

Local and Migrant Domestic Worker

Editorial

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Anita Dhewy

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Local and Migrant Domestic Worker

Domestic workers do not only play an important role in families, but also in society and the country's economy. Unfortunately, domestic workers are often overlooked, although domestic work—including care work—is a set of complex activities with deep implications on personal, social, and economic welfares, considering domestic workers who perform housework make it possible for members of (employing) households to perform social and economic activities outside their home, and this in turn allows public sectors to function. Apart from being overlooked, domestic workers are often not viewed as part of the labor force. According to Wong (2012), this is because domesticity is conventionally seen as feminine virtue, and this view limits women to domestic work and makes them reliant on men. Secondly, because mothers are already performing domestic work—without getting paid, with the assumption that these tasks are done voluntarily—domestic workers are not seen as “true workers,” due to the nature of their perceived “non-work.” Third, this type of work is often naturally viewed as women's work. Because the work can be done “naturally,” as opposed requiring skills (which would necessitate training and some sort of certification), women's work is unappreciated. The traditional view of domestic work has contributed to the invisibility of domestic workers, which is perpetuated by relations within the family, society, and systemic regulations, which are in turn manifested in low and often inadequate wages for domestic workers.

According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), 1 in 25 women workers worldwide is a domestic worker. Although a great number of men work in this sector—often as gardeners, drivers, or heads of domestic staff—the sector is a feminine sector, with women making up 80 percent of all domestic workers. In Indonesia, according to the analysis of the 2012 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), there are 2,555,000 domestic workers above 15 years old working in the country, 1.7 million of whom work in the Java Island (ILO 2013). Meanwhile, of the 6.5 million

Indonesian migrant workers, around 80 percent are migrant domestic workers (ILO 2012). Domestic workers in Indonesia are usually women from rural areas with low levels of education. The majority of domestic workers in Indonesia do not have clear work contracts—either verbal or written—with their employers in regard to their duties, work hours, weekly days off, and pay. Additionally, not many domestic workers have social security (Migrant CARE & Jala-PRT 2016).

Jala-PRT's data shows that as of September 2016, there were 217 cases of violence against domestic workers. Jala-PRT's National Coordinator Lita Anggraini stresses that from the perspective of zero violence, even one such case, in fact, signals a serious problem, which means that the urgency of having a legal umbrella to provide protection for domestic workers should not be based on the frequency of cases or reported incidents. On the principle of welfare, the government has the responsibility to provide protection. But the draft bill for the protection of domestic workers, proposed in 2004, has not yet been passed. Furthermore, the Indonesian government has not yet ratified ILO Convention No. 189, which mandates what constitutes as decent work for domestic workers. The mandate is in line with the Sustainable Development Goals, particularly No. 8, i.e., actualizing decent work for all workers. To this end, JP94 analyzes studies on domestic workers' steps in self-empowerment, employers' position in regard to their domestic workers, the role of media in advocacy efforts, the position of domestic workers in the New Order's gender politics, domestic workers' organizational efforts, the legislative process of the domestic workers bill in the Special Region of Yogyakarta, domestic workers' contribution to children's well-being and domestic workers' work environment in regard to violence and discrimination. We hope that our documentary collection will encourage the creation of a legal umbrella for the protection of domestic workers. **(Anita Dhewy)**

Safira Prabawidya Pusparani & Ani Widayani Soetjipto
(Department of International Relations Social and Political
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**Women and Their Journey to Self-Empowerment:
A Case Study of Six Indonesian Female
Migrant Domestic Workers**

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 115-125, 19 ref.

In Indonesia, female migrant domestic workers are often presented in a negative light. Although they are named as "heroes of development," they're treated as mere commodity for the benefit of the country. This treatment leaves female migrant domestic workers vulnerable to violence and exploitation by employers, agents, and government staff. Nevertheless, there is an alternative narrative that is rarely highlighted in literature or media, namely of female migrant domestic workers as powerful actors. This paper aims to fill in this alternative narrative by highlighting the actions taken by six female migrant domestic workers with agency. The author believes that by using the perspective of "standpoint feminism" to analyze these six female migrant domestic workers's struggles in self-empowerment following oppressive experiences, we may see that female migrant domestic workers have demonstrated their agency while in the process of migrating. This study reveals female domestic migrant workers showed self-empowerment in their decision to migrate amid a patriarchal structure and capacity in resisting said structure through activism, and performed roles as agents of development and transformation for their communities.

Keywords: migration, female migrant domestic workers, standpoint feminism, agency, empowerment

Ida Ruwaida (Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and
Political Science, Universitas Indonesia, Jawa Barat, Indonesia)

**Decent Work for Domestic Workers as Perceived by
Employers: Results of Surveys Performed in Makassar,
Surabaya, and Bandung**

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 127-136, 2 graphic,
2 table, 6 ref.

This article is based on a study on the level of information, attitudes, and practices in regard to the rights and protection of domestic workers in three cities (Surabaya, Makassar, and Bandung). This paper aims to describe the working conditions of domestic workers, not from the perspective of domestic workers themselves, but rather from the perspective of their employers. An interesting discovery in this research process is the employers' tendency to adopt double standards when faced with the way employer-domestic worker relations have developed from a more social relation to an economic relation, which signals decent work for domestic workers. An economic relation between employers and domestic workers means that domestic workers must be recognized as part of the workforce, like other types of workers, and that their rights must also be fulfilled and protected. Assuming that the protection of domestic workers is the result of social development, in the context of Indonesia, a structural intervention through state policy for creating decent work for domestic workers will prove to be tough and will have to face some resistance from cultural

elements. This study's findings in three cities show that a long, guided and comprehensive social process is needed in order to build an equal and just relation between employers and domestic workers.

Keywords: decent work, protection of domestic workers, social relations, economic relations, social development, structural intervention, cultural intervention.

Mary Austin (Centre for Gender Studies, School of Oriental and
African Studies, University of London, London, UK)

**Challenging Disregard: Advocacy Journalism and
the campaign for domestic worker legislation in Indonesia**

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 137-148, 3 table, 37
ref.

