Content

List	st of Figures and Tables		
Glos	ssary of Terms	13	
1.	Non-Governmental Organizations and the Issue of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers: An Introduction	17	
1.1 1.2 1.3	NGOs in a Democratizing Indonesia Labor Migration of Indonesian Women Arguing for NGO Activism on the Issue of Women Migrant Workers 1.3.1 The State and the Management of Labor Migration 1.3.2 Regional and International Instruments 1.3.3 Labor Unions and Migrant Workers' Organizations Structure of the Book	21 23 27 27 29 31 33	
2.	NGOs and Labor Migration Policies in the Context of Democratization and Globalization: A Review of Literature	37	
2.1 2.2 2.3 2.4 2.5 2.6	Labor Migration in Asia NGOs in Indonesia 2.2.1 Development of NGO Activism in Indonesia 2.2.2 NGOs' Relationships with Other Actors NGOs and the Policy-Making Process NGOs and the Issue of Migrant Workers Democratization, Globalization, and NGOs' Transnational Activism Conclusion	38 39 40 42 43 45 47 52	
3.	The Problematic Migration of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers	55	
3.1	Transformation of Migration in Asia 3.1.1 The Rise of Labor Migration within the Region 3.1.2 Migration of Indonesian Women to Work Overseas Problems Faced by Indonesian Women Migrant Workers 3.2.1 Pre-Recruitment	55 55 57 63 65	

	3.2.2	Recruitment	66
	3.2.3	Pre-Departure	67
	3.2.4	Departure/Transit	72
	3.2.5	Arrival	72
	3.2.6	Employment	73
	3.2.7	Returning	76
3.3	Conclu	ision	79
	_		
4.	Responding to Pressures: Government Management of Labor		
	Migra	tion	80
4.1	Govern	nment Involvement in the Migration Process	80
4.2	Efforts	Made by State Institutions	84
	4.2.1	The Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration	86
	4.2.2	The BNP2TKI	89
	4.2.3	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Indonesian	
		Embassy in Kuala Lumpur	91
	4.2.4	The State Ministry of Women's Empowerment	94
	4.2.5	The Ministry of Social Affairs	95
	4.2.6	Other Related Ministries, the Parliament, and Regional/Local	
		Governments	96
4.3	Conclu	ision	98
5.	Conte	xtualizing Indonesian NGOs' Involvement in the Labor	
٥.		tion System	99
5.1	Indone	esian NGOs before and after Reformasi	100
	5.1.1	NGOs in New Order Indonesia	100
	5.1.2	Post-New Order, NGOs in Reformasi Indonesia	103
5.2	Indone	sian NGOs and the Issue of Women Migrant Workers	106
	5.2.1	Taking up the Issue and Organizing Themselves	106
	5.2.2	Learning from the Philippines	110
	5.2.3	Introduction to Solidaritas Perempuan and Migrant CARE	111
5.3	Conclu	ision	128
6.	Influe	ncing Domestic Policy	130
6.1	Makin	g Indonesia's First Law on Migrant Workers	132
	6.1.1	Putting the Issue of Migrant Workers on the Policy Agenda	132
	6.1.2	Legislative Process	135
	6.1.3	Involvement of NGOs in the Law-Making Process	140

6.2	Law No. 39/2004	147	
	6.2.1 A Change in Indonesian Regulation of Labor Migration	147	
	6.2.2 NGOs' Criticisms of the Bill	157	
6.3	NGOs' Activism after the Law Was Passed	161	
6.4	Conclusion 1		
100			
7.	Strengthening Influence on Policy: Working within the Context	1.00	
	of Democratization in Indonesia	169	
7.1	Building Cooperation	169	
7.1	7.1.1 Networking	170	
	7.1.2 Cooperation with State Institutions	174	
	7.1.3 Working with Ex-NGO Members in Other Institutions	182	
	7.1.4 Working with Religious Organizations	184	
	7.1.5 Non-Cooperative Relations with Labor Agencies and SBMI	185	
7.2	Working at the Local/Grassroots Level	187	
7.3	Use of the Media to Influence Policy	188	
7.4	Learning and Self-Evaluating	190	
7.5	Conclusion	195	
7.0			
8.	Influencing Foreign Policy	197	
8.1	The Process of Making a MoU on Informal Workers with Malaysia	200	
0.1	8.1.1 Background	200	
	8.1.2 The Process of Making the MoU on Informal Workers:	200	
	With or Without NGO Involvement?	204	
8 2	After the Signing of the 2006 MoU	213	
0.2	8.2.1 The Government's and NGOs' Views on the MoU	213	
	8.2.2 NGOs' Activism after the Signing of the MoU	220	
8.3	Conclusion	225	
0.0			
9.	Strengthening Influence on Policy: Working Regionally and		
	Internationally Within the Context of Globalization	227	
9.1	Building Cooperation	228	
7.1	9.1.1 Networking	228	
	9.1.2 ASEAN	235	
	9.1.3 UN Bodies	237	
9.2	Employing Existing International Instruments	240	
9.3	Learning and Self-Evaluating		
9.4			
	~ ~ AA V A V I V A A A A A A A A A A A A A	243	

10.	Conclusion: Emerging Strategies?	245
10.1	Summary of the Chapters	246
10.2	Responding to Democratization	248
10.3	Responding to Globalization	254
10.4	Carving out an Influential Role	257
10.5	Conclusion	260
Refe	rences	265