

Women's Work and State Policies: Contending Paid and Unpaid Care

Sri Wiyanti Eddyono

Centre for Law, Gender and Society Studies, Faculty of Law, Gadjah Mada University
Department of Criminal Law, Faculty of Law, Gadjah Mada University
Jalan Sosio Yustisia Number 1, Bulaksumur, Sleman, DI Yogyakarta 55281

sriwiyanti.eddyono@ugm.ac.id

Manuscript Chronology: received 22 November 2023, revised 10 December 2023, accepted 24 December 2023

Abstract

Paid and unpaid care work has regained prominence in national and international forums as a pivotal issue affecting the low participation of women in development. Despite being predominantly carried out by women, care work remains inadequately recognized and undervalued, especially at the policy level. This paper delves into the reasons behind the lack of attention to care work issues at the national level. It explores the extent of gender ideology implications on state policies related to care work. The research employs desk review and self-reflection based on the author's experience facilitating discussions on care work issues. The analysis reveals a policy gap in Indonesia concerning care work, influenced by the ambiguity of the state's gender ideology. Consequently, gender transformation has not been a central focus in care policies, and the legitimacy of women's roles in unpaid work tends to be reinforced.

Keywords: care work, economic care, gender ideology, gender transformation

Introduction

In October 2021, ASEAN adopted the ASEAN Comprehensive Framework on Care Economy in response to Covid-19 (ASEAN 2021).¹ The document emphasises that during the Covid-19 pandemic, care work, health care, and the role of women in the family and at home are important contributors. Therefore, this issue needs to be prioritised in the development of ASEAN countries. This finding is not very different from the results of studies done by international organisations such as UN Women (2020), ILO or Oxfam (2020) on the importance of paying attention to care work. To date, development, especially economic development, has been based on work in the public sphere. Economic development is seen as separate and does not take place in the domestic space. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the work situation changed. The office moved to home, so that home became both a place of paid work and a place where care work was carried out. This shows that care work affects and supports the family economy. Other public activities that moved to home during the Covid-19 pandemic were education and teaching. In addition, home also became an independent health care unit for each family member, considering that the hospital's priority at that time was focused on Covid-19. In a pandemic situation, there was a fusion, home becomes the centre of public and

domestic activities. This has an impact on increasing the role of care, especially for women. This also highlights the problem of gender inequality in care work, which existed long before Covid-19.

Beghini et al (2019), in their study published by the ILO, found that there is an imbalance in the number of women engaged in unpaid care work compared to men. According to the study, women account for 606 million people or 21.7 per cent, more than men with 41 million people or 1.5 per cent doing unpaid care work. They calculated that, based on the standard seven working days, women use 201 working days per year to provide care, while men use 63 working days per year. The problem is that women's contribution to unpaid care work is not taken into account, even though data from 64 countries show that unpaid care work contributed an economic value of 16.4 billion per hour per day. Thus, women have actually contributed a third of the total value, which is equivalent to 2 billion people working full-time (40 hours per week) without pay (Beghini et al. 2019).

Under Covid-19 conditions, this imbalance in unpaid care work was even more pronounced (UN Women 2020). While both men's and women's contributions to domestic care work increased, the gap between women's and men's care work time remained. UN Women (2020) and Villanueva et al. (2020) analyse that traditional gender

roles are still strongly held by society. This is due to social assumptions and practices that interpret care roles as the primary responsibility of women.

The issue of care work is not new to the women's movement in Indonesia. Care work as work associated with women, referring to work in the domestic sector, is one of the issues considered by the women's movement as an obstacle to gender equality and justice (Eddyono 2022). As a result, there have been various initiatives by women's civil society organisations to promote a more equitable division of labour between men and women in the household. However, these activities have not been widespread and have not been fully supported by government policies (Eddyono 2022).

This research examines the extent to which the Indonesian government is addressing the issue of care work. Care work has become a regional and international issue. It has even been discussed at the ASEAN level and in the G20 forum. Indonesia is even seen as a country pushing for care work to be an important agenda item in the G20 forum. However, the extent to which the agenda is integrated at the policy level in Indonesia remains to be seen. The author argues that the issue of care work or domestic work is not considered important and has not been included as a priority policy for the government. This is due to the contradictory gender ideology of the state. On the one hand, the state wants to encourage women's participation in the economy and more active development for the sake of economic acceleration in Indonesia. On the other hand, gender construction still perpetuates the notion that household and domestic responsibilities are women's primary work.