This article examines a recent ILO funded project designed to engage more Indonesian journalists and media organizations in advocacy journalism on behalf of domestic worker legislation. Applying Ann Stoler's notion of 'disregard' in the context of post-Suharto democratization, I illustrate how established newsroom practices and patterns of reporting helped maintain distinctions between 'home' and overseas domestic workers which impeded progress towards comprehensive legislation. Indonesia's endorsement of the adoption of ILO Convention 189 in June 2011 opened up political opportunities, provided a framework for re-scripting media narratives and encouraged journalists to give more space to domestic workers' voices. At the same time, increased media coverage enabled those opposed to legislation to reiterate a gendered disregard for the social and economic value of domestic work.

Keywords: advocacy journalism, domestic workers, Indonesia, disregard, victim narratives.

Diah Irawaty (Department of Anthropology, State University of
New York [SUNY] Binghamton, New York, United States)

**Domestic Workers in the Paradox of Politics of
Gender and the Politics of Developmentalism:
A Case Study of Indonesia in the New Order Era**

DDC: 305
Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 149-159, 56 ref.

The New Order regime produced and applied two contradictory forms of gender politics as political control over women, so that women would adhere to the state's narrative of the ideal woman. On the one hand, Suharto campaigned for state maternalism to endorse the ideal good mother, or one that performs domestic work full-time. Such women are claimed to be the pillars of the nation. On the other hand, the government endorsed the politics of developmentalism based on the "women in development" perspective and campaigned for women's participation in the national development agenda. Women were encouraged to leave the home, and even to be willing to leave their family. How were (the contradictions between) the two political approaches applied to domestic workers? What sociopolitical contexts were behind these political approaches? And how were/are domestic workers affected?

Keywords: Gender Politics, Developmentalism, International Division of Labor, Sexual/ Reproductive Division of Labor

Purnama Sari Pelupessy (Mitra Imadei, Jakarta, Indonesia)

**Domestic Workers' Efforts to Realize Decent Work:
Learning, Organizing and Fighting**

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 161-171, 1 picture, 3 table, 17 ref.

This paper discusses the situation of domestic workers (PRT) and the author's process—as a community organizer—of organizing domestic workers. Using a feminist framework, the author explores the history of oppression of women in regard to unpaid domestic work and in its impacts on current domestic workers, who are paid low wages. This article also discusses the state's attitude in viewing domestic workers as workers, as citizens and as women, as well as the state's reluctance to ratify ILO Convention No. 189 as well as the draft bill on the protection of domestic workers. The author uses her experience in and knowledge of the labor movement and is informed by the particular characteristics of domestic workers. This study concludes that efforts to change domestic workers' working conditions must be done by organizing domestic workers, so that they have the power to urge the state to realize decent work.

Keywords: Female domestic workers, domestic workers union, decent work, Domestic Workers Protection Bill

Sargini, Jumiye, Muryanti (The Tunas Mulia Domestic Workers Union [SPRT], Yogyakarta, Indonesia)

**The Legislation Process of the Regional Regulation
on Domestic Workers in the Special Region of Yogyakarta
and its Challenges**

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 173-181, 5 table, 12 ref.

This paper examines the legislation process of the Proposed Regional Regulation on Domestic Workers (Raperda PRT) in DIY. The regional regulation is crucial because domestic workers play a significant role for the working family and for those who are active in the public sphere. This resulted in an increased demand for the profession each year. Unfortunately, the absence of a governing regulation for the profession has led to very unclear and messy practices in the working relationship between the Domestic Worker (DW/PRT) and the customer (service user). Violations of the employment relationship have become frequent occurrences, including violence experienced by domestic workers, whether physical, psychological, economic, sexual or social. In Yogyakarta, the Domestic Workers Protection Network (JPPRT) of the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY) has suggested that the various type of violence experienced by domestic workers cannot be viewed separately from the absence of a regulation that governs the working relationship between domestic workers and their service users. Against this background, the JPPRT decided to pioneer and propose a draft for regional regulation on domestic workers in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (DIY).

Keywords: domestic workers protection, Proposed Regional Regulation on Domestic Workers, Domestic Workers Protection Network (JPPRT), political support

Maria Ulfah Anshor (Indonesian Commission on Child Protection [KPAI], Jakarta, Indonesia)

**The Contribution of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers
(TKIP) to the Welfare of Their Children**

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 183-193, 19 ref.

This article is part of the dissertation research on the care of Indonesian Women Migrant Workers' (TKIP) children in pesantren (Islamic boarding school), using a qualitative approach and an analysis unit on these children and their environment. This study applies Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory and the "global care chain" concept with a child protection perspective. Our results show that TKIP's children who are left behind by their mothers who have gone overseas, lose "care", their welfare is psychologically and socially disrupted, and experience mutual dependence between them, their family and the TKIP overseas; the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) has become an option for TKIP's family because there are no professional child cares to care for the children of TKIP when their mothers have gone overseas. Institutionally, the pesantren has the potential to break the global care chain of injustices in regard to the care for TKIP's children, with the support of religious values and pesantren traditions. But policy support is needed to guarantee the community-based care and social welfare of TKIP's children, comprehensively integrated into the policy blueprint for Indonesian migrant workers.

Keywords: Childcare of migrant workers, children's rights and child welfare.

Anita Dhewy (Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

**Discrimination, Violence, and the Neglect of Rights:
Domestic Workers in the Absence of Legal Protection**

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 3, Agustus 2017, pp. 195-204, 15 ref.

This paper focuses on the experiences of domestic workers who have been subjected to violence, discrimination and the neglect of rights by employers as well as apartment managements where these domestic workers work. The data of six domestic workers from diverse backgrounds who were interviewed in depth reflects the violence experienced by all domestic workers at work. There are forms of violence that can be easily recognized as violence, but some types of discrimination and violence are not viewed as violence or are simply seen as the norm. These types of discrimination and violence are usually associated with inappropriate/indecent work conditions. Domestic workers' vulnerability, because their work falls under the private domain, is the result of the absence of laws to protect domestic workers at work. This is why a legal umbrella for the protection of domestic workers, like other types of workers, is a fundamental need.

