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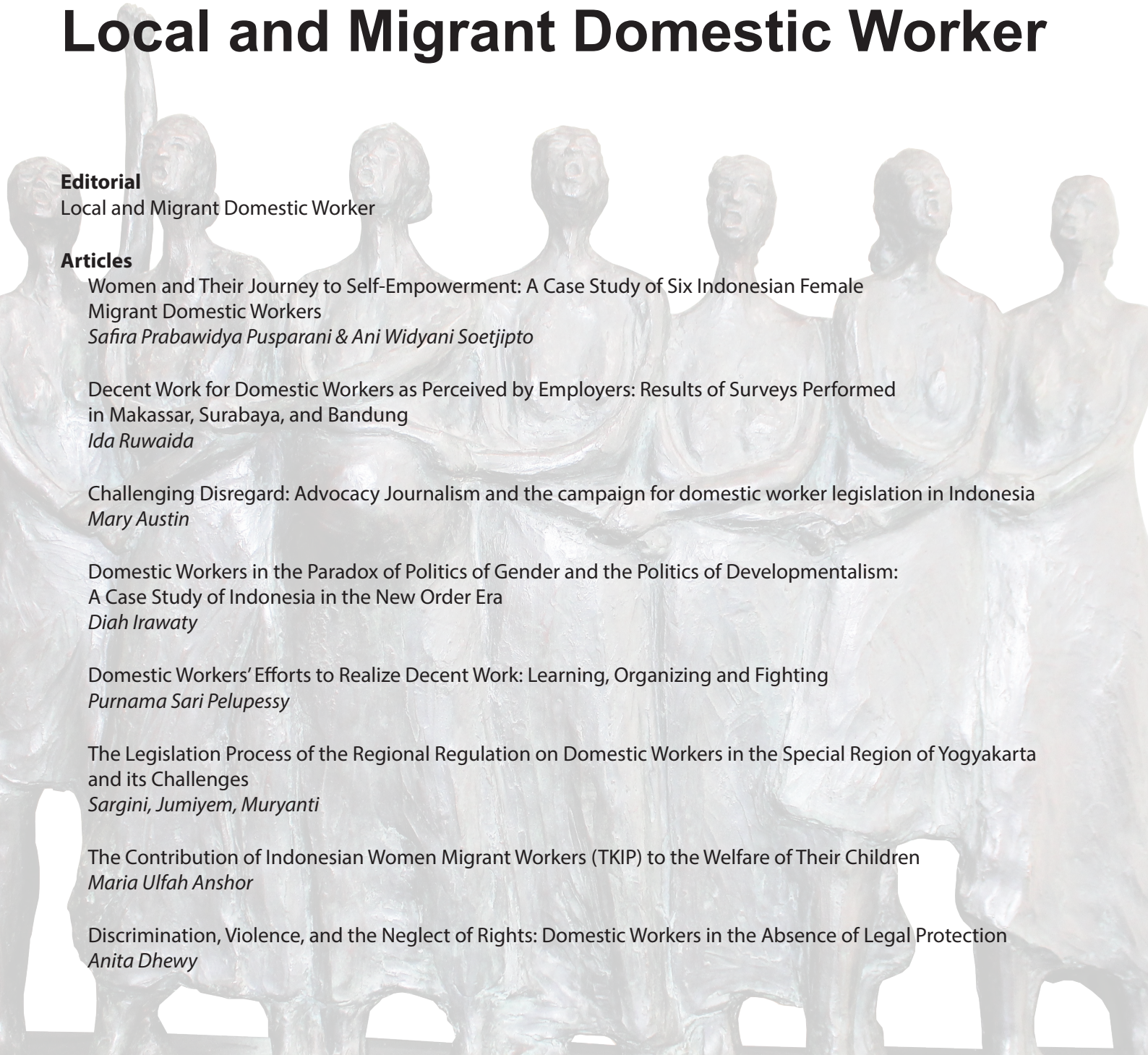
Local and Migrant Domestic Worker



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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**)

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Abstracts Sheet

Safira Prabawidya Pusparani & Ani Widyani Soetjipto (Department of International Relations Social and Political Science Faculty, Universitas Indonesia, Jawa Barat, Indonesia)

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

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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, Jumiyem, 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 relationhip 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

