

## The Lack of Industry and State Support: Care Work for Women Factory and Home-Based Workers

**Didit Saleh<sup>1</sup>, Nitya Swastika<sup>2</sup>, & Rizky Amalia Fatikhah<sup>3</sup>**

Trade Union Rights Centre  
Jalan Kompleks Batan Nomor 1, Pasar Minggu, South Jakarta, DKI Jakarta 12520<sup>1,2,&3</sup>

didit@turc.or.id<sup>1</sup>, kiki@turc.or.id<sup>2</sup>, & nitya@turc.or.id<sup>3</sup>

Manuscript Chronology: received 12 November 2023, revised 15 November 2023, accepted 23 December 2023

### Abstract

This article aims to delineate the systemic challenges and discrimination faced by women workers in the footwear and home-based industries, both in terms of working conditions and caregiving responsibilities. The findings of this study were obtained through in-depth interviews with women workers in three footwear factories in Banten Province and home-based workers in North Jakarta. The experiences of these women workers were analyzed within two interrelated domains: the realm of production and social reproduction. The research reveals that women workers, both in factories and home-based settings, face a dual burden, striving to meet high production targets while also bearing the responsibilities of caregiving. Specifically, women home-based workers are more vulnerable to health risks compared to factory workers due to the lack of separation between their workplace and living spaces. The study also uncovers that women workers in both factory and home-based settings encounter economic violence, as their caregiving work goes unpaid and lacks support from the government and the industry.

Keywords: women factory workers, women home workers, care work

### Introduction

A number of studies reveal that women workers often face various forms of discrimination. For example, Teri L. Caraway (2005) writes that women workers experience differentiation due to the dichotomy of men and women that results in the type of work they do. Another study, for example, describes discriminatory practices against women workers in the implementation of menstrual leave due to gender bias that then influences menstrual leave policies (Istakhori 2017). In terms of Occupational Health and Safety (OHS), previous studies have tended to focus on occupational accidents and illnesses affecting only male workers (Greenberg & Dement 1994). This very limited focus has led to the neglect of women workers in the context of OSH. The existence of studies that ignore the role of women workers in industry is often due to the fact that the studies focus on certain sectors, such as mining and oil processing, which are predominantly occupied by male workers. As a result, existing data and studies give the impression that the impact of occupational diseases on women workers is virtually unknown.

Another form of discrimination takes the form of the lack of identification of women's occupations in official government data collection. For example, a study by Semenciw et al. (1993) found that working women

in Canada were not recognised as farmers. Only their husbands were identified as farmers, despite the fact that the women were actively engaged in agricultural work. This situation shows that the absence of women from the world of work is often not reflected in official data. This means that the voices of women workers from the grassroots are often not heard.

According to Todaro (in Herlina 2016), in terms of labour market opportunities, women are also more vulnerable than men to obtaining decent work. They systematically find themselves in lower positions and are paid less than male workers, even when both have the same and similar job positions. A number of studies have examined this disparity, showing that female workers tend to earn, on average, 67 per cent of the wages received by male workers for the same type of work (Armstrong 1993). This significant wage gap reflects not only economic inequality, but also the gender gap that often exists in the world of work (Herlina 2016).

To make matters worse, women also face more restrictions in terms of job flexibility. They are more likely to choose part-time work and companies are more likely to employ them on a contract or temporary basis (Amalia & Saleh 2020). This trend in choice has implications for women workers, who often lack adequate employment

protection and social security. Moreover, these restrictions put women at a disadvantage in terms of long-term job security and financial sustainability, and put them at greater risk of labour market vulnerability. This phenomenon also creates inequalities in career opportunities and access to promotions in the workplace, resulting in persistent gender inequality in various industrial sectors (Herlina 2016).

In the context of the textile, garment, shoe and leather industry (TGSL), the number of women workers in this industry is generally very dominant compared to other industries (ILO 2022). Statistically, the number of female workers in the sector is 80 per cent higher than the number of male workers (Better Work 2021). However, the total number of women employed in the TGSL industry creates an illusion of progress in terms of gender participation and equality in the workforce, and exposes some harsh realities that are often overlooked. Women in this industry often face double pressures. Not only are they pressured by high targets in the factory, but they also have to carry the burden of care work at home (Saleh et al. 20-23; Saptari & Holzner 2016; Fraser 2016). Care work is often not seen as part of work because domestic work does not generate wages, making women's work invisible. This situation shows that working women face a significant imbalance between the space of production and the space of social reproduction.

Furthermore, Saptari and Holzner (2016) found that ideological factors at both the state and household levels influence the types of work assigned to men and women. There is a stereotype that domestic work is women's work. Domestic work, such as cooking, cleaning, laundry, and childcare, is seen as a type of skill that women have acquired at home. As such, women do not need specialised education or skills to perform these tasks (Saptari & Holzner 2016). Citing Nancy Fraser's concept of social reproduction (2016), in social reproduction women are responsible for tasks that are considered women's work, such as giving birth and raising children, caring for friends and family, maintaining the household and wider community, and maintaining relationships in general.