Keywords: violence, discrimination, neglect of rights, bill on the protection of domestic workers

Decent Work for Domestic Workers as Perceived by Employers: Results of Surveys Performed in Makassar, Surabaya, and Bandung¹

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Abstract

This article is based on a study on the level of information, attitudes, and practices in regard to the rights and protection of domestic workers in three cities (Surabaya, Makassar, and Bandung). This paper aims to describe the working conditions of domestic workers, not from the perspective of domestic workers themselves, but rather from the perspective of their employers. An interesting discovery in this research process is the employers' tendency to adopt double standards when faced with the way employer-domestic worker relations have developed from a more social relation to an economic relation, which signals decent work for domestic workers. An economic relation between employers and domestic workers means that domestic workers must be recognized as part of the workforce, like other types of workers, and that their rights must also be fulfilled and protected. Assuming that the protection of domestic workers is the result of social development, in the context of Indonesia, a structural intervention through state policy for creating decent work for domestic workers will prove to be tough and will have to face some resistance from cultural elements. This study's findings in three cities show that a long, guided and comprehensive social process is needed in order to build an equal and just relation between employers and domestic workers.

Keywords: decent work, protection of domestic workers, social relations, economic relations, social development, structural intervention, cultural intervention

Introduction

In Indonesia, Law No. 13/2013 on Labor does not regulate the rights of domestic workers, neither their basic rights in regard to welfare nor their protection. Domestic workers are indeed not defined as part of the workforce despite the fact that they work, provide services for their employers, and receive pay in return for their services. Data from the National Labor Force Survey (Sakernas) shows that some domestic workers in the country are aged 15 years and above (Central Statistics Agency/BPS 2012). It's estimated that 25% of these workers are child workers (under 18). In the meantime, there are 3.9 million workers overseas, most of whom are women, and 80% work as female domestic workers (ILO 2013). The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that the number of domestic workers in Indonesia will continue grow, along with an improving economy and a growing middle class (Ichsan 2013).

The positioning of domestic workers as part of the workforce is still debated by several circles. Some believe that in the sociocultural context of Indonesian society,

domestic workers are "helpers" whose relations with employers are social: a strong guidance from the stronger and wealthy party (employer) for the weak and poor, i.e., the domestic worker positioned as a helper (Dwiyanti 2011). The guidance principle conditions employers to have the tendency to not act and behave as an employer would toward her worker, but rather to act and behave toward the domestic worker the way she would to a family member. As a result, employers tend to neglect the rights of domestic workers as part of the workforce in regard to salary, work hours, benefits, working conditions, etc. Furthermore, there is plenty of violence against and exploitation of adult domestic workers, and it's even worse in the case of child domestic workers. These conditions are rooted in the unequal relation between employer and worker, which comes from the demand for certain rights and duties of each party.

Considering these real conditions, the question is: is the tendency to neglect the rights of domestic workers and the unequal relation and even conflict between domestic workers and employers happen due to a lack

of information/knowledge and awareness among both groups? Or is the treatment of domestic workers seen as a normal condition because the employer behaves like a parent, to whom family members must submit and be obedient (familial relation) as opposed to an economic relation between employer-domestic worker? Meanwhile, Sakernas's data shows that domestic workers work over 40 hours per week, much more than most workers. Furthermore, 63% of domestic workers work 7 days a week with no weekly holiday. And the average income of domestic workers falls far below the average worker. The majority of domestic workers do not have a clear work agreement, either verbal or written (ILO 2013).

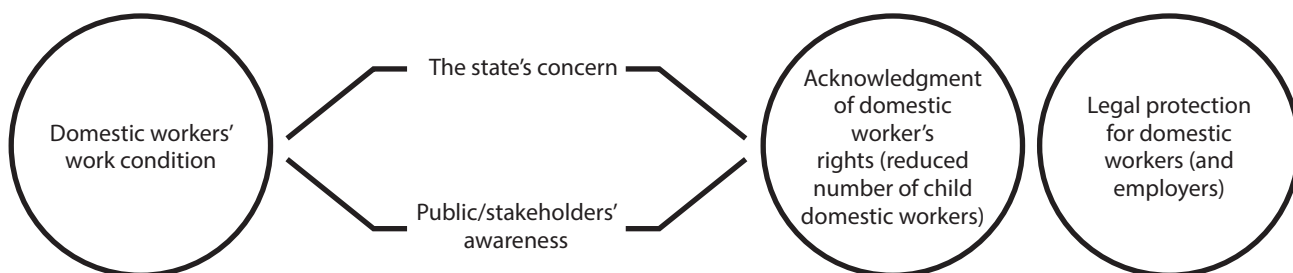
These inappropriate working conditions for domestic workers are what propels the need to acknowledge domestic workers' rights as workers so that they can have decent work, are protected, and can enjoy well-being. The problem is in how to build a conducive climate so that the public can build an awareness that domestic workers are in fact workers, and when they are employed, the employer must treat them as such. On the other hand, domestic workers must also understand their status as workers, which means that they must also behave and act professionally. In the effort to create such a climate, the government is demanded to be present in protecting domestic workers and to acknowledge them as workers like other types of workers. This demand has triggered varying reactions, including from those with direct interest, i.e., employers. How do employers perceive domestic workers and their rights? This article discusses study findings in three cities surveyed in 2015.

The Protection of Domestic Workers, Social Development, and State Intervention

In the effort to effectuate decent work for domestic workers, the ILO has adopted Convention No. 189, which stipulates basic rights and principles, and requires

member states to take steps in realizing decent work for domestic workers. ILO Convention No. 189 defines domestic work as work performed inside or for one or several households. Meanwhile, a domestic worker is "any person engaged in domestic work within an employment relationship" or "a person who performs domestic work only occasionally or sporadically and not on an occupational basis is a domestic worker" (ILO 2011, p. 5). The convention formulates various standards concerning domestic workers and their work. These standards are formed to provide protection for domestic workers, create fair work stipulations, work hours, pay, work safety and health, social security, standards for child domestic workers, standards for live-in domestic workers, standards for migrant domestic workers, private labor agents, dispute resolution.