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DDC: 305

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

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Abstract

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

Introduction: Global Politics and Economy

Historian Laurie Sears (1996) in the preface of the phenomenal book she edited, titled *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia,* delivered harsh criticism against *The New York Times'* report published in September 1993 on the burgeoning of cheap labor in Indonesia, which ignored the discussion on women labor. Fact is, women labor, including domestic workers, is the most honest face of Indonesia's cheap labor. Sears's criticism reminds us how women are often forgotten in many analyses and development agendas in nearly every country, including in Indonesia. Domestic workers experience the multifold marginalization of their work and market value. The perception that domestic work is informal work and the feminization of domestic work are significant factors leading to the devaluation of domestic labor. Feminization naturalizes domestic work as women's work, work that can be done by all women naturally, is an inherent part of women's lives, and an easy job that does not require skills and training. In the end, the perception of domestic work performed by domestic labor as unskilled labor becomes a strong legitimization for marginalizing women labor in the analysis of development and labor. According to Phillips and Taylor (1980), the unskilled label attached to work seen as women's work is a political label applied based on an ideological category and sexual bias that are clearly influenced by the patriarchal relation that positions women in a subordinate position. Meanwhile, Pateman (1988) believes that a sexual division of labor creates work segregation based on gender and the feminization of housework, causing this type of work to be devalued. In the end, although the work has been commodified, it's still seen as having a low socioeconomic value and as "the dirty work" (Anderson 2000).

Domestic workers' workplace, the home, which is seen is a private domain, often serves as the basis to perceive domestic work not as real work (Romero 1992, Anggreni 2006; Irawaty 2011). As a result, domestic workers' rights may be simply neglected; furthermore, "they (domestic workers) do not have access to the legal system that regulates all types of work and social support systems, although these are within their rights" (Irawaty 2011, p. 45). The developmentalism, industrialization, and globalization agendas have pushed domestic work to transform into global work. But the development has not also transformed the work and the workers into work with socioeconomic value. Consequently, we often encounter contradictory situations: migrant workers, including domestic workers, are hailed as "foreign exchange" or national income hero but unacknowledged as formal workers and their rights as workers unprotected.

Especially in the New Order era, the Indonesian government applied an economic development politics that targeted women for involvement in the labor market to fulfill the demand for cheap labor. The stereotypes of women as obedient, subservient, meticulous, careful, diligent, undemanding and uncomplaining are manipulated to encourage (or force) them into becoming good workers, as factory labor or as domestic labor, which were indeed in demand as a result of various global developmentalism agendas. Many women from middle-to-high-income families have reaped benefits from the international division of reproductive labor (Parenas 2001) and the feminization of domestic workers by employing them as cheap labor, workers who are obedient and caring, who can be treated as if they were part of the family (fake kinship) (Enloe 1990; Anderson 2000; Irawaty 2011). This view, in fact, cloaks their horrid working conditions, which are rife with exploitation, low pay, not to mention they have to be on call 24 hours without clear lines in their working relationship with employers. Nevertheless, domestic workers, most of whom are women, are not always the victim; they also have agency, both as individuals and collectively, and can demonstrate that they have the power to resist, negotiate, and self-empower (Lan 2006; Enloe 1900; Constable 2007).

Lan studied the migration of women from the Philippines and Indonesia with an analysis of globalization, showing that the migration of women as domestic workers overseas is the result of a regional pattern (2006). Since 1970, East Asian and gulf countries experienced rapid development in its residents' economic welfare and living standards. This development created the demand for workers in the domestic sector, and women migrant workers were the primary answer to this demand. In the global context, domestic work is always tied to capitalism, globalization, and developmentalism. Constable (2007) stresses the importance of viewing the domestic work discourse historically, locally, and contextually in the framework of global capitalism. According to Constable, in the context of the Philippines, for example, colonialism, neocolonialism, corruption, and unemployment played an important role in turning the Philippines into the biggest exporting country for domestic workers. The Philippines developed a policy on labor export since Marcos's administration in the 1970s to address the problem of unemployment. Hong Kong's economy, which was experiencing rapid growth, gave Hong Kong women the opportunity to join the labor market and perform work that was done mostly by men. As a result, they could not perform what Hochschild and Machung call "the second shift," domestic work or housework (1989). In my analysis, under patriarchal norms, they have to perform a patriarchal bargain so that they can work without neglecting their children and family. They have to employ other, less fortunate women from lower economic strata, which were more "available" in developing countries such as Indonesia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and so on.

Something interesting happened in Indonesia in the New Order era. As a response to the migration of women to several Middle Eastern and Asian countries to work as domestic workers, the New Order administration created a policy that is, in fact, contradictory. On the one hand, Suharto implemented a gender ideology known as "state *ibuism*" (Suryakusuma 1996), the institutionalization of the dualistic traditional gender roles as well as the binary opposition that domesticates women and assigns husbands with the role of earner. The good woman is always portrayed as a domestic woman who performs activities at home, cares for the needs of her family and is obedient to her husband. These women are the pillars of the nation. Meanwhile, the "bad woman" is portrayed as the woman who performs activities in the public domain, pursues a career outside the home, neglects her husband and children, and is involved in politics. These women are threats to the nation. The government executes the state ibuism or maternalism ideology, which combines economic, political, and cultural elements rooted in the concepts and practices of the Javanese bourgeois and housewifization (Suryakusuma 1996).