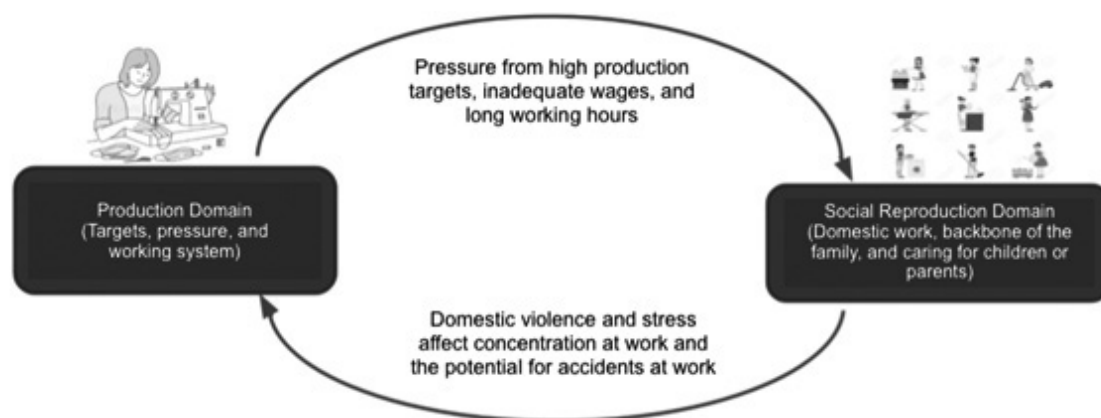
The main reason why the TGSL industry is more likely to employ women is that they can be paid low wages and are not considered to be the main breadwinners in the family, especially when compared to husbands or men. The TGSL industry is also identified with work

traditionally associated with women, such as sewing. This work is often done at home or in the area of social reproduction (Caraway 2005). In addition, capital sees the provision of wages to women in factories as a form of "favour", not as a right. Another reason is closely related to the assumption that women are easier to subjugate or organise and suppress than men.

Critically, it is important to recognise that unpaid domestic work performed by women workers in the realm of social reproduction has a huge impact on the economy as a whole. Feminist economists emphasise that understanding the economy should include not only material production but also aspects of unpaid work, such as cooking and other care work (Elson 2010). These two aspects, material production and social reproduction, are interrelated and mutually supportive. Social reproduction is key to sustaining life by providing the labour necessary for material production. Conversely, material production provides the necessary resources to support the work of social reproduction.

Based on the above narrative, the framework of this study adopts and develops a gender analysis approach to examine the conditions of women factory and home-based workers in the footwear sector. In this industry, women workers are often involved in two main domains: production and social reproduction. The production domain includes work in footwear factories, where women are involved in various stages of the product, from cutting and sewing materials to the shipping process. On the other hand, social reproduction involves women workers in domestic work, including childcare, cooking, cleaning, and other activities that support daily life.

The framework of this study not only positions women as workers, but also considers their role in the broader social structure (Saleh et al. 2023). By understanding the linkages between the production and social reproduction domains, this study can provide a more comprehensive picture of the experiences of women workers in the context of the footwear industry. It is hoped that this approach will provide a deeper understanding of the challenges faced by women workers. Figure 1 illustrates the framework of this study as a circle graph, showing the close interrelationship between the production and social reproduction domains of women workers in the industry.



**Figure 1. Gender analysis framework**

Source: Processed by the authors from observation

The framework of this study also applies to home-based workers. However, the key difference lies in the circumstances of the workplace. While formal workers have a factory as their designated workplace, home-based workers carry out their work in their own homes (Saleh et al. 2023). Home-based workers as one of the case studies adds a new element to previous studies as it aims to compare the conditions of women workers in factories and home-based workers in the realm of production and social reproduction.

### Research Methodology

This study uses feminist research methodology because of its close connection to women's experiences and their sensitivity in expressing these experiences. This approach places women as the subject of study. In addition, this methodology aims to respond to the needs of women as workers both in the workplace and in trade unions (Naples 2007).

The data collected in this study was of two types. Firstly, primary data was collected through observation and in-depth interviews with 20 respondents in each factory. The informants in the study came from a range of actors, including women workers from different departments in the factory, union officials, and home-based workers. The fieldwork also included observing the living environment of the informants to understand the economic and surrounding conditions. Secondly, secondary data was obtained by reviewing various literature sources, including books, academic journal articles, mass media news, and other relevant documents. Additional data was collected through focus group discussions with the Indonesian Footwear Association (*Aprisindo*), the

Ministry of Manpower, Occupational Safety and Health (OSH) practitioners, Tangerang City and Serang Regency Manpower Offices, Banten Provincial Labour Inspector, *Komnas Perempuan*, *Jaringan Pekerja Rumahan Indonesia (JPRI)*, as well as partner unions at the factory, district, and national levels.