Research Methodology

The research used desk review and internal reflection methods. The desk review was carried out by analysing government documents, government programmes, and studies available on the internet. The data was then processed with observations made while participating in various consultations on care work organised by civil society and international organisations such as Oxfam and ILO in 2022-2023.

Care Work and Gender Transformation

The terms care work, unpaid care, paid care, and care economy are contested terms with paradoxical dimensions (Eddyono 2022; Kabeer 2008). Eddyono (2022) analyses that these terms have emerged from various critiques of the strong dichotomy between

domestic work and work in the public sphere. Domestic work is described as reproductive work associated with women, while public activities are productive work that is the domain of men (Eddyono 2022; Kabeer 2008). Reproductive work is understood as work that, although indirect, is a prerequisite for the production of something (Villanueva et al. 2020). Meanwhile, productive work is connoted as work that has a monetary dimension (Kabeer 2008); such as working in an office, working in a factory, and working in the government sector.

Productive work is considered to require certain skills. Productive work has performance calculations that are used as a standard by companies/employers to promote and/or grant certain career advancements. In patriarchal societies, reproductive work is often associated with women as something that is taken for granted and considered unpaid work (Kabeer 2008; Power 2020). For example, reproductive work such as caring for children, educating children, caring for the sick or the elderly is identified and assigned to women. Other reproductive work includes domestic activities, from shopping and cooking to provide food for the family, washing and ironing to ensure clean clothes for work at the office, cleaning the house to ensure cleanliness and health, and many other practices. This reproductive work is also known as care work (ILO 2018; Chopra & Krishnan 2022).

Feminist theories and previous research suggest that women's participation in the public sphere, including participation in paid work, is relatively low. This is due to women's attachment to domestic work (Kabeer 2008). This results in a disproportionate division of labour between men and women (Chopra & Krishnan 2022). Opening up women's access to paid work is therefore important in an effort to empower women in the world of work. Women's access to paid work makes them more independent and increases their bargaining power with men (including their husbands), their families, and their environment (Kabeer 2008). Kabeer also argues that it is important for women to leave their homes because it exposes them to different ways of life and gives them more control over their lives. However, access to the outside world and participation in the productive economy alone does not necessarily lead to gender justice. If women are involved in the productive economy, but the double burden of care work is not recognised, reduced, and redistributed in a balanced way, it is very likely that women will be excluded from productive work.

The idea of promoting women's participation in the labour market is of concern to feminists and gender justice activists (Kabeer 2008). But the question is, if

women are involved in productive work, to whom is this reproductive work delegated? Especially in unequal power relations, women who have worked in the public sector do not necessarily escape their role in the domestic sector. They do double work and do not always have the privilege to delegate to other parties, let alone husbands (Observation of the "I WILL" Project evaluation seminar, Oxfam, 15 June 2023).

In the Covid-19 situation this dilemma was even more apparent. Women's role in family care work was performed at the same time as office work, making it difficult to delegate work to others. At the same time, isolation becomes a challenge for working women (Power 2020; UN Women 2022). When such work is done by a wife, mother, and female family member, it is considered unpaid care. For women who do productive work and have economic privilege, they have the option of delegating their role to others, such as domestic workers. When the work is transferred to another person who is delegated to replace the role of wife, mother, or other female members, the work becomes paid care work. This paid care work is relatively performed by women, as it is work that is closely associated with women's 'skills'. The work of delegation has a transnational dimension (Yeates 2005), not only for women who work in the public sector in their own country. It is also true for women migrant workers. Migrant workers leave childcare to neighbours and extended family.

There are issues with the delegation of care tasks. While economically independent women have greater opportunities and advantages to delegate their roles to others, such as domestic workers, relatives who are incentivised to babysit, or day-care centres for working mothers to undertake domestic care work, including childcare. There are issues of vulnerability on the part of those who receive such delegation of care tasks (Observation, parallel discussion to the ASEAN Consultation on Gender Equitable Care Work organised by Oxfam and Kalyanamitra, 14 March 2023). It is worth considering that care work is often delegated to other women who are more economically disadvantaged, or who are lower class (Yeates 2005). A problem facing domestic workers in Indonesia today is the lack of adequate wage standards or well-paid day-care workers (UN Women 2022). This is due to the notion that care work is unskilled labour, and as a result care work is not considered to be of high value, which implies low wages (Chopra & Krishnan 2022). What is important about the phenomenon of care work delegation is that the practice does not necessarily change women's gender relations

with men. Although delegation of care work provides a great opportunity for women to 'enjoy' activities in the public sphere like men in general, it leaves a problem of inequality for women who do paid care work.