On the other hand, Suharto applied economic developmentalism politics by encouraging women to participate in development and the labor force to fulfill both national and international demands for cheap labor and as earners for the country. The government encouraged women to migrate, both locally and internationally, as their participation and contribution to the country's economy. We can see that women domestic workers were trapped between the contradictions of gender politics and developmentalism politics of the new Order regime, which applied two different forms of gender politics that were in opposition. In this article, I wish to discuss the two following questions in regard to contradictions in the New Order's gender politics applied to domestic workers: (1) how did the state's gender ideology and politics and its developmentalism politics enforced on domestic workers contradict one another? (2) In what

particular ways did gender politics impact migrant domestic workers in her workplace?

Gender Politics and the Nationalist Project

The relationship between the state and women is often a difficult relationship. Women are an integral part of the nation-state building and nationalist project's agenda. Women's bodies become the subject and target of the forming of the national identity. Gender relations is utilized as an important aspect in constructing and creating "imagined communities," by treating women and men differently as citizens. One of the concepts that have to do with nationalism is "motherhood" or "maternalism." In the discourse on nationalism, motherhood is manipulated by emphasizing the involvement and contribution of women, as seen and written through their role as mothers. Women's identity has to run parallel with the state's nationalist and developmentalist project (Anderson 1991; Enloe 1990; Korteweg & Yurdakul 2014; Yuval-Davis 1997; Pateman 1988; Ahall 2012). Anthias and Yuval-Davis discussed several connections between the role of women and the consolidation project of countries, i.e.: (1) the reproductive role as the "primary source" of a nation's generational continuity, (2) the reproductive role as the producer of racial boundary between ethnic groups as the primary biological and racial markers of a nation, (3) the role of ethno-nationalism as a marker for differences in ethnic groups, and (4) as participants in economic and political struggles as well as in national defense.

The New Order administration applied gender politics to consolidate power through state ibuism, constructing women's role as the husband's extension and companion, the educator of children, the housewife, and as part of the large family of Indonesian society (Suryakusuma 1996). The state plays an important role in defining gender (and sexuality), and relating it to the nationalist project and developmentalism agenda. Suharto created an official narrative on how to become a good woman/wife/mother and what makes the opposite. This is part of Suharto's effort to apply state gender ideology (Blackburn 2004, p. 9). The concept of *kodrat* (nature) became the government's rhetoric and logic in regard to "the ideal wife and mother" for carrying out development tasks given by the government to support the husband, nurture and raise children to become good citizens (Blackburn 2004; Suryakusuma 1996). The state gender ideology was internalized as part of the duty and character of women, in accordance with the process of national development. The state often receives political support from religious groups, particularly Muslim groups, with a traditional interpretation and view of Islamic teachings such as marriage and familial relationships (Blackburn 2004; Robinson 2008).

According to Martyn (2005), women's sexuality and gender role are seen as a vital aspect in defining who gets to be excluded from the nation-country process, namely those who do not adhere to the formal narrative produced by the state. State gender ideology constructs the concept and values of motherhood and wifely tasks, or housewifization in Mies's concept (1982; 1998), producing social expectations of how women should behave and act, and how they should be treated. Work that is associated with women is seen as having no market value and is only subsistence work that is incompatible with and irrelevant to the market. Mies (1982) introduces the housewifization of labor and uses the concept to explain the segregation and subordination of humans based on a sexual division of labor—something that has occurred since colonialism, capitalism, and industrialization in third-world countries. Mies (1998) believes that the capitalist world's economic development depends on an international and sexual division of labor. This concept is important in analyzing the devaluing of housework performed by women. The concept Mies introduced is also useful to observe economic, political, and social injustices between the Global South and the Global North. Mies uses the idea of an international division of labor (IDL) to understand structural segregation, the vertical relationship between colonial power and countries that were once colonized.

Furthermore, Mies's idea can be applied to observe manipulation to elements that are said as women's nature, to reconstruct reproductive and domestic work as inherently the work of women to benefit a patriarchal world (also see Enloe 1990). With IDL, we can comprehend why women labor from developing countries, either economically and politically, do not have a high market value and are always categorized as cheap labor. Parrenas (2015) demonstrates a similar view, that migrant women labor working as domestic workers involved in an international division of reproductive labor, namely women of color and working class women, have become the commodity of middle-upper class women who can buy and enjoy their services while paying low wages. In my opinion, women employers from the middle-upper classes and from developed countries have the ability to "exploit" working class women from developing country such as the

Philippines, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and even Indonesia. The idea of IDL and the international reproductive division of labor goes hand in hand with the stereotypical labeling of women as cheap labor, as subservient, undemanding, obedient, and accepting [of fate]. Women are seen as natural resources that can be exploited as property by capitalists and by patriarchy (Boserup 1970; Anderson 2000). This is one of the causes of the devaluing, discrimination, violence, and exploitation of domestic workers (Enloe 1990; Boserup 1970; Parrenas 2015; Lim & Oishi 1996; Yamanaka & Piper 2005).