Case studies on formal workers were conducted in two factories in Serang Regency and one factory in Tangerang City, all in Banten Province. Several factors influenced the selection of these factories as study sites. Firstly, two of the three factories were selected because they produce well-known brands and have a significant share of export-oriented footwear orders, ranging from 25 per cent to 60 per cent. Secondly, these three factories belong to the tier-one category, which means that they receive orders directly from brands. Finally, these three factories employ a significant number of workers, ranging from 7,000 to 50,000.

On the other hand, the case study for informal workers was conducted in North Jakarta, DKI Jakarta Province, with the subject of the study being home-based workers. There were two reasons for choosing this location and home-based workers as the case study. Firstly, home-based workers in North Jakarta have long been involved in the production of certain footwear components, mainly for the domestic market, for a considerable period of time. In addition, the selection of this research subject is in line with the theoretical account of the challenges faced by women workers not only in the production domain, but also in the social and reproductive domains. Secondly, it is an effort to compare study findings, especially regarding the level of vulnerability among women workers in the formal and informal sectors.

## Care Work: The Dynamics of Female Factory and Home-based Workers

Women, who work in the formal sector, such as in factories where they earn minimum wage and are unable to hire full-time domestic workers, are not completely exempt from the responsibility of care work in the social reproduction domain. Childcare, cooking, and other care work are often not economically counted (Dhewy 2018). This work, mostly performed by women workers, plays a crucial role in the industrial supply chain, particularly in the TGSL industry. Nancy Fraser (2016) critically underlines that domestic work or care work drives the economic wheels of capitalism. Working women provide the productive labour that is the foundation of the capitalist economic system. Ironically, capitalism itself forces women into a double role by failing to recognise their vital contribution to reproductive labour.

The findings of the study were based on female formal workers in three factories in Banten Province. Although they work in three factories and earn wages, their spouses or husbands do not automatically take on the responsibility and role of doing care work when their husbands are unemployed. It was not uncommon for the spouses of women workers to act as drivers to pick up their wives, and even childcare was “entrusted” to other family members, such as parents. Even more extreme, there are working women who have to leave their children in nurseries, and these costs have to be paid out of their income or wages even though their wages are only the minimum wage. This phenomenon, in Fraser’s perspective (2016), is referred to as a “crisis of care”.

An interesting phenomenon of social reproduction is experienced not only by women workers in the formal sector, such as in the factories of the TGSL industry, but also by women workers in the informal sector. This study found that women home-based workers in North Jakarta are different from women factory workers, although they may produce similar goods, such as footwear. The difference lies in the circumstances of the workplace. Women home-based workers work on the production of footwear at home, even though the raw materials come from the factory. This type of work system is commonly referred to as the Putting Out System (POS), i.e., there is an intermediary in this industrial chain who acts as a mediator, connecting the entrepreneur or the factory with women home-based workers.

For women working in factories, although the boundary between the domain of production and the space of production is increasingly blurred, the boundary looks different because there is a dimension of working

places and spaces, such as factories and homes. In contrast, women home-based workers do not have clear boundaries and different places and spaces between production and social production activities. Simply put, the foreground and background of their lives, as described by Fraser (2016), merge into one entity in the same place and space. Savitri & Sigiro (2021) note that working from home for women workers combines two tasks in the same place and time. This is what happens to women home-based workers. Women home-based workers work while doing domestic tasks, such as cooking, childcare, and so on.

It seems that factory work done by home-based workers is a “solution” and more flexible to be able to work, while care work, such as childcare and cooking can go hand in hand with production work. Critically, this model and system of work is a way for capitalism to make more profit through cheap labour schemes. Their conditions are not much different from women workers in factories. They experience high pressure and targets. More ironically, they have no fixed working hours so they can often work more than twelve hours a day and still do care work. In terms of pay, women home-based workers are also perceived as cheap labour, so the wages they earn are low. This study found that they were paid only IDR50,000 for every 100 pairs of sandals. This wage calculation mechanism is based on a single outcome without taking into account the aspects of the maintenance work they do.

The findings of the above study show that both women factory and home-based workers face similar challenges. Their care work is not valued as paid work. Ironically, the wheels of capitalism keep turning thanks to the unpaid care work of women workers, who work in the social reproduction domain to support their family members who are also part of the workforce. In this context, Federici (2023) succinctly writes that the family has become the centre of labour production. In this system, capitalism “forces” labour to be “well cared for” by the family institution through women’s care work in the social reproduction domain, including providing nutritious food, proper clothing, and keeping their bodies clean.

In terms of economic violence in care work, domestic workers who work for women factory workers, for example, also experience economic violence. Domestic workers, who are also women, are often seen as unskilled labour (Dhewy 2017). Care work is naturally assigned to women, so in terms of wages, domestic workers may also not receive a decent wage.