Efforts to make decent work a reality for domestic workers, particularly in the context of Indonesia, will sociologically touch various aspects of life in society, socially, culturally, economically, and politically. The effort to protect domestic workers through public policy (laws and regulations) is the state's intervention, which, sociologically is a form of structural intervention, meaning the state prepares legal foundation as well as a guide or reference for its citizens in how to behave and act, and even how to develop their social relations. In other words, in the context of domestic workers, not only public awareness must be cultivated, but also state policy in order to create a climate that is conducive for decent work for domestic workers and the elimination of child domestic workers. This effort is a real form of social development. At the micro and meso levels, such policies will serve as a reference for employers in positioning their domestic workers, and likewise, for domestic workers in performing their work as well as behaving toward their employers.



Graph 1. Line of Thinking

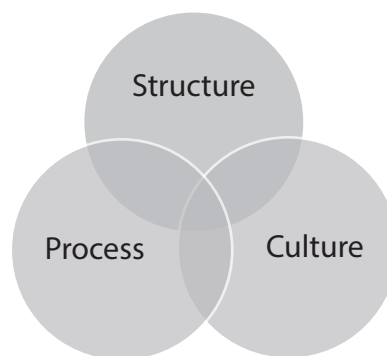
Such an structural intervention would of course both directly and indirectly affect the pattern of relation between employer and domestic worker, which has so

far been more of a social relation as opposed to a working or an economic relation. As we already know, in most regions, socioculturally and on behalf of habitual practice

as well as cultural traditions, the pattern of social relation between employer-domestic worker has developed and been maintained from one generation to the next and from one region to the next. A structural intervention would condition a type of relation that is more of a working or economic relation, by positioning domestic workers or child domestic workers as employees and the paying member(s) of the household as their employer. This condition will result in a cultural transformation (habitual practices and traditions) in society, namely the shifting of social definitions (including the definition of “employer”) for domestic workers/child domestic workers not as an assistant or helper, but as workers who must be treated as such and not as family.

The effort to transform both how domestic workers and child domestic workers are perceived as well as what is seen as proper treatment of domestic workers, is fundamentally a cultural transformation. The knowledge and attitudes that are developed in society in regard to domestic workers and child domestic workers cannot be

seen apart from cultural aspects (values, norms, behavior, traditions, etc.). Thus, a structural intervention is hoped to also culturally intervene through social process. Referring to Paulus Wirutomo’s idea, it can be said that the effort to protect domestic workers and child domestic workers is one form of social development (2013), keeping in mind that the essence of social development is the betterment of human beings in their “social” dimension. This means that state policy (structural intervention) that encourages decent work for domestic workers, including efforts to protect them, is part of the effort to develop the quality of Indonesians. Furthermore, such a policy intervention would also function as a fulfillment of the most basic human rights, particularly economic rights. So it’s hoped that there will be a pattern of cultural transformation in how domestic workers are perceived or viewed, including transformations in how domestic workers are treated by their employers and the relation pattern between employers and domestic workers.



Graph 2. A Model for an Analysis of Social Development

Source: Wirutomo 2013

According to Wirutomo (2013), structure is a framework or condition that is coercive, imperative, and constraining to human actors. The power of social structure can be institutionalized legally and formally (for example through laws, government policy, etc.), or otherwise. Culture is all systems of values, norms, beliefs, and all habitual practices as well as traditions that are internalized in individuals or society, so that these systems have the power to form behavioral patterns and the attitudes of members of society (from the inside). Culture that is rooted in a society is not always the best way to live, for the well-being and dignity of individuals as well as society. Meanwhile, social process are all dynamics in the everyday interaction between society members—interactions that are dynamic and creative, meaning both individuals and groups can express their

aspirations relatively freely and can negotiate to influence structure and/or culture.

The survey at last reflects particularly the cultural dimensions (values, social definitions, beliefs, traditions) of domestic workers, their duties, and employers. On the other hand, social process will be reflected in how employers treat domestic workers. Consequently, cultural aspects will be more impacted by various strategic groups, especially in performing cultural intervention through social process (social behavior and everyday relation).

Research Methodology

This research employs a quantitative method (surveys) supported by qualitative data. Surveys were done in three cities (Surabaya, Makassar, and Bandung).

Research locations are three cities chosen purposively; Surabaya and Makassar are Promote’s (an ILO program) sites, while Bandung was chosen more as a control region/element. Two sub-districts were chosen because they fulfill the residential criterion, are not areas of office, business, and industry. The chosen urban village are residential areas that are socioeconomically heterogenous (high, middle, and low incomes). In every

urban village, two hamlet (RW) were chosen at random, with the following criteria: (1) contains a heterogenous residential area, meaning the community represents various social classes; (2) a residential area with a primary road (that can accommodate two cars), small roads (that can accommodate one car), and alleys (that can only accommodate motorcycles). Our research sites in the three cities, as follows:

Tabel 1. Survey locations in three cities

No	Cities	Selected Sub-district	Selected Urban Village
1	Bandung	Panyileukan Sub-district	Cipadung Kidul Urban village, Mekar Mulya Urban village
		Buah Batu Sub-district	Cijaurah Urban village, Margasari Urban village
2	Surabaya	Wiyung Sub-district	Wiyung Urban village, Babatan Urban village
		Tambaksari Sub-district	Tambaksari Urban village, Ploso Urban village
		Gubeng Sub-district ²	Airlangga Urban village, Mojo Urban village
3	Makassar	Manggala Sub-district	Bangkala Urban village, Antang Urban village
		Tamalanrea Sub-district	Tamalanrea Urban village, Tamalanrea Jaya Urban village

Surveys were performed through structured interviews aided by a questionnaire aimed at four data source groups, i.e.: (1) adult domestic workers, both live-in (their employers’ home) and non-live-in; (2) employers of adult domestic workers; (3) child domestic workers and their families, and (4) employers of child domestic workers. This writing is focused more on the employer group, with subjects chosen based on the criterion that they are household “managers” that have employed a domestic worker(s) for a minimum of one year, either live-in or non-live in. The discussion of the data is more focused on adult domestic workers. When discussing child domestic workers, this writing discusses not about their rights as workers, but rather for the goal of eradicating child domestic workers as it violates regulations on child workers.