Is the delegation of care responsibilities sufficient to promote women's economic empowerment? Especially when social understandings and practices still perpetuate the association of care work with women. According to the author, the expected gender transformation and gender justice in the context of work is indicated by a shift in the meaning and appreciation of reproductive work as work that is valued and considered important by society. In a capitalist society, the calculation of value is always linked to economic calculations. There is a view that if maintenance work is to be understood and accepted as valuable work, then even unpaid work needs to be economically quantified. In this way, the contribution of maintenance work to productive work can be seen, so that its direct impact and contribution to the economy can be appreciated. Given this relationship, paid or unpaid care work needs to be recognised as work done by "workers" as work in the care economy (ILO 2018). But again, the context of the care economy is not simple. It requires a deeper and broader analysis, which needs to be seen in different contexts and not just through an economic approach (Yeates 2005).²

The economic approach suggests that care work can and has the potential to contribute to the global economy by placing care work outside the family; day-care centres that recruit and create jobs for care workers (Power 2020). However, on closer examination, care work is not just about task-shifting and economic dimensions, but also involves interactional roles between and within families that cannot be outsourced to third parties when producing food, caring for children, caring for the elderly or doing other care work (Power 2020). There is a connectedness that makes care work valuable and of high quality.

Care Work Policy and Gender Ideology in Indonesia

So how should the issue of paid care, unpaid care, economic care be promoted, especially in the Indonesian context? Of course, the answer is not easy, mainly because of the paradoxes that arise, especially at the level of state policy. The very basic state policy, namely Law No. 1 /1974 on Marriage, still standardises women's gender roles, and this policy underlies various policies that have emerged since then in relation to women's roles. This law represents the state's ideology about family and women's traditional gender roles. Although there have been

efforts to encourage women to escape the trap of their traditional gender roles, especially since the reform, and there have been policy changes related to the protection of women in gender-based violence (Eddyono 2019), marriage policy and women's roles have not changed, as explained below.

Since Law No. 1/1974 on Marriage (UUP), the role of women as domestic workers has been standardised (Hadiz & Eddyono 2003). Women are said to have the role of housewives and are obliged to carry out household duties. Failure to fulfil her duties then becomes the basis for the husband to divorce her, as stated in Articles 31, 34 and 35 of the UUP.

To date, the articles relating to the standardisation of gender roles have not been revised and there is no discourse to change them. In 2009, Indonesia passed Law No. 52/2009 on Population and Family Development, which states that gender equality is the basis for family development in Indonesia. However, the law does not emphasise the need to change the roles of men and women. Gender equality is not further elaborated in family practice. Eddyono (2019) analyses that the state's gender ideology continues to fluctuate. Although on the one hand the state has used the framework of women's empowerment, the concept of women's empowerment is still unclear. Wieringa (2015) also analyses the push and pull of the state's ideology, from women's empowerment back to gender harmony, which leads to traditional notions of gender.

The complexity of the issue of the care economy intersects with the lack of clarity of the country's gender ideology, making the Indonesian Government stutter (fail) in responding to the issue of the care economy. The government's response is inconsistent, scattered, and contradictory. For example, the care economy has been included in Goal 5 of the SDGs, Target 5.4: "recognise and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies, and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate". This policy stresses the importance of "recognising and valuing unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure, and social protection policies, and promoting shared responsibility within the household and family, as appropriate at national level".

Although Indonesia has developed a Sustainable Development Goals Roadmap 2023-2030, the Indonesian Government has not included Goal 5.4 in Indonesia's SDGs priorities for the next five years. Indonesia has two

priorities in Goal 5, namely the proportion of children and adolescents at an increasing age of marriage and the proportion of women in leadership positions. One of the recommendations in the roadmap is to "provide work flexibility, including flexibility of working time and workplace, to support women's work-life balance". This is expected to help women to remain productive in their careers while managing the demands of personal and family life (Bappenas 2023). This means that on the one hand, the government is encouraging an increase in the number of women in leadership positions in the workplace, but on the other hand, there is pressure to balance work with the demands and roles of women in the family. The existence of this document shows the government's inability to analyse the problems faced by women working in the public sphere, namely the demands of gender roles that are ignored. The lack of support for a fair division of labour, including the delegation of unpaid care work, is a major challenge for women to reach leadership positions in their field of work. The prioritisation and approach to SDG Goal 5 with the two priorities above, and without linking to Goal 4, actually shows the neglect of the core of Goal 5: achieving gender equality and empowering women.