### **Economic Violence: Two Roles, One Working Woman**

Working women face economic violence in terms of economic or care work. Not only do they work in factories or as home-based workers, but they also have to provide care at home and pay caregivers. Parallel to their work responsibilities as workers, they are also faced with unpaid work in the social reproduction domain. While they are often the main breadwinners in their families, they are often seen as complementary wage earners to the main breadwinner, who is often a man in the context of the typical family.

The findings of this study show that many women workers in the three factories studied are the main breadwinners and their husbands or partners are unemployed. The main reason why TGSL factories tend to prefer women over men as workers is that women are considered to be more conscientious. However, this reason does not reduce the maintenance burden that women workers must carry. Women's responsibility as the main breadwinner adds complexity to their work.

Critically, this situation shows that the economic violence experienced by women factory and home-based workers does not only occur within the family, but is systematically perpetrated by companies or employers. This model of work takes place within the capitalist scheme of work, where labour and machines are the means of production that produce products. Therefore, the wages paid by employers do not consider the care work done by women workers. This is despite the fact that this activity supports and is an integral part of the overall productivity of the workers in the factory. This is concrete evidence that gender inequality and failure to recognise the value of care work still exists in the TGSL industry.

The capitalist model of work that does not recognise care work as an integral part of the productivity of factory or home-based workers is supported by patriarchal cultural patterns that separate masculine and feminine roles (Mudzakir 2022). In this context, men do not work, men are not expected to do household chores. Conversely, when women do work, they are still expected to perform multiple roles, including domestic work. This reality illustrates the dominance of the patriarchal culture that distinguishes men as the main breadwinners and women performing domestic work. As a result of this separation, women seem to be obliged to do their domestic work even if they work, and men are not obliged to do their domestic work even if they do not work.

Although care work contributes significantly to the profitability of companies and their owners, it still lacks adequate support from the government and industry actors in the TGSL, such as employers and brand owners. In general, after women factory and home-based workers spend their time and energy working for the profit goals of the company or employer, care work such as childcare and even some consider their mental health and occupational illnesses to be the personal responsibility of women workers outside the scope of formal work.

Based on records of focus group discussions (FGDs) conducted by the Trade Union Rights Centre (TURC) in 2022 with trade unions in three footwear manufacturing factories in Banten and Tangerang, it was found that the three factories do not provide day-care facilities. As a result, workers with children are forced to leave their children with family members, day-care, or caregivers. More ironically, the cost of hiring domestic workers, nannies, or day-care costs is not counted as part of the wages. As a result, the wages received by working women are insufficient to cover the cost of childcare services. This reflects the inequality in the wage system and the difficulty for women workers to meet the demands of care work. It should be noted that ILO Convention No. 156 emphasises the importance of taking into account the burden on workers with family responsibilities. In particular, where workers work at home, employers are expected to understand the increased burden on workers when all work activities and family responsibilities are carried out at home. The Convention promotes the importance of providing care services, such as affordable and accessible day-care for workers at home.

### **The Fulfilment of Maternity Rights: The Long and Winding Road to Equality**

The fulfilment of maternity rights by employers and the state has a significant impact on improving the situation of working women in the social reproductive domain, especially in care work, while still affirming men's responsibilities in the household. For example, by providing adequate maternity leave for both mothers and fathers, employers give working women and their partners the opportunity to focus on their childcare without worrying about work. In another example, workplace childcare facilities remove the constraints that often force working women have to choose between a career and a parental role.

There are laws that regulate pregnancy-related rights, such as Law No. 11/2020 on Job Creation, in

conjunction with Law No. 13/2003 on Manpower, which regulates menstrual leave, maternity leave, miscarriage leave, and facilities for nursing mothers. However, at the implementation level, maternity rights under ILO Convention 183 on the Protection of the Maternity of Women Workers are still poorly enforced in the formal and informal sectors. The findings of this study show that women workers, particularly women home-based workers, still do not have adequate maternity rights. This includes menstrual leave, pregnancy and childbirth leave, miscarriage leave, as well as limited access to childcare facilities and lactation rooms.

The study by Saleh et al. (2023) found that poor implementation of maternity rights can lead to gender discrimination in the workplace. Examples of gender discrimination in the workplace include: 1) women workers experiencing unfair treatment when trying to take menstrual leave; 2) women workers facing high levels of stress and discomfort if they have to return to work too soon after giving birth, especially if their access to workplace childcare facilities is limited; and 3) informal workers, including women home-based workers, often lack access to social protection and decent work rights. In this context, women informal workers are more vulnerable to poor implementation of maternity rights due to unclear labour relations and blurred boundaries between living and working spaces. This condition is also exacerbated by the lack of regulations for workers in the informal sector, particularly home-based workers. Addressing this requires changes in company policies and practices, as well as the government support to ensure good implementation of maternity rights.