Since the New Order government began encouraging women's participation in national development, the state claimed that it has afforded women with the opportunity for emancipation and empowerment by providing them jobs so that they can be cash earners and career women. The New Order regime produced a discourse on women's role in development as part of its mobilization and control of women, including of their involvement in various associations or organizations. Suharto constructed the motherhood and wifedom ideologies as women's primary role and duty in the family, society, and nation-state building. Suharto propagandized the concepts of the nuclear family and motherhood at the same time as he propagandized the idea of women's natural fate as mothers and wives (Blackwood 2005).

The state applied biological determinism and women's essentialism to build a natural perception on women's role due to anatomical and functional differences of the wife and mother in performing housework. Biological determinism affected the devaluing of women's work by assuming that housework is naturally an inherent part of the woman's body and life. In this way, domestic workers experienced feminization. The state homogenized an apolitical view on the relationship between society and the state by creating an official narrative that must be adhered to by all citizens. I see contradictions between the New Order's political ideas and practices. On the one hand, the state implements gender ideology by propagandizing the traditional gender norms of the value and idea of the good wife and mother, who is always responsible over domestic affairs. On the other hand, the state created policies to encourage and open opportunities for women to participate in development, in the widest scope possible, as their part and contribution in nation-state building—in this case by agreeing to become cheap labor.

Grijns (1987) believes that views and concepts on women and men have become part of the ideology of certain societies and states, and explains that the participation of Indonesian women in the government's development program was hoped to serve as a secondary role, which comes after their duty as wives and mothers. To participate in development, women must complete all domestic work at home. I believe that this was then made as an excuse to give women what Hochshild and Machung call "the second shift" or "multiple burden" as members of society, citizens, wives, mothers, children, and workers if they work (2012). They have to be "all in one," balancing these roles and assuming responsibility of something occurs within the family, society, and even in the country.

The situation mentioned above cannot be implemented to migrant women workers, especially domestic workers, because they're faced with the experience of transnational families, meaning they are separated from their families and therefore cannot fulfill women's double role. In the meantime, the state describes them as national heroes or earning heroes although the state cannot provide them with protection, neither in their own country nor the country where they work. This contradiction is important to discuss, to see how the duty of women's double role, based on the state's traditional gender ideology, does not apply to domestic workers who work for the sake of bring their earnings into the country. Women domestic workers with children usually surrender the caring of their child to family, with the compensation of the occasional remittance for the needs of their children and other needs of the family, such as electronic devices, home building or home improvement, motorized vehicle, etc. (Irawati 2016). As I mentioned before, these women were seen as earning heroes, but societal stigma and even stigma from the family that these women were not good wives and mothers were often attached to them because they left their families and children for the sake of working overseas. In the meantime, the state did not assume responsibility and does not intervene in the face of these stigmas, paradoxes, and dilemmas faced by women domestic workers. Instead the state allowed the women to face these [hardships] on their own. The fundamental question that I'm putting forward is: why didn't the government strictly apply its maternal gender politics to women domestic workers and instead encouraged them to deviate from and violate their role and duties as good wives and mothers for the family, and good women in society, in line with the narrative officially constructed by the state?

One of the forms of state gender politics is also evident when the state produced political propaganda that stigmatized Gerwani (the Indonesian Women's Movement) portrayed as an actor in the murder of seven generals in the September 1965 movement. Gerwani was portrayed as part of and as affiliated with the Indonesian Communist Party. This effort to subdue Gerwani, the most progressive women's movement in Indonesia since the country's independence from the Dutch and the Japanese. Gerwani members fought for equal rights for men and women labor. They also fought against polygamy and land appropriation by the government, were active and vocal in women's issues along with farmer and farm labor groups as well as urban women to discuss the everyday lives and issues of women. They also produced efforts in literacy programs for women, implemented land reform, and worked for humanitarian issues, including by becoming leaders or political and public figures (Wieringa 1992; 2002; 2003; 2011).

The government, under the Suharto administration, considered progressive women's movements as threats and terrors to the nation, and had to be silenced and subdued so that the state can freely produce dominant narratives to perpetuate its power and to receive public support so that it can control its citizens by homogenizing their voices and making them apolitical: not showing protest, uncomplaining, and especially uncritical of the government, as being critical would have earned them the subversive label. Not one individual was allowed to confront government policies. The voice of the government had to also be the voice of the people. To ensure that the citizens only had one voice, the government launched propaganda on the status, role, and duties of women so that its power would not be threatened, by stigmatizing the Gerwani as "bad women." Foucault's concepts of governmentality, biopolitics and biopower are important for seeing situations where the state seems to have authority and freedom to control, discipline, and punish its citizens who do not satisfy the government's narrative and expectations (1995). These citizens are labeled as prostitutes, rebels, cruel and violent women, wanton women, and bad wives and mothers, so that they must be eradicated. This is what I mean by part of the government's propaganda and the gender and sexual politics of the New Order government, which have impacted the way we think, and are very hard to erase and have become something of a historical truth. The negative portrayal of the Gerwani has become a dominant historical narrative. To the government, women may be involved in organization, but not organizations like Gerwani, but rather those that support the role of women as good wives, mothers and women—organizations such as the Family Welfare Movement (PKK), as the state's spokespeople in implementing the motherhood and wifehood ideologies.

