domestic workers because destination governments tend to argue that it is not their responsibility to fulfill the socio-economic rights of foreign nationals.³⁴ In particular, most of the destination governments (including Malaysia and the U.S.) have not ratified the ICESCR or the U.N. international convention on the protection of all migrant workers. Even in countries where some socio-economic rights are granted to foreign domestic workers, such as in Hong Kong, they apply the idea of progressive realization. This means that when resources are scarce and domestic workers place a burden on the national budget, some of the benefits can be taken away. For instance, domestic workers in Hong Kong are receiving wage cuts instead of a wage increase under the Employment Ordinance, and the HK SARS charges tax on foreign domestic workers for public services.³⁵ In such a way, domestic workers are always negotiating for their rights. Instead of obtaining all the rights to just and favorable conditions of work, they have to bargain between obtaining minimum wage or the right to rest. For instance, some domestic workers have to work longer hours without a day off in order to obtain what is considered as fair wages. In addition, it is ironic that when domestic workers are trying to exercise their right to equal protection of the law and seek redress, they instead lose their right to work and the right to remain in the destination country because the employer can cancel their work permit, which means that they lose their legal status.

Duty-bearers in the destination countries are more willing to provide remedies for violations of civil and political rights than economic rights because they claim it is easier to address in a court of law. In the case of Nirmala Bonat, the court addressed the physical violence or torture that she experienced instead of her compensation for loss income. It has been argued that governments have placed more focus on civil and political rights because these rights are first generation rights that take precedence over socioeconomic rights. In fact, the concept of indivisibility and interdependence states that civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights are interrelated and are equal in significance. Taking away one economic right in exchange for a civil right does not reflect the indivisible nature of the universal declaration of human rights, and only when all these rights are guaranteed can people live in dignity. For instance, the civil and political right to life is connected to the right to adequate standard of living because when domestic workers do not have access to health services or are denied adequate food and live in unsanitary conditions, then it will ultimately affect their function to live. Similarly, the right to information, free speech and freedom of movement are connected to domestic workers' right to decent work (non-exploitative terms of employment) because when domestic workers can bargain collectively, are well-informed about their rights and can conduct rallies, they will eventually be able to demand for the fulfillment of decent working conditions. As Jack Donnelly puts it "rights impose correlative duties" and "the impediments to implementing most economic and social rights, however, are political."³⁶

³³ J. Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice* (2nd Ed). (Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 27.

³⁴ Juanita Elias, "Struggles over the rights of foreign domestic workers in Malaysia: the possibilities and limitations of 'rights talk'" *Economy and Society* 37.2 (May 2008), pp.282-303.

³⁵ United for Foreign Domestic Workers' Rights, "Wage increase delayed is justice denied" (July 2, 2008).

³⁶ J. Donnelly, (2003), p.29.

IV. GOOD PRACTICES AND APPROACHES

4.1 Strategies of International Organizations

- The ILO recognizes that domestic workers are one of the most inadequately protected segments of the labor market. Activists have stated that there is a need to address the working conditions of domestic workers, which includes the size of the house they must clean, the number of people they serve, and the range of workload they are responsible for, which can be anything from cleaning, cooking, and caring for children and the elderly to running other errands.³⁷ Realizing the challenges faced in regulating the rights of domestic workers, the governing body of the ILO has been in favor of drawing a specific legal instrument on domestic workers. The ILO also recognizes that there are difficulties in finding statistical indicators to measure decent work that could be applied to domestic work. Some statistics have looked at the \$1 a day PPP poverty rate and long term unemployment.³⁸ However, the data is unreliable at the moment because it is hard to generalize on unacceptable terms of work when the coverage is so broad and diverse.³⁹ As of now, the ILO has only included minimum standards on “Decent Work for Domestic Workers,” which covers:⁴⁰
 - Clearly defined daily hours of work and rest periods
 - Clear-cut standards on night work and on overtime, including adequate compensation and subsequent and appropriate rest time
 - Clearly defined weekly rest and leave periods (annual leave, public holidays, sick leave and maternity leave)
 - Minimum wage and payment of wages
 - Standards on termination of employment (notice period, grounds for termination, severance pay)
 - Action against child domestic work. Child domestic workers should be provided special protection including: a clear minimum legal starting age; reduced number of hours of work in accordance with the worker's age; rest periods; and access to at least elementary education or vocational training.