The findings of this study show that companies in the three factories studied often oppress and disregard women's needs and do not consider menstruation as a valid reason for leave. Instead of recognising menstrual pain as a legitimate health issue, companies prefer to allow "menstrual breaks" rather than menstrual leave. As a result, women workers can only take a break at the company clinic when they are experiencing menstrual pain, without considering the other discomforts they are experiencing. In this study, one female informant stated that:

Yes, I am resting at the clinic. When the pain goes away, I'll go back to work. The problem is that it's difficult to take menstrual leave. There will be (co-workers and superiors) who will make jokes; it's really complicated (AX 2022, interview 15 October).

In addition, another informant stated that she was worried that production targets would not be met if she took menstrual leave and that she would not receive overtime pay to supplement her monthly wage, which was not enough to make ends meet (BX 2022, interview 15 October).

Employers also do not provide painkillers in the first aid kit, which is easily accessible to workers who experience menstrual pain at work. This situation shows that women workers' access to adequate OSH protection still depends on the intention and commitment of the employer, rather than being guaranteed as a fundamental right.

The difficulty for women workers to take menstrual leave is inextricably linked to the interdependent system of work in the company, especially in the TGSL factory. At the lowest level and hierarchy, women workers, called operators, work with a mini-cell system<sup>1</sup>, as shown in Figure 2. For example, in the sewing department, there are 40 women workers who sew certain parts of shoes, and these 40 people depend on each other. If one of the women workers is absent for any reason, including menstrual leave, then this condition is considered to affect the achievement of production targets. Although some companies use buffer zone mechanism<sup>2</sup>, at the implementation level this mechanism is not considered to overcome this problem. With this work system, women workers at the operator level often experience verbal violence and vertical pressure from their supervisors. There is also horizontal pressure from co-workers. The combination of pressures has an impact on their mental health, causing high levels of stress due to the ever-increasing workload. On the production side, they have to work under the pressure of production targets set by the company. On the social reproduction side, they still have care work responsibility.

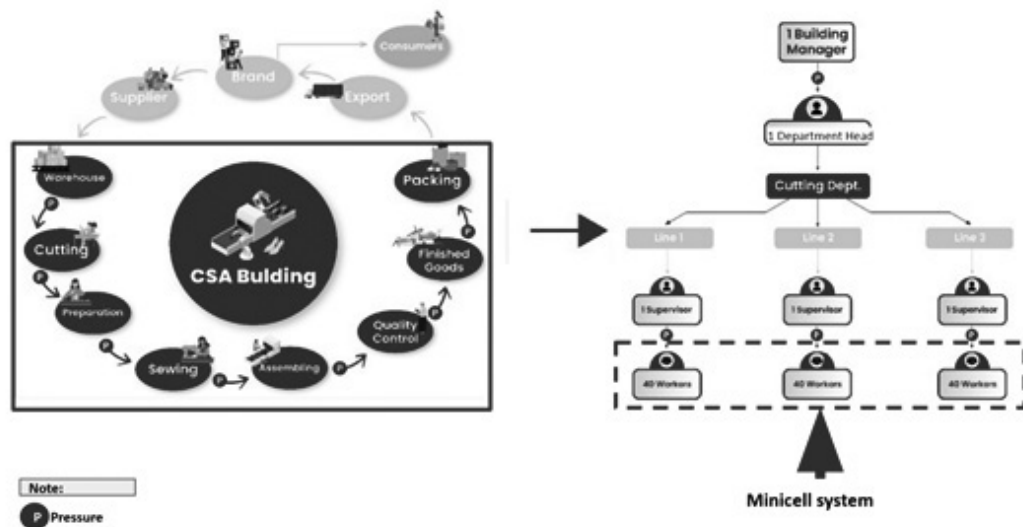


Figure 2. How footwear is made in three factories in Banten Province

Source: Saleh et al. (2023)

With such a work system and high production targets, companies often have complicated permission procedures. Some women workers who have tried to apply for menstrual leave have even been turned down by their supervisors, who fear that it will interfere with meeting production targets. As a result, workers are reluctant to take leave for fear of disrupting the production process.

One of the informants in this study said that she had often applied for menstrual leave, but had not been given permission by her supervisor.

(The boss) said it seemed insignificant to have your period. The supervisor said, "Really, menstrual pain?" Yes, even though I had permission for it (menstrual leave). Yes, if it was so bad that you fainted, you might get the permission. But if it's just a normal menstrual problem, they won't give (the permission)" (CX 2022, interview 15 October).

Another aspect to consider is the availability of free sanitary pads, which although simple, has great importance for working women. Apart from reducing the financial burden, free sanitary pads ensure that working women are comfortable during menstruation and support their reproductive health.

There are significant differences in the treatment of factory and home-based workers. Home-based workers have no rights to menstrual leave, maternity leave, pregnancy leave, miscarriage leave, and no access to free sanitary pads. They are in a more vulnerable position and are neglected by the existing formal workforce. One of the informants in this study revealed that she had never taken leave because she did not have this right.