Wieringa describes the PKK's role as an extension and as a bridge of the state as well as part of the state itself (1992). PKK promotes the state's gender ideology and sexual politics through the Panca Dharma Wanita, or as the husband's loyal companion, household managers, educators and producers of the nation's generations, as extra earners, members of the society, and useful citizens. These roles must be carried out in line with women's natural fate, constructed as the obedient wife who serves the husband, as the good mother, and as the obedient daughter (Wieringa 1992). Women should not become wanton, active, or lesbians, and wild sexually, and should not violate morals (Peletz 2012; Wieringa 1992; 2002; 2003; 2011). The good woman is a woman who is in complete disagreement with the Gerwani. New Order's stigmatization of Gerwani succeeded because many Indonesian women were silent, apolitical, domesticated, conquered, and uncritical of the government. They experienced historical amnesia. Indonesian women internalized the historical narrative produced by the government and even participated and played a role in spreading this historical "fiction." They naturalized women's role and planted hatred toward Gerwani, known as a women's group who played a role that violated the state's expectations, campaigns, and propaganda (Irawaty 2016). I believe that the government employed the politics of divide between women so that they would deal judgment upon groups of women who are progressive and more active and vocal toward the government's discriminative and not women-friendly policies, as well as in fighting a corrupt government—as well as they who were critical of the state's gender and political ideologies.

Industrialization, Developmentalism and Neoliberalism

Indonesia has experienced a modern industrialization process since the 1960s and Suharto declared himself as the Father of Development to create the image that he truly cares about Indonesia's development for the country's advancement and to improve the lives of its citizens. During his 32-year leadership, Suharto was the primary promoter of developmentalism and the modernization of the economy (Eklof 1999). His

administration is based on the commitment to the trilogy rhetoric of development, equality, and stability (Hill & Mackie 1994). Suharto created the state-nation building model based on the concept and symbol of the family, along with familial values, to make people believe that they are part of the Indonesian family (Vatikiotis 1998), as part of the mode of the control of power. The oil boom in the mid-1970s gave the government access to financial resources, which gave the government the position and power to control and build the country's economy and politics based on the politics of exchange and trade, where economic rewards were exchanged with the political loyalty of citizens (Eklof 1999). Suharto claimed his regime and legitimized his government through an economic development propaganda (Murphy 1999). Indonesia's economy was built on the foundation of growth and developments in oil exports, apart from rice production in the agriculture sector. Oil prices experienced a collapse in 1986 at the same time the rupiah experienced a devaluation, causing a decrease in revenue, which then forced the government to accept structural adjustment loans offered by the IMF and World Bank. As a result, Indonesia had to adhere to trade and market policies, which had to be ready to be prescribed by international agents as part of the agreement for receiving loans.

When oil prices experienced a drastic decline, Indonesia's economic growth slowed down in the early 1980s, and of course this negative impacted Indonesia's economic development as well as the progress of its citizens' welfare. The country experienced slow development and growth, an increase in unemployment, a decline in investment and trade, piled up debts, and fiscal challenges for the government (Van Zanden 2012; Thorbecke 1992; Thee 2002). Indonesia lost its most crucial source of revenue—oil—because of the decline in oil prices throughout the mid-1980s (Riwanto 1999). This impacted the country negatively and on a massive scale. This loss of an important revenue directed the government to shift the direction of power to technocracy that supports export strategies and promotes low industrial technology as well as low wages, such as textile, concurrently with liberalization, investment, and industrialization (Murphy 1999).

Industrialization relies on human resources, particularly the availability of labor. Since the 1970s, the availability of labor in the manufacturing sector experienced a decline caused by the concentration of industry in urban regions, opening opportunities for job seekers in the sector (Donges, Stecher & Wolter 1974). Following a decline in oil prices, the government shifted its economic strategy and development agenda toward industrialization that was oriented toward export under free trade (Thee 2002; Soegijoko 1993) by following a neoliberal rationale. The government began improving its capacity to compete internationally through the export of non-oil-and-gas commodities (Thee 2002). In this period of time, the government's alternative was to export labor, particularly women labor, as a shortcut and a quick way to save Indonesia from a crisis. According to Hugo, the number of women migrant labor working overseas experienced a pretty significant increase since 1983 (Hugo 1995). Women were "sacrificed" to "rescue" the nation from economic devaluation by demanding them to fulfill their role and duties as women citizens, as a form of their nationalism and patriotism, although this violated the state's gender ideology. Industrial growth based on the development of "modern" companies oriented toward export encouraged women to leave traditional modes of production such as handicraft and agricultural work, to work in factories or manufacturing companies (Wolf 1993) or overseas as migrant workers, particularly domestic workers. These two sectors are perceived as unskilled labor; these women had to endure heavy work with low wages, long hours, the absence of health insurance and social security, among others (Irawaty 2011).