The collection of qualitative data was performed through in-depth interviews with purposively selected informants, based on the depth of the information provided, particularly in regard to domestic workers’ working conditions. The qualitative data is meant to

support the quantitative data on knowledge, attitudes, and behavior toward child and adult domestic workers. Informants in each research site comprise: adult domestic workers, child domestic workers, employers of adult domestic workers, employers of child domestic workers, and parents/family members of child domestic workers.

The Characteristics of Child/Adult Domestic Workers

Adult live-in domestic worker respondents in all three cities are, for the most part, between 18-25 years old; Live-out domestic workers tend to be older, between 36-45 years old. In regard to marital status, the majority of live-in adult domestic workers in Bandung are married (51.4%), in Makassar unmarried (66.7%), and in Surabaya the numbers of married and unmarried live-in adult domestic workers are equal (35.5%). Meanwhile, the majority of live-out domestic workers in all three cities are married.

Tabel 2. Respondents Based on Sex and City of Residence

	Live-in		Live-out	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Surabaya	98,7%	2,3%	95,9%	4,1%
Makassar	93,3%	6,7%	100%	0%
Bandung	63,5%	36,5%	89,5%	10,5%

Source: field data

In comparison, the level of education of live-in adult domestic workers are higher (middle school/primary school) than live-out adult domestic workers (primary school). The majority of child domestic worker respondents in all three cities surveyed are women, but interestingly, in Bandung 33.3% of child domestic workers are boys, in Makassar 20%, and in Surabaya only 6.7%. The majority of child domestic workers are 17 years old. Most child domestic workers have a low level of education (primary/middle school), and a small number of child domestic worker respondents are even married (early).

The study also identified the ethnic backgrounds of child domestic workers and found that in each study site, child domestic workers are of the local ethnic group. In terms of age, in all three cities, the experiences of child domestic workers when working as domestic workers for the first time vary somewhat. Sixteen years old on average in Surabaya and Bandung, and younger in Makassar at 14 years old (30%). Although they have worked since children, almost all child domestic worker respondents in the three cities are not the sole contributors to their families' economy. In regard to adult/child domestic workers' choice of residence, their marital status are the main factor for decision making: married respondents tend to choose living outside their employer's home while younger respondents tend to choose to live in their employer's home. Choosing to live out seems to be how adult domestic workers strategize to manage their time, particularly women. Additionally, a live-out status can also be tied to a respondent's contribution to their family's economy: a woman's entrance into the job market (as an adult domestic worker) will be seen as extra income.

Characteristics of Adult Domestic Workers' Employers

In terms of age, the largest percentage of respondents who are employers of adult domestic workers are in the 46-55 age group, except for the employers of live-in adult domestic workers in Bandung, with the majority (28%) in the 36-45 age group. The majority of employers of adult

domestic workers are married (Bandung: 89.3% live-in and 77.3% live-out; Makassar: 85.3% live-in and 64.9% live-out; Surabaya: 85.3 live-in and 89.3% live-out). It seems that married employers have a greater need for a domestic worker. Meanwhile, the majority of employers of child domestic workers are women (Surabaya 66.7%, Makassar 80%, and Bandung 70%). The largest percentage of employers of child domestic workers interviewed are in the 36-45 age group (33.3% in Surabaya, 41.4% in Makassar, and 36.7% in Bandung). Some employers of child domestic workers are quite young, i.e., in the 26-35 age group (33.3%).

The employers of both child and adult domestic workers tend to come from high levels of education (high school or equivalent), and some are even university graduates (bachelor's degree). In regard to occupation, entrepreneurship seems to dominate in all three study sites. Interestingly, employers of live-out domestic workers are usually civil servants, while employers of live-in domestic workers tend to be retirees. Employers' monthly income range between Rp3 million to almost Rp5 million. In Bandung, the (average) income of employers is higher, at above Rp5 million.

How Employers Perceive Policies/Regulations on Domestic Workers

In the survey in the three cities, the majority of domestic worker employers feel that a person is called a worker if they perform clear work and receive pay/salary in return for their work. In their eyes, domestic workers also work, so that a regulation on domestic workers is necessary (Surabaya 58.7%; Bandung 70%; and Makassar 83.6%). The most mentioned reason was that domestic workers receive a salary and have a clear workload as well as work hours. A regulation will serve as the basis for an agreement on the rights and responsibilities of both stakeholders. More employers of live-in domestic workers say that domestic workers are workers, compared to the employers of live-out domestic workers. The belief that domestic workers are workers is emphasized by an employer of an adult domestic worker

in Makassar: "Sinta came far from her village to work, to find money, using her energy and time for the sake of her family," (HSN 2015, interview 21 May).

Employers that define domestic workers as workers are of the view that domestic workers must be protected by a regulation on domestic workers. Such a regulation is necessary for obtaining clarity in regard to the rights and responsibilities of employers and domestic workers, and a clarity of domestic workers' workload. Employers that have such an attitude believe that there is a contractual relationship between an employer and a domestic worker. Clear rights and responsibilities are much needed so that the interests of both stakeholders can be fulfilled. An exchange relationship continues in their daily relation. As far as both stakeholders can mutually benefit each other, the employer-domestic worker relation can go smoothly. But if the relationship is no longer mutually beneficial, it can be severed, either by the employer or by the domestic worker.