There is no (leave) if I'm sick or menstruating. It's my husband who goes there (to get the job from the employer). If my husband is sick, I go there. I am never unemployed, never on leave (DX 2022, interview 15 October).

Pregnancy-related health problems among factory workers include nausea, vomiting, and headaches. Although they can take sick leave, the process is complicated and difficult, such as having to provide a medical certificate from the factory clinic. In some cases, they feel compelled not to report their health problems during pregnancy. More ironically, pregnant workers are often victims of dismissal by the factory, as happened in one factory in Sukabumi. Workers who were seven months pregnant were dismissed by the company (KSBSI 2022).

In the case of home-based workers, they are constantly exposed to hazardous substances while gluing shoes. This has a serious impact on their pregnancy conditions and increases the risk of miscarriage. One informant said that she had miscarried her second and fifth children while working as a home-based worker in the shoe-gluing industry.

The miscarriage, it (the foetus) was two months old. What year was it, before Covid-19, 2017, if I'm not mistaken. I glued shoes (when I was pregnant). I was tired, exhausted. At that time, my work (was) piling up, until late at night. That's why I was so strong to work until late while I was pregnant (EX 2022, interview 15 November).

This condition reflects how home-based workers are placed in a vulnerable position and ignored by existing regulations and labour protections. Therefore, providing

adequate maternity leave to home-based workers is a way of recognising that pregnancy and childbirth are physical processes that require adequate time and recovery. Such policies allow working women to care for their children with peace of mind and feel more connected to their babies during this important time. Although social reproductive work and childcare are not the exclusive responsibility of women, the fulfilment of maternity leave rights for working women at least reduces the burden on working women.

Another aspect that is integral to the fulfilment of maternity rights is the provision of lactation and childcare facilities. In the context of the right to breastfeed, unrealistic and ambitious work targets have a serious impact on women workers who are breastfeeding. Production targets are not necessarily reduced for workers who are breastfeeding, leaving them to organise their own time to meet their targets. Despite the availability of lactation rooms, high work targets are imposed without adequate consideration for the needs and welfare of workers. They do not have enough time to express breast milk. As a result, many of them are forced to switch to formula milk. In the ILO's 5R lens, the fulfilment of support for care work is what workers need, the reduction aspect can be fulfilled by providing facilities, such as lactation corners, access to childcare services, menstrual breaks/leave provided by companies/factories are examples of efforts to reduce the burden on women.

The study also found that women factory workers are forced to rely on family members such as parents, in-laws, brothers, or sisters to care for their children. Some of them, who are overseas, have to rely on neighbours or friends for help, which is obviously an additional financial burden compared to their monthly wages. One of the informants in this study revealed how much money she has to spend each month on childcare costs.

Yes, as usual, (the childcare situation in the first months) with my mother. Later, when I want to go to work, I leave it to the caretaker. Of course I pay. Six hundred and fifty thousand per month (FX 2023, interview 15 November).

The provision of childcare facilities at the workplace is a progressive step towards supporting working women and their partners in the social reproduction domain. In practice, however, the success of childcare facilities depends to a large extent on their implementation. The provision of childcare facilities can bring tangible social and reproductive benefits to working women and their partners, provided that the implementation and quality of these facilities are well managed.

Based on the fieldwork conducted by the research team, we found significant differences between home-based and factory workers. Their conditions do not allow for childcare facilities and lactation rooms in the workplace, as there is no separation between home and workplace. The inseparable living and working environment of home-based workers gluing shoes affects family members, including their children, who are also exposed to the smell of glue and suffer health problems. The smell of glue in the home is also a health hazard during pregnancy and breastfeeding. During pregnancy and breastfeeding, the need for income forces many home-based workers to continue gluing shoes, causing serious health problems.

This situation also burdens women with the heavy responsibility of caring for children and working at the same time. Male family members, including spouses, children, parents, siblings, and relatives, need to be actively involved in sharing household tasks and caring for children. This can reduce the burden that women face as home-based workers. Governments and businesses must also commit to creating a more inclusive and supportive working environment for all workers, including those who work from home. However, these efforts still face obstacles because home-based workers are not yet recognised as workers, which makes it difficult for them to access their rights, including maternity rights and the right to decent work. Efforts to gain recognition for home-based workers have been made through judicial review by the Trade Union Rights Centre (TURC) and *Jaringan Pekerja Rumahan Indonesia (JPRI)*. Five home-based workers filed a judicial review of Law No. 13/2003 on Manpower in August 2022 (Arfana 2022).