Apart from the industrialization pattern and the government's encouragement, another reason women migrated to urban areas to work in factories or overseas was the green Revolution, causing women to lose their jobs in the agriculture sector. The green revolution was initiated in the 1960s through a mass intensification program under Suharto, as a project inherited from the previous president. This process seized women's work in the agriculture sector as the government replaced traditional farming equipment with more cutting edge equipment and technologies (Wolf 1993, p. 136), causing women to be marginalized because they did not master these equipment and could not use them. Access to information and knowledge on how to use these equipment was also far from the authority of women. Women were actively marginalized and became marginalized. The use of technology and machinery was the government's strategy for better productivity.

Since the collapse of oil prices, Indonesia had to think hard to find ways to solve the economic predicament, among others by sending women labor overseas. In Suharto's era, the country and citizens were symbolized by the family. Because of this, women had to assume

responsibility over problems of the country so that the needs of their families, particularly their children—the children of the nation—could be fulfilled, as well as to boost state earnings through remittances. It was women who were pushed to work as cheap labor as a way to reduce unemployment, poverty and alleviate the economy crisis. Sassen calls the placing of responsibility on women's shoulders as "the feminization of survival" (2004, p. 258). The New Order regime encouraged and even demanded women to fully participate in national development projects on the pretext of giving women the opportunity to be more independent, emancipative, and liberative both socially and economically. But at the same time, women had to adhere to the nationalist and developmentalist image and narrative propagandized by the state (Enloe 1990; Korteweg & Yurdakul 2014; Yuval-Davis 1997; Pateman 1988; Ahall 2012). The state propagandized two policies in regard to gender politics: participation in development as well as serving as good mothers and wives, who would always be home to perform housework, care for the children, and serve their husband.

The Developmentalist Agenda and the Export of Women Domestic Workers

According to Lindquist (2010, p. 119), international migration became a quite important element and a potential strategy for national development in Indonesia since the early 1980s, both for the expansion of labor market as well as access to foreign capital. The government sent women migrant workers as domestic workers to several destination countries such as Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan and Hong Kong. The government even permitted private agencies from Saudi Arabia to directly recruit workers from Indonesia (Lindquist 2010, p. 119). Aside from remittances, the government also received economic benefits via intermediary agents and even government institutions for making arrangements, recruiting, and "distributing" labor. Brokers or recruitment agents were part of the government's system and structure, or the state-sponsored patronage system (Lindquist 2010, p. 117).

Suharto utilized ideas on modernism and national development to control women so that they would become obedient, uncritical and unrebellious citizens, and even supporters of the government. To this end, it was necessary to control wives and mothers so that they would be loyal toward the government, by employing the state's gender ideology of the good woman who plays her role as a good mother and wife (Pateman 1988; Enloe 1990). Women became the disciplinary targets of their husbands, fathers, and if they worked, of their employers, through their bodies and energy as labor. Yeates (2014) used Wallerstein and Smith's study (1992) in analyzing the modern industrialization process that benefitted the country, the local patriarchal structure, and the informal system for labor relations. Yates emphasized that in global industrialization, women experience a "super" exploitation compared to men labor. In the commodity chain of developing countries, women labor are the most exploited in the international division of labor or the international reproductive division of labor.

According to Postel-Coster (1993), the Indonesian government attempted to show a political commitment to raising the living conditions of women by turning them into development tools, and not just the recipients of development's benefits. But, in the process, women were excluded in all decision-making in regard to development plans and execution. Since the 1970s, women have been seen only as human resources that must be integrated into development. Women's role is seen as part of their contribution to the family, society, and country to serve and service the state through the development process. As part of women's role in development, which was seemingly granted by the state, women had to support state policies and regulations, such as the state gender ideology, in campaigning for women's role as good wives and mothers. Several national women's organizations, for example Dharma Wanita and PKK, supported government policy in regard to women's duties, particularly concerning their reproductive function (Postel-Coster 1993).

Remittances from migrant labor working overseas were the country's important source of income. Indonesia became one of the most significant labor exporting country in Asia, and the practice was part of Indonesia's labor policy as stated in the Five-Year Development Plan (Repelita) and the Long-Term Development Plan (RPKP) (Rudnyckyj 2004; Hugo 1995). Indonesia became one of the world's largest migrant labor exporting countries, with an estimated 2.6 of its citizens working overseas (Rudnyckyj 2004). Rudnyckyj quoted 2001-2004 Minister of Transmigration and Manpower Jacob Nuwawea's statement in the Jakarta Post: "The government will continue to focus on two strategies in addressing unemployment, namely exporting domestic workers and maximizing home industries" (Nuwawea cited in Rudnyckyz 2004, p. 409). Migrant workers were a crucial element in alleviating

poverty and the high unemployment rate, with the unemployed estimated to reach 40 million.