On the other hand, still a great number of employers of adult domestic workers, particularly in Bandung, view domestic workers as different from other types of workers. The most common arguments are that domestic work is not a formal profession, and because domestic workers are like family. These two arguments are also most commonly used by employers of domestic workers in Surabaya and Makassar, with most employers in Makassar arguing that domestic workers are like family, as explained by one respondent who is a lecturer at a university in Makassar:

Domestic work is work in an informal sector (helper). It wouldn't be accurate if workers in an informal sector are said to be workers with rules and responsibilities that must be fulfilled. With domestic workers, the relationship is very emotional. Imagine, 24 hours with us at home, so this forms a particular pattern in our relationship and our family's relationship. The domestic worker I have now, the concept is like family, so what I do to my family, I also implement with Mila and usually with time (the domestic worker) will grow more compatible with her employer (Smiling). (Mr. Hr 2015, interview 19 May)

In other words, the domestic worker is already seen as the employer's family and not as a formal worker, making it unnecessary for a regulation that binds the employer in employing a domestic worker. In several cases, the employer makes the excuse that he/she is helping someone who needs work or needs an income. Fundamentally, the familial relation structure between employer and domestic worker can produce a patron-client relation, which is still the culture of the majority

of Indonesians. When an employer is seen as a patron, the domestic worker positions the employer as a person in power/ruler as well as an example. This relationship pattern may potentially create dominance and may cause the domestic worker to be reliant on the employer.

The majority of employers who believe that domestic workers are workers feel that a work agreement or a contract is necessary (Makassar 88.8%; Surabaya 72.7%; Bandung 68.7%). But they believe in a non-written or non-legal/formal contract or work agreement. Most agree with a verbal type of agreement, i.e., a discussion or direct negotiation with the domestic worker as we have seen so far. In other words, they believe that the agreement between a domestic worker and an employer would be better if discussed in person and if based on a familial type of agreement. Respondents reasoned that: domestic workers are like family (28.9%), there is already mutual trust (19.1%), a regulation would be too complicated (17%), or a verbal agreement is enough (19.5%), considering that domestic work is light work and the affairs of a domestic worker depends on the employer, as explained by a respondent from Makassar:

Alhamdulillah we don't do that here ... no need for a contract. Here, there was no initial discussion to stress the domestic worker's basic rights because I consider Mila my own family (Mr. Hr 2015, interview 19 May).

Some of the components agreed upon between an employer and a domestic workers are work hours, holidays, and leave. Most of the employers in all research sites say that domestic workers do not have the same rights as other types of workers in terms of daily work hours based on Indonesian law (Bandung 68%; Surabaya 84%; Makassar 64%). Survey data in all research sites show that the majority of adult domestic workers do not limit their domestic worker's work hours, especially in the case of live-in domestic workers. The employers reason that domestic workers have flexible work hours so that they do not need work standards equal to other types of workers, or that they do not need their daily work hours to be regulated based on Indonesian law. For the most part, they say that domestic workers' standard work hours are already in line with the law, i.e., 8-12 hours per day. The employer's disapproval of work hour restrictions is based on the argument that domestic workers' responsibilities are different from those of other types of workers—essentially, domestic work is light/casual work. Once finished with work, a domestic worker can return home or take a break. According to a respondent in Tamalanrea-Makassar:

At my house, during weekdays, the family leave in the morning and return in the late afternoon. In the meantime, Mila only has to care for my grandchild(ren), so that when my grandchild(ren) is sleeping, she will also rest. So how a domestic worker takes a break from work is different from other types of workers—don't view the two as equal, considering the burden and levels of difficulty of [other types] of work are different from domestic work. (Mr. Hr 2015, interview 19 May)

In the same vein, Ms. SM and M from Surabaya said:

If limited, how would that work? If limited the work won't be finished. The clothes that need to be ironed would pile up. The kid can't keep track of time. Works so slowly. It makes me wonder why. I'm old but I work fast. But when she irons, for example, it baffles me, does it take so long? What is she doing? If I reprimand her, she'll ask to go home. So I don't say anything. By noon, she won't have finished this and that. (Ms. SM 2015, interview 20 April)

I'm upset, Miss, (the domestic worker) is always on the computer, the work is not finished, but what is there to do? The important thing is that I have company. (Ms. M 2015, interview 2 May)

In regard to knowledge on the weekly day-off standards for workers in general, based on Indonesian law, which states that the weekly day-off standard for workers is generally one day per week (six-day weeks), the percentage is higher in employers of adult domestic workers in Bandung compared to employers of adult domestic workers in Surabaya (73%) and Makassar (46.7%). Employers of adult domestic workers who say that the weekly break standards is one day per week in Bandung and Makassar are higher in terms of percentage among employers of live-in domestic workers. Meanwhile, the percentage is higher among employers of live-out domestic workers in Surabaya (compared to live-in). Employers of adult domestic workers who say that the standard weekly day-off for workers are usually two days per week (five-day weeks) are higher in terms of percentage in Makassar (53.3%) compared to employers of adult domestic workers in Bandung (22.3%) and Surabaya (27%). Employers of adult domestic workers in Bandung and Makassar have a similar knowledge pattern in regard to the weekly day off for workers.

Meanwhile, among those who agree with a regulation on work hours are more of the argument described below, as explained by a respondent in Gebeng-Surabaya, a 41-year-old with an undergraduate degree:

Maybe it's necessary because now my domestic worker plays too much. Plays with her cell phone all the time, if I

don't give her an order, she would stay in her room. I'm lazy to always call her. [I'm] upset (or tired) seeing that, tired of always complaining, so sometimes I'll do the tidying up. She should know that if her work is messy she should tidy up, but if I don't tell her to tidy up, she would go into her room, lie in bed and play with her cell phone. If her work hours are regulated, I can sanction her, right, Miss? Because she takes breaks during work hours. (Ms. SM 2015, interview 30 April)

Apart from work hours, various institutions also provide annual leave. In terms of the attitude of employers in regard to domestic workers' rights to annual leave, employers of domestic workers in Bandung who view domestic workers' right to annual leave standards are higher (53.3%) compared to employers of adult domestic workers in Surabaya (47.3%) and Makassar (35.8%). For the most part, in the 3 research sites, employers of live-in adult domestic workers tend to implement the annual leave for workers in general, based on Indonesian law, which is 12 days. The percentage is higher than the percentage of live-out adult domestic workers in all research sites. Meanwhile, those who say that the length of annual leave for workers based on Indonesian law is 8-12 days is higher in percentage among employers of live-out adult domestic workers compared to live-in adult domestic workers.