- UNIFEM'S Regional Programme on Empowering Migrant Workers in Asia, whose participants include Indonesia, Nepal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, promotes gender responsive migration policies.⁴¹ UNIFEM has been successful at looking at alternative to migrations, such as micro-credit for women, and piloting reintegration projects for women who return to their home countries after working abroad. This empowerment approach also emphasizes education for women, improving their skills and increasing their involvement in political decision-making at the community level.⁴²

³⁷ Human Rights Watch, *Help Wanted* (2004).

³⁸ ILO, “Measuring decent work with statistical indicators” (June 22, 2003).

³⁹ Dharam Ghai, “Decent work: Concepts and indicators” *International Labour Review*. 142.2 (2003).

⁴⁰ ILO, *The Regulation of Domestic Workers in Indonesia: Current Laws, International Standards and Best Practices*, (Jakarta, June 2006)

⁴¹ UNIFEM East and Southeast Asia Regional Office, “Empowering Women Migrant Workers in Asia,” (2003).

⁴² *Ibid.*

V. CONCLUSION

A rights-based approach to analyzing the situation of Indonesian migrant domestic workers has allowed for the linkages to be made between development practices and human rights. Human rights and preventing poverty can be connected in terms of upholding human dignity. A right-based approach has shown that every human being is entitled to their rights, which means that regardless of a migrant worker's status, their rights have to be protected. HRBA has taken into account the obligations of the full range of relevant actors in this case study, from States to local organizations and authorities, individuals, private companies, and international institutions.

The analysis has shown how the HRBA toolkit can be applied in a comprehensive way to include all civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights by:

1. Identifying rights-holders and duty-bearers,
2. Upholding the right to equality and non-discrimination,
3. Incorporating true participation and empowerment
4. Realizing the interdependence and indivisibility of rights.

The rights-based approach calls for legislative reforms in the states' development framework by integrating internationally guaranteed rights into poverty reduction strategies, particularly in the issues that involve vulnerable groups, like children and women. In enacting legislative reforms, a rights-based approach has to take into account the budgetary requirements and institutions that are in place to allow for effective implementation at the national level. When a state party has agreed to ratify international treaties and conventions, the rights standards of these documents should be directly guaranteed in the national legal laws.

APPENDIX A: Information to all workers in the U.S. regardless of Immigration Status

- ✚ You have the right to be paid minimum wage (\$6.75/hr) and overtime.
- ✚ You have the right to be paid in U.S. dollars every two weeks.
- ✚ You have the right to work free of abusive behavior.
- ✚ You have the right to adequate mealtime breaks.
- ✚ You have the right to one full day off each week, paid holidays, vacation every year, personal and sick days.
- ✚ You have the right to organize for better work conditions.
- ✚ Immigration status is private information, so consult with a trusted advocate before sharing your immigration status to an employer.

If you are contacted by the police or FBI:

- ✚ You are only required by law to give your name.
- ✚ You have the right to remain silent and ask for a lawyer.
- ✚ You do not have to allow an agent into your home if there is no warrant for your arrest.