Abdul Latief, also a minister of manpower in Suharto's era, stressed that the idea to export domestic workers was his ministry's input and contribution to Repelita VI (Five-Year Development Plan IV) (1994-199) and the second long-term development plan (PJPT 1994-2018). The "Labor Services Export" program had six priorities, i.e.: (1) the labor export program was part of the national labor agenda, (2) the need for a mechanism so that labor exports can truly benefit the country to the maximum, (3) the need to create a decent mechanism for recruiting labor, (4) the need to provide protection for migrant labor, (5) the need to create regulations concerning recruitment, training, placement, and returning migrant labor to the country, and (6) the aim to increase the number of migrant labor in formal sectors and to decrease labor in informal sectors in stages until the end of Repelita VI (Hugo 1995). The government had set the target to send 1.25 million women migrant workers in Repelita VI, a demand that is quite high compared to men migrant workers in 1983-1995. The majority of these women worked as domestic workers in the Middle East, Malaysia, Singapore, and Hong Kong.

Indonesia established the Indonesian Manpower Supply Association (IMSA), a labor recruitment agency licensed by the manpower ministry to serve as a broker or intermediary between workers and destination countries, to create regulations on migrant labor working in the Middle East in 1981. During this period, Indonesia had a labor surplus and migration was one way to solve this problem, according to Repelita (1984/1985-1988/1989). The plan aimed to send 225 thousand workers overseas—a pretty clear and evident economic strategy by promoting the export of women domestic workers to reduce poverty, unemployment, and as a temporary national solution (Tirtosudarmo 1999; Loveband 2006; Gutierrez-Rodriguez 2014). This also benefitted the country, from the foreign exchange and remittances sent by these migrant workers, and was a way to emerge from a crisis caused by the collapse of oil prices. Huge profits were also gained by brokers and migrant labor recruitment agencies, whose businesses boomed.

The growing number of domestic workers became a business for recruiters and the state, who exploited their vulnerability both as workers and women. They became the target of violence and fraud, and exploitation at every stage in the migration process. They could also be set up to be illegal workers (undocumented migrants) (Abdul Rahman 2005). They had to wait for quite a long time before they were placed in employer's home, while in the meantime they kept paying the recruiter or broker to cover their board and accommodation. Many studies criticized the Indonesian government who failed to create specific policies for protecting workers overseas. Indonesia was often seen as a weak country, with no courage and power, particularly in negotiations for the needs of bilateral cooperation (Abdul-Rahman 2005).

The Indonesian government did not have the political will to resolve the problems of exploitation, discrimination, and violence against Indonesian migrant labor, especially domestic workers in destination countries. Instead, the government focused more on the benefits gained. One effective strategy used by the government was to seduce them by calling them earning heroes, making it seem as if they were revered heroes and showing that the government did care for them and respect them. But, in fact, the strategy was meant to beguile them and allow them to remain without legal protection. This concept was used as a tool to manipulate the consciousness of women from the regions who had become domestic workers, apart from promoting the idea of national responsibility and nationalism.

Loveband (2006) also proposed a similar analysis on the exploitation of migrant domestic workers' vulnerability, by hailing them as earning heroes or remittance heroes, who are seeking work overseas through the government's labor recruiter. Meanwhile, these workers have to pay an amount of money taken from their pay to cover the cost for "training"—a requirement from agencies and the government, although the training program is often simply a formality. Loveband also shows why domestic workers often experience double exploitation. Elmhirst points out the issue of contradiction by arguing that the planners of national development have the tendency to turn migrant workers into domestic workers who can take part and participate in the government's development project while keeping them "invisible" in policy-making (2006). They are not treated as formal workers, but rather the work is seen as a set of informal economic activities, which are not included in labor surveys and unprotected in labor legislation.