Employers who have a strict view on leave rights tend to argue that domestic workers usually take leave as needed by them, because domestic workers have the freedom to request leave, in terms of schedule and length. Domestic workers are more flexible in terms of time and workload because these things depend on the employer and because domestic workers usually take leave based on the agreement with their employer. Among employers of domestic workers of Makassar, the argument most frequently used is that if the domestic worker takes too much time off, the employer would have a difficult time performing everyday housework or that the domestic worker is always needed, an agreement between the employer and the domestic worker would be better, and domestic work is different in nature from the most types of work so that the length of leave should also be different.

Work hours are of course correlated with pay. Field findings show that most employers of adult domestic workers in all research sites confess to knowing about a government regulation on minimum wage for Indonesian workers. But of all sites, employers of adult domestic workers in Makassar make up the smallest percentage (74%). A comment from a respondent in Surabaya, as follows:

Well, she only comes in for 2 hours, Miss, how we would use the minimum wage. Sometimes she wouldn't come in if she has something to do. Sometimes some domestic workers only do the laundry and iron. What about that? (The domestic worker) works at several houses, not just mine. (Ms. SM 2015, interview 30 April)

Do minimum wages (regional minimum wage, provincial minimum wage, regency/city minimum wage) apply to domestic workers? Among employers of adult domestic workers who are aware of a government regulation on the minimum wage for workers in Indonesia, those who say that the government regulation also applies to domestic workers are small in percentage. Even in Surabaya, employers of adult domestic workers who say that the government regulation on minimum wage does not apply to domestic workers are quite high in percentage (92.2%), higher than employers of adult domestic workers in Bandung and Makassar. Even so, some employers believe that there must be wage standards for domestic workers. The perceived standard wage is Rp1-2 million per month. The majority of employers believe that they're already paying a salary that is appropriate to the needs of domestic workers and is seen as adequate, although the salary tends to not be agreed upon through negotiation with the domestic worker. But in principle, some employers say they would adjust the salary if the domestic worker negotiates.

Apart from wage, workers usually have the right to social security, but what about domestic workers. Field findings show that the majority of employers say it is not their obligation to provide social security/protection for domestic workers. Employers of adult domestic workers who are of the position that domestic workers also have an equal right to social security based on Indonesian law are higher in percentage among employers of adult domestic workers in Makassar (47.7%) compared to employers of adult domestic workers in Bandung (38.5%) and Surabaya (32.7%). Among employers of adult domestic workers who believe that workers in general have the right to social security, in line with Indonesian law, the percentage is higher among employers of adult domestic workers in Makassar (80.9%) compared to in Surabaya (80%) and Bandung (75.3%).

One form of social protection is the fulfillment of Work Health and Safety. Employers in Surabaya are higher in percentage (80%) compared to Bandung (70%) and Makassar (63.8%) in promoting the health and safety of workers. Work health and safety also tend to be ignored by employers. Essentially, whether one is or

not a domestic worker, any individual is acknowledged as having equal rights to health and safety protection at work, in accordance with Indonesian laws (Makassar 53.9%; Bandung 41.3%, Surabaya 40.70%). But as it turns out, the majority of employers of adult domestic workers in the three research sites believe that the work performed by domestic workers is not harmful work or work that poses risks; they believe that housework is not heavy work, and particularly that the home is a safe place. Meanwhile, the belief that the work performed by domestic workers can cause health problems is expressed by a higher percentage of employers of domestic workers in Makassar (41.1%) compared to employers of domestic workers in Bandung (20.7%) and Surabaya (14%). Health problems experienced by domestic workers: fever (33.3%), fatigue (76.3%), respiratory problems (6.7%) and dizziness (14.3%). The opinions of My, a respondent from Surabaya; and YI, a respondent from Bandung, as follows:

What protection is there to give? Here there is no risky and heavy work, Miss. Domestic workers everywhere, all they do is well, wash clothes, iron, water plants, mop the floor, that's it ... what's health protection, Miss? If they're sick I'll bring them to the doctor next door, you know that it's expensive to go to the doctor, Rp100 thousand. [My domestic worker] was once sick. I gave Rp100 thousand, but as it turned out, she/he didn't go to the doctor but had a new cell phone casing, new clothes, so what's there to protect. (Ms. My 2015, interview 24 April)

The health and safety of my helper is all guaranteed by me, meaning my helper is never asked to work if sick. If sick, I would send her/him home to rest and go to the doctor. Work safety is also guaranteed, meaning so far my helper has never experienced an accident when working at my place. So the work safety of my helper is there because I indeed never order her/him to perform heavy work, so my helper only does usual work relating with domestic work. (Mr. YI 2015, interview 26 July)

It's clear that for some employers, health protection is seen as unnecessary because domestic workers usually experience light illness, and for health protection, the employer can buy a domestic worker medication. For employers of domestic worker whose idea of social security is more in the form of direct payment for cost of treatment when the domestic worker falls sick, employers in Surabaya and Bandung have similar patterns, namely that the percentage is higher among employers of live-out adult domestic workers compared to live-in domestic workers.

Another type of protection needed by domestic workers has to do with violence. In general, in the 3 research sites, the majority of employers of domestic

workers know that workers in Indonesia are protected by law from acts of violence and sexual harassment, but when the issue is specifically tied to domestic workers, the percentage who say that Indonesian law protects domestic workers from violence and sexual harassment at the workplace is smaller. This shows that there is still a lack of understanding and concern on the part of employers of domestic workers in the efforts to protect domestic workers, especially in regard to violence and sexual harassment at work. The forms of protection mentioned by employers are: a clear regulation on violence against domestic workers, a clear law against perpetrators of violence, supervision from the authority, registering the data of domestic workers with the government, and humane treatment of domestic workers. According to a respondent from Surabaya,

Laws are necessary, Miss, [so that] domestic workers can be kept away from violence by employers ... There has to be a law on the protection of domestic workers, so that employers don't behave capriciously. (FBR 2015, interview 5 May)