Information from Andolan, <http://www.andolan.net/>

APPENDIX B: International Treaties and Standards Signed/ Ratified by Malaysia

Status of Major International Human Rights Instruments	Year of ratification/signature
International convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1948	1994
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965	N/A
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966	N/A
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966	N/A
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979	1995
Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1984	N/A
Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989	1995
Status of Fundamental Labor Rights Conventions	Year of ratification/signature
Freedom of association and collective bargaining - Convention 87	N/A
Freedom of association and collective bargaining - Convention 98	1961
Elimination of forced and compulsory labor - Convention 29	1957
Elimination of forced and compulsory labor - Convention 105	N/A
Elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation- Convention 100	1997
Elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation- Convention 111	N/A
Abolition of child labor - Convention 138	1997
Abolition of child labor - Convention 182	2000

APPENDIX C: International Treaties and Standards Signed/ Ratified by the United States

Status of Major International Human Rights Instruments	Year of ratification/signature
International convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, 1948	1988
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, 1965	1994
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966	1992
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966	N/A
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979	N/A
Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, 1984	1994
Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989	N/A
Status of Fundamental Labor Rights Conventions	Year of ratification/signature
Freedom of association and collective bargaining - Convention 87	N/A
Freedom of association and collective bargaining - Convention 98	N/A
Elimination of forced and compulsory labor - Convention 29	N/A
Elimination of forced and compulsory labor - Convention 105	1991
Elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation- Convention 100	N/A
Elimination of discrimination in respect of employment and occupation- Convention 111	N/A
Abolition of child labor - Convention 138	N/A
Abolition of child labor - Convention 182	1999

APPENDIX D: Example of Awareness Campaign by Local NGOs

Recognise Domestic Work as Work!

To all the people of the ASEAN,

The women of ASEAN move within and out of ASEAN to find work to support themselves and their families. Hundreds of thousands of women work in private households as domestic workers. It is essential work, it is valuable work. Hundreds of thousands of households would collapse without these workers. ASEAN foreign domestic workers are at the very heart of a dynamic Asia.

BUT, this work is not recognized as work.

Domestic workers are not protected by the National Labour Laws of most ASEAN countries. Domestic workers cannot access social security systems. Domestic workers cannot form unions. Without recognition and protection as workers, domestic workers are powerless to fight exploitation and discrimination, restrictions on their freedom of movement and association, and barriers to accessing legal remedies.

ASEAN society and ASEAN legal framework needs to shift to recognize and respect foreign domestic workers. Only then can ASEAN call itself a "Caring and Sharing Community".

You can actively be part of this effort by:

1. Urging your government to recognize domestic work as work and to extend key labor protections to Domestic workers and; to establish minimum standards of employment nationally and regionally.
2. Join our campaign to call for:
 - Right to one paid day off a week
 - Right to health
 - Right and access to redress

"Recognition of Domestic Work as work" Campaign is supporting domestic workers to demand decent working conditions and right to organise.

In Solidarity,
United for Foreign Domestic Worker's Rights

CARAM Asia: caraminfo@caramasia.org and L&M Task Force, APWLD: apwid@apwid.org

- **Women workers are major contributors to the well-being of their families.**
- **Women workers are becoming indispensable to middle class women and men in receiving countries who want to advance in employment and society.**
- **Women workers are social contributors to the society they work in as they care for the children and the elderly.**

One PAID - day-off campaign is a first component of the Recognition of Domestic Work as Work campaign where we are looking at engaging with the ASEAN Multilateral framework on migration to push for recognition and protection for domestic workers.

APPENDIX E: Statement by United for Foreign Domestic Workers' Rights

**STATEMENT OF THE UNITED FOR FOREIGN DOMESTIC WORKER'S RIGHTS
TO THE MEMBER GOVERNMENTS OF ASEAN On the occasion of the 3rd ASEAN
Civil Society Conference, Singapore, 2-4 November 2007**

We, a coalition of six regional and international civil society organisations working with migrant domestic workers in Southeast Asia, recall:

1. *The Universal Declaration on Human Rights 1948 to which all the ASEAN Member Countries have acceded to*
2. *The Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women 1979, which all ASEAN Governments have signed*
3. *The ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work 1998*
4. *The ASEAN Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers (the Declaration) signed by the Heads of State / Government of the ASEAN Member Countries at the 12th ASEAN Summit in Cebu, Philippines.*
5. *The Cooperation Agreement between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Asean) Secretariat and the International Labour Office, 2007*