In this context, the 5R concept promoted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) is also relevant. Recognition of the right to maternity and paternity leave without loss of pay is the first step towards respecting the role of women. Reduction is reflected in efforts to provide facilities and services such as lactation areas and access to childcare services. Redistribution can be seen in the availability of care services (in the workplace or easily accessible) that help to distribute the caring role by the company or employer. Meanwhile, Reward, such as the provision of bonuses and training programmes that support women in caring roles, are a form of valuing caring tasks. However, it should be recognised that access to these rights and services may not be comparable for home-based workers because they are not recognised as workers by the government. Even home-based workers

have to balance their working hours with caring for children at home, which affects the amount of time and targets that can be achieved for paid work.

This package of care policies should be country-specific and include a combination of time (leave), benefits (income security), rights, and services to enable the right to care and be cared for and to promote gender equality and decent work (Addati et al. 2022). Care policies package must be rights-based and gender-responsive, integrated, universal, and based on solidarity, representation and social dialogue. They should also take a lifecycle approach and include policies and services ranging from care leave and breastfeeding rights to child and elder care services for all workers with family responsibilities.

## Closing

Women workers in the footwear industry and home-based workers face the double burden of meeting high production targets while performing care work. They face challenges in both production and social reproduction domains. In particular, women home-based workers are more vulnerable to health risks than women factory workers due to the lack of separation between their workplace and home.

Active participation of male family members in housework and childcare is important to reduce the burden on working women. Governments and businesses should commit to addressing these challenges, for example by providing free childcare.

In addition, women factory and home-based workers often continue to work while pregnant and breastfeeding, which can cause serious health problems. They are perceived as cheap labour, yet their wages do not reflect the care work they do. Therefore, there is a need to change social attitudes and government and industry policies to value women workers and support their roles in the production and social reproduction domains.

## Bibliography

Addati, L., et al. 2022. *Care at work: Investing in Care Leave and Services for a more Gender Equal World of Work*. ILO Cataloguing in Publication Data.

Amalia, R. & Saleh, D. 2020. *Permasalahan Pekerja Perempuan Secara Makro di Indonesia*. TURC: Jakarta.

Arfana, N. T. 2022. "Lima Pekerja Rumahan Uji UU Ketenagakerjaan", *mkri.id*, accessed on 6 December 2023, at <https://www.mkri.id/index.php?page=web.Berita&id=18397>.

Armstrong, P. & Armstrong, H. 2010. *The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work (3rd revised edition)*. Oxford University Press: UK.

Bakker, I. 2007. "Social Reproduction and the Constitution of a Gendered Political Economy", *New Political Economy*, Vol. 12 (4), pp. 541-556. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13563460701661561>.

Better Work. 2021. "Apakah otomatisasi merupakan ancaman bagi pekerja garmen perempuan? Pakar industri mengatakan bahwa hal tersebut tidak perlu terjadi", Better Work, accessed on 6 December 2023, at <https://betterwork.org/id/is-automation-a-threat-to-women-garment-workers-industry-experts-say-it-doesnt-have-to-be/>.

Bhattacharya, T. 2017. *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentring Oppression*. Pluto Press: London.

Caraway, T. L. 2005. *The Political Economy of Feminisation: From "Cheap Labour" to Gendered Discourses of Work*. Cambridge University Press: UK.

Dhewy, A. 2017. "Diskriminasi, Kekerasan dan Pengabaian Hak: Status PRT di Tengah Ketiadaan Payung Hukum Perlindungan PRT", *Jurnal Perempuan*, Vol. 22(3), pp. 261-271. <https://indonesianfeministjournal.org/index.php/IFJ/article/view/197/206>.

Dhewy, A. 2018. "Catatan Jurnal Perempuan", *Jurnal Perempuan*, Vol. 23(4), pp. III. <https://indonesianfeministjournal.org/index.php/IFJ/article/view/280/279>.

Elson, D. 2010. "Gender and the Global Economic Crisis in Developing Countries: A Framework for Analysis", *Gender and Development*, Vol. 8(2), pp. 201-212.

Federici, S. 2023. *Revolution at Point Zero Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*. PM Press: New York.

Fraser, N. 2016. *Contradictions of Capital and Care*. New Left Review: UK.

Greenberg, G. N. & Dement, J. M. 1994. "Exposure Assessment and Gender Differences", *Journal of Occupational Medicine*, Vol. 36(8), pp. 907-912.

Herlina, E. 2016. "Faktor-faktor yang Mempengaruhi Kesempatan Kerja Wanita dan Implikasinya terhadap Kesejahteraan Keluarga di Kabupaten Cirebon", *Economic Journal of the Borobudur University Postgraduate Programme*, Vol. 18(2). <https://doi.org/10.37721/je.v18i2.293>.

International Labour Organisation (ILO). 2022. "Indonesia's Garment Industry to Combat Gender Inequality and Empower Women Workers", accessed on 6 December 2023, at [https://www.ilo.org/jakarta/info/public/pr/WCMS\\_838968/lang--en/index.htm](https://www.ilo.org/jakarta/info/public/pr/WCMS_838968/lang--en/index.htm).