Membership in a workers' union is also a worker's right that should be fulfilled. Survey findings show that the majority of employers of adult domestic workers know that workers (in general) are allowed to join a workers' union. But they do not know that the regulation also applies to domestic workers. Employers believe that it's unnecessary for domestic workers to join a workers' union. Even so, some do allow their domestic worker to join a workers' union, as explained by a respondent in Makassar:

It would be beneficial to join an organization, for example an organization of domestic workers. They can come to know their rights and responsibilities. Likewise, those who employ domestic workers won't treat [domestic workers] simply as they wish. (HSN 2015, interview 21 May)

In relation to efforts to protect workers, workers' union becomes a crucial issue to ask about. In regard to the perception of employers on membership in a domestic workers' organization, more employers of adult domestic workers in Bandung (36%) and Makassar (42%) have a positive view of it compared to employers of domestic workers in Surabaya (26%). Those who feel positively argue that it's within domestic workers' rights and that it would allow domestic workers a platform to express their aspirations and to socialize. Employers who disagree (Surabaya 37.7%, Bandung 16%, and Makassar 12.5%) argue, among others, that: domestic workers don't have the time, they're already exhausted, domestic workers

should focus only on work, they're worried domestic workers will protest or make demands, domestic workers only perform housework, workers' unions are only for workers. A respondent in Wiyung-Surabaya, who is 36 years old and has a master's degree, said:

I myself, *Bu*, disagree that domestic workers should join an organization. [They will] only denigrate their employer. It would be better to keep the house, work properly ... What's important is work, because work is the purpose of becoming a domestic worker. (Ms. F 2015, interview 3 May)

Here it's apparent that employers do not consider it important to fulfill domestic workers' rights as citizens, among others their right to join an organization. This is perpetuated by employers because of the subordinate/superordinate relation between employers and domestic workers. Domestic workers are not aware of this particular right, and employers exploit their power to not grant domestic workers this right. Furthermore, some hold on to their domestic worker's documents, such as ID card and other forms of identity. Employers of adult domestic workers who keep their domestic worker's ID argue that they do so to prevent the domestic worker from traveling too far and because they need the domestic worker's original identity. Nevertheless, the survey shows that the majority of adult domestic workers in the three research sites do not keep their domestic worker's personal documents. Only a small number of employers of adult domestic workers keep their domestic worker's ID. The highest percentage are employers of adult domestic workers in Bandung (6.7%), compared to Surabaya (4.7%) and Makassar (2%). For the most part, they argue that it's a citizen's right to hold on to their personal document. Additionally, ID is proof of citizenship that may be needed at any moment by the domestic worker.

For employers who obtained a domestic worker through an intermediary service, complete documents was the initial requirement. Based on the survey's findings, employers of adult domestic workers in Surabaya (57%) are highest in percentage in regard to the use of an intermediary service. The majority of employers in Bandung (75.7%), on the other hand, did not use an intermediary service to hire their current domestic worker, compared to employers of adult domestic workers in Surabaya (43%) and Makassar (49.3%). In Surabaya and Makassar, the use of an intermediary service for hiring domestic workers is higher among employers of live-in domestic workers compared to live-out domestic workers. Employers of live-in domestic workers tend to not use an intermediary service for hiring domestic workers.

I've already hired a helper twice, *Mbak*. In 2010. The first time. After a week, she wanted to resign and was replaced by another helper. But after a week, she also resigned. In the end, I didn't feel like hiring another helper. But then I needed one so I looked again. Two months she felt comfortable here, but then she asked to resign. So I didn't feel like looking for a helper through an agent. ... The behavior of agency makes employers tired of looking for a helper, although agencies have very strict rules. But the rules are just a tool, the rules are manipulated by agencies for economic benefits. (Ms. M 2015, interview 3 May)

Respondent M's explanation shows us how domestic workers and domestic worker agency are perceived. In the case of M, one can see how weak the employer's bargaining power is in her relationship with the stakeholders, particularly the domestic worker agency. During a time when the demand for domestic workers increases, economic development and the development of digital technology make it even more difficult to find domestic workers, especially one that is skilled and faithful to the employer.

Conclusion

Field study in the three city can reflect realities in other regions of Indonesia, demonstrating the tendency of employers to take an inconsistent stance in regard to the policy on domestic workers' protection. On the one hand, they acknowledge domestic workers as workers, but they also see domestic workers as different from other types of workers. This phenomenon is primarily tied to the following aspects: the easy or light scope and load of work, the absence of specific requirements for qualifications, the domestic workplace or environment, the flexible work hours, the perceived risk-free and safe work. Because of these assumptions, employers who believe that work agreements are important still question the need for a written work contract. The study's findings clearly show double-standards, namely that domestic workers are workers but that their relationship with their employers are still defined as social, although the relationship is also seen as a working relationship. This finding shows that efforts for a structural intervention through a policy on the protection of domestic workers must be supported by efforts for a cultural intervention. How domestic workers are perceived indicates a strong culture in society of behaving toward and treating domestic workers not as workers, but as helpers, or even slaves. An intense and systematic social process

is necessary to transform the societal perception that domestic workers are not helpers, but are workers. Consequently, in the effort to build domestic workers' dignity as subjects, the social movement we have already seen in progress must plan both cultural action and social process, in the hope that domestic workers' work conditions can be decent, safe, protected, and just.

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Endnotes

- 1 This article was developed from the Survey Report on "Knowledge, Attitudes and Behavior of PRT-PRTA and Employer concerning Working Rights"; cooperation of LabSosio (Sociology Study Center) FISIP UI and ILO Jakarta. The survey was used as data for the ILO's PROMOTE baseline program. The research team consists of Dr. Indera I Pattinasaray, Hertati Suandi MSi, Sukma W, MSi, and Dr. Ida Ruwaida as reviewer as well as analyst.
- 2 The Gubeng Sub-district was selected as a research site near the end of field data collection. The choice was made because field researchers had great difficulty collecting data in the field, particularly because of the great distance between research sites from the field research team's basecamp as well as the field research team's safety and security considerations due to the street robberies (begal), especially in the Wiyung Sub-district, and the great number of residents who refused to be interviewed on the topic of domestic workers (especially in the Tambaksari Sub-district).

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