And recognize that:

1. Domestic work is now the most common form of wage employment for women in Asia and is an important source of wage employment for men and women in Southeast Asia (ILO, 2006)
2. Hundreds of thousands of those working as domestic workers in Southeast Asia are migrants from other Southeast Asian nations. They work each day to provide cleaning, cooking, childcare and caring services, work that when undertaken outside of the home is recognized as work
3. The abuse and mistreatment of migrant workers in Southeast Asia is now common knowledge and has been recorded in countless newspaper articles and research reports, as well as in the personal testimonies of individual migrant workers
4. It is the right of everyone to leave their country in safety and to work in decent conditions
5. Where sectors of the labour market are left without protections and abuses are tolerated, the conditions are ripe for serious exploitation to occur, leading to an increase in human trafficking in the region.

We urge ASEAN Member States, as a matter of urgency, to demonstrate leadership and foresight and move to prevent the further increase of abuse and inhumane treatment of migrant domestic workers by:

1. RECOGNISING DOMESTIC WORK UNDER NATIONAL LABOR LAWS

Given the economic contribution of domestic workers to all of our societies in Southeast Asia, it is simply unacceptable and without any basis to exclude these workers from national labour laws and the protections they provide. Including such workers in the labour framework will set a standard of treatment that is on par with standards for workers in other sectors, and also even the balance between employers and workers, thus reducing abuse.

2. ENSURING MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS HAVE A DAY OFF

No other worker is allowed or expected to work seven days a week, 52 weeks a year. Such conditions are rightly considered inhumane and unjust. Further, it denies the worker any opportunity to have a social, cultural and family life, in further violation of their human rights. And, crucially, if workers have no time off from their employers they have no way to seek help if they find themselves in abusive situations. Providing domestic workers with a day off is not only a human right but is an essential step to protecting other rights.

3. ENSURING ACCESS TO JUSTICE

Access to justice for those migrant domestic workers who are underpaid, abused or otherwise exploited is abysmal. A tiny proportion of cases reach the courts and for those that do, the lack of legal protections in the form of labour laws and a fair contract means that the abuse is difficult to prove. Seeking a just remedy is particularly difficult for migrant women, because to stay in the country and take their case they are denied the right to work and thus have no means to support themselves or their families at home.

3. RECOGNISING THE VULNERABLE SITUATION OF FOREIGN DOMESTIC WORKERS AND THEIR NEED FOR LEGAL PROTECTION IN THE ASEAN MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK

The Multilateral Framework is a valuable opportunity for establishing the standards and mechanisms for the protection of migrant workers, realizing the goals aspired to in the Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers. As one of the largest groups of migrants within ASEAN, it is essential that the specific needs of domestic workers are included in this document.

4. HARMONISING NATIONAL LAWS AND POLICIES IN LINE WITH INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS

While we respect the normative principles established by the Declaration on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Migrant Workers, we strongly urge governments to move from this starting point and bring national laws into line with these principles and international standards.

Expanding the reach of basic human rights protections to undocumented workers is absolutely essential.

United for Foreign Domestic Workers' Rights

Comprising:

Asia Pacific Forum on Women Law and Development (APWLD);
Asia Pacific Mission for Migrants (APMM);
Coordinate Action Research on AIDS and Mobility in ASIA (CARAM Asia);
Global Alliance Against Trafficking of Women (GAATW); and
Mekong Migration Network (MMN).

Other organisations signing on the Statement at ACSC-3:

Homenet SEA

Home Singapore

Pongsit Area Labour Unions, Thailand

Runsit And Area Labor Unions, Thailand

Transient Workers Count Too Singapore

Solidaritas Migran Scalabrini, Indonesia

Centre for Environment, Gender and Development, City University, Hong Kong

Migrant CARE, Indonesia

Solidaritas Perempuan, Indonesia

This statement is available at: <http://www.apwld.org/acsc.html>

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