Suharto had a liberal development planning, namely "women-in-development," which encourages women to take part in the labor market, development process, and national development project (Elmhirst 1999). But married women of course could not simply be freed from their duties as wives, especially those with

children. They were expected to become "super moms" who can assume multiple roles, if they did not wish to be stigmatized and vilified by society and to deviate from the mainstream as well as the state's narrative. Naturally, many women found it difficult to balance work and family. The society and the government had succeeded in reproducing and spreading guilty feelings among women who had to leave their children for work, because these women were and are seen as being neglectful of their children and husband by prioritizing work. They had and have to bear stigma from the society, family members, friends, kin, and the media. Encouraging women to work overseas and leave their families violates the state's gender ideology of motherhood, state *ibuism* or state maternalism, and wifeism. The government did not assume responsibility on the dilemma faced by women migrant workers, especially as one of their duties as household workers is to care for their employer's children, while they voluntarily leave their children to earn money in another country. The government created the paradox and contradiction. When it comes to the affairs of national economic development, the government applied double standards toward the politics of gender at work, as if it was not an issue when migrant workers did not care for their families as campaigned by the government. But on the other hand, the government did not intervene when these workers were vilified and mocked for leaving their families. They were also hailed as earning heroes, but they were also unprotected as workers, as women, and even as citizens. If a woman participates in development as part of the government agenda by working as a migrant domestic worker, according to the traditional gender ideology campaigned for by the government, the woman must "neglect" her family, children and husband and cannot complete her domestic duties and care for her family as expected by the government and the government's agenda.

According to Manderson (1983), Indonesia's concept of modernization comes from Western countries that restrict women's emancipation and participation in the public domain, causing women to lose control and autonomy over herself and their power to be continuously dictated and controlled by the government and global capitalism, including their labor, sexuality, bodies, as well as attitudes and behavior, so that they would become good wives and mothers. Since the beginning, modernization, industrialization and the development process were always oriented directly toward an economic development that has always seen everything as a commodity, property that benefits the country's economy and toward technocrats and the upper-middle class, groups that support and conspire with the government. Soegijoko (1993, p. 69) argues that the primary objective of including economic development in Indonesia's national plan was to increase national production, achieve a quick growth and expansion of labor, and control the population through the family planning program. The crisis that followed the decline in oil prices, as well as the Asian crisis that dealt a blow to Indonesia, caused Indonesia to be sink deep. Structural Adjustment Programs as complete packages offered by neoliberalism, in the form of loans from the IMF and World Bank, caused the society to suffer from debts, privatization, and the reduction of public subsidies. Migrant labor, particularly women, were seen as a panacea, as Sasses points out—as a way to produce profit, a way out of the country's problems and economic predicament, as well as to produce remittances (2004, p. 258). Sassen argues that this method became a popular method for countries who wish to end financial problems, crises, and enact development, causing what she calls as the "feminization of survival," meaning many families, households, communities, and even countries rely on women's efforts to survive, endure and continue on with their lives.

Conclusion

For around 32 years, Suharto built solid power by implementing two strategies: political stabilization, followed by developmentalism. The politics of gender (and sexuality) played an important role in Suharto's political stabilization, namely by promoting and campaigning for the traditional gender ideology of maternalism, known as state *ibuism* or maternalism. Suharto produced a social, political, and cultural image of the ideal womanhood and motherhood: a woman who stays at home to educate and care for her children, tend to their household, tend to the needs of her husband and family, and is obedient to her husband. Women were seen as pillars of the nation, with the duty to create and prepare the nation's best generations. They who left the house, neglect these domestic duties, and participate in public and political work, would be labeled as bad women, women who were unworthy of being seen as examples, not to mention a threat to the nation and country.

But Suharto also applied another kind of gender politics to support his developmentalist project, one that contradicted his traditional maternal gender politics. After the boom in construction and manufacturing

industries in several large cities such as Jakarta, Bandung and Medan, Suharto began encouraging and supporting women to leave home to work as cheap labor, for the sake of his industrialization agenda for the nation. Through the very same gender propaganda, he also encouraged women to actively participate in the labor market, to contribute to development of the country and nation. In the end, domestic migration opened the door to international migration, both of which were supported by the state. Many women, especially those from the rural regions, rode the wave of international migration and chose to work overseas—for example in the Middle East and the more developed Asian countries—as domestic workers for quite lucrative salaries, despite having to part with family members. Suharto supported and campaigned for women's migration or the program to export cheap women labor because his administration was able to reap significant economic profits, which in turned "salvaged" his developmentalist agenda, not to mention the country from economic crisis and hardship.

Suharto's two models of gender politics, as described above, turned women into targets for subordination in the government's political agenda. But, in many cases, this instead became blessings in a disguise. The political propaganda invited a response by women, which emphasized gender awareness and sensitivity by viewing Indonesian women as not always the passive target of the state's gender politics. To respond the government's traditional maternalism or ibuism, several women's groups promoted progressive motherhood, which contains the idea that "the personal is political." Some women may choose and decide to remain at home, but at the same time they may also play an important political role. Meanwhile, the experience of being a migrant woman was crucial for domestic workers, as a self-empowering experience in various aspects: personal, social, political, economy, religious, and cultural. They were not simply passive, permissive and silent victims who did nothing about the exploitation, discrimination and violence they often experienced, as described by various media and even in studies—rather, they were able to show agency, power, and resistance in their respective methods and strategies, both as individuals and collectively. To women migrant labor, gender politics is good for political stability, and some parts of the developmentalism project were not submissive experiences, but rather experiences of empowerment and agency.

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