International Labour Organization (ILO). 2000. "C183 - Maternity Protection Convention, 2000 (No. 183)", accessed on 11 November 2023, at [https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:55:0::55:P55\\_TYPE,P55\\_LANG,P55\\_DOCUMENT,P55\\_NODE:REV,en,C183,/Document](https://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:55:0::55:P55_TYPE,P55_LANG,P55_DOCUMENT,P55_NODE:REV,en,C183,/Document).

International Labour Organization (ILO). 1981. "K156 - Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981", accessed on 11 November 2023, at [https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/--asia/--ro-bangkok/--ilo-jakarta/documents/legaldocument/wcms\\_181930.pdf](https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/--asia/--ro-bangkok/--ilo-jakarta/documents/legaldocument/wcms_181930.pdf).

Istakhori, K. 2017. "Cutai Haid dan Lingkaran Eksploitasi Terhadap Buruh Perempuan di Tempat Kerja: Studi Kasus Pelaksanaan Cutai Haid pada Perusahaan Sektor Garmen dan Tekstil, Kertas, Penambangan Batu Bara, Makanan, dan Jasa di Provinsi DKI Jakarta, Jawa Barat, Jawa Timur, Sumatera Selatan, dan Riau", *Jentera: Journal of Law*, Vol. 1(2). <https://jurnal.jentera.ac.id/index.php/jentera/article/view/12>.

Kodir, F. A. 2023. *Perempuan (Bukan) Makhluk Domestik: Mengaji Haid Pernikahan dan Pengasuhan dengan Metode Mubadalah*. Afkaruna.id: Yogyakarta.

KSBSI. 2022. "Seorang Buruh Perempuan Hamil di-PHK Sepihak oleh PT BIG dengan Alasan Kontrak Habis", ksbsi.org, accessed on 16 November 2023, at <https://www.ksbsi.org/home/read/1798/-Seorang-Buruh-Perempuan-Hamil-di-PHK-Sepihak-Oleh-PT-BIG-Dengan-Alasan-Kontrak-Habis->.

Mudzakir, A. 2022. *Feminisme Kritis: Gender dan Kapitalisme dalam Pemikiran Nancy Fraser*. PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama: Jakarta.

Naples, N. A. 2007. "Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers: Bridging Differences", *Contemporary Sociology*, Vol. 36(3), pp. 282--284. <https://doi.org/10.1177/009430610703600350>.

Republic of Indonesia. Law Number 13 Year 2003 on Manpower (Labour Law).

Republic of Indonesia. Law No. 11 of 2020 on Job Creation junto Law No. 13 of 2003 on Manpower.

Saleh, D., et al. 2023. *Under the Weight of Production Targets and Reproductive Labour: Exploring Women Workers' Occupational Health and Safety in Indonesia's Shoe and Footwear Industry*. TURC Publication: Jakarta.

Saptari, R. & Holzner, B. 2016. *Perempuan, Kerja, dan Perubahan Sosial: Sebuah Pengantar Studi Perempuan*. Kalyanamitra: Jakarta.

Savitri, D. & Sigiro, A. N. 2021. Menilai 'Bekerja dari Rumah' sebagai 'Kenormalan Baru' bagi Perempuan Pekerja Melalui Perspektif Feminisme, *Jurnal Perempuan* Vol. 26, No. 1.

Semenciw, R. M., Morrison, H. I., Riedel, D., Wilkins, K., Ritter, L., & Mao, Y. 1993. "Multiple Myeloma Mortality and Agricultural Practices in the Prairie Provinces of Canada", *Journal of Occupational Medicine: official publication of the Industrial Medical Association*, Vol. 35(6), pp. 557-561. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00043764-199306000-00010>.

Tejani, S. & Fukuda-Parr, S. 2021. "Gender and Covid-19: Workers in Global Value Chains", *International labour review*, 160(4), pp. 649-667. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ilr.12225>.

Tejani, S. & Fukuda-Parr, S. 2021. "Gender and Covid-19: Workers in Global Value Chains Gender and Covid-19: Workers in Global Value Chains". Working Paper. Department of Economics.

Young, B., Bakker, I., & Elson, D. (Eds.). 2011. *Questioning Financial Governance from a Feminist Perspective*. Routledge: New York.

## (Endnotes)

- 1 The Mini-Cell system is a working method commonly used at the operator level in garment, shoe, and footwear factories. Each Mini-Cell consists of 40 workers who depend on each other. If one of the 40 workers in a Mini-Cell is absent for some reason, such as going to the toilet, it can affect other work and even affect the achievement of production targets. The Mini-Cell work system puts double pressure on workers, especially women workers. They face vertical pressure from supervisors due to disruption of work and failure to meet production targets. Horizontal pressure also comes from co-workers in the same mini cell due to interdependence and group responsibility for high production targets.
- 2 This term refers to a group of workers (operators) who act as back-up workers. Their main function is to cover for primary operators who are absent or unable to work. This is to ensure that high production targets are met despite the absence of the main operators.