Another issue reflected in the state's policy is the existence of the Mother and Child Welfare Bill (RUU KIA), which places the central role of mothers (women) in the family development (DPR RI 2022). This Bill is an initiative of the Parliament and has been discussed with the government. The positioning of women as the main actors in the family is very visible in the various proposed articles. One of them is a proposal to increase maternity leave for working mothers/women from three to six months.

Although this Bill begins to give men/husbands and fathers a role in childcare, the 40 days of accompanying leave is not balanced with the amount of maternity leave. The 6-month leave period consists of 3 months paid leave and 75% paid leave for the following 3 months. This provision creates a dilemma for workers (Kompas 2022). It is possible that companies will be reluctant to hire women as full-time employees because the burden of providing leave for maternity will be borne by the company alone. As a result, women will work more as flexible workers to overcome childcare difficulties (Blair-Loy et al. 2015). Flexible working prevents women from reaping the full benefits of full-time employment. These contradictions result in policies that appear to recognise and respond to the needs of women workers, but do not. In fact, this policy design tends to place women in a

dilemma. They are forced to choose between continuing their careers or taking care of their children, given that 6 months is a long time and takes women out of public life. Moreover, the environment has not changed to make women the main carers of children.

In addition, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA) also prioritises the existence of child-friendly day-care. This can be seen in the preparation of policies and programmes issued by the Ministry, including Permen PPPA No. 5/2015 on the Provision of Gender-Responsive and Child-Friendly Work Facilities in the Workplace, Perpres No. 25/2021 on Child-Friendly District/City Policy, and Permen PPPA No. 12/2022 on the Implementation of Child-Friendly District/City.³ In the Strategic Plan 2020-2024, the Ministry targets the availability of Child Friendly Day-care in 15 ministries/institutions. The Ministry has also developed the Indonesian National Standard (SNI) for Childcare, which is used as a minimum standard. In the Preamble of Permen PPPA No. 5/2015, it is mentioned that the role of childcare is not only the responsibility of women, but requires care and is the responsibility of the family and everyone in the environment. Therefore, in order to support working women, there is a need for gender-responsive support, including places for breastfeeding mothers and day-care. However, the existence of day-care centres is again only for female workers, not for male workers. On the one hand, this policy can be an affirmation for women workers, but on the other hand, it closes off the possibility for men who also have caring responsibilities to send their children to day-care. This policy has not supported participation or efforts to promote an equal division of roles between men and women in access to childcare facilities. This is not in line with the considerations that the care and upbringing of children should not be the sole responsibility of women.

On the one hand, the Ministry's prioritisation of day-care seems to support women in delegating childcare tasks while they work. This is also provided that the company eventually provides the facility. On the other hand, the issue of day-care at the workplace is not always appropriate in practice, as the workplace may be far from home and there may be special needs for transporting children. The cost of transporting children and the time spent with them, especially if the workplace is far away, becomes an additional burden for workers. Moreover, when the woman returns home, it does not change the fact that the child is still dependent on her care. The day-care programme does not change the power relations between husband and wife, nor does it change the roles

of husband and wife. The day-care programme only transfers women's roles to other parties, which in women's workplaces actually increases the burden on women workers in the eyes of their companies/workplaces.

Not to mention that the monitoring of the normative rights of women workers, namely three months' leave, is relatively not fully effective. Women's right to be pregnant is still restricted, as the ILO found in its research that around 4 out of 25 workers hide their pregnancy because of restrictions in their employment contract (ILO 2022).⁴

So how can the complexity of different care issues be unravelled in the future? According to the author, it is important to eliminate the dichotomy of women's public and domestic roles and the standardisation of gender roles in policy. The dichotomy of public and domestic roles for men and women needs to be unravelled and eliminated. This means that this dichotomy stems from the unclear gender ideology of the state. If the state's gender ideology is one of women's empowerment, then its policies must be consistent with policies that support gender equality and equity. This includes policies that balance the roles of men and women in the public and domestic spheres. This is important, given that there is currently a clear disproportionality between men and women in the role of being responsible for care work (Chopra & Krishnan 2022). Another issue that needs to be considered is that the government is not single, but diverse (Eddyono, 2019). This is demonstrated by the fact that the issues raised and prioritised by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment are not necessarily considered important by other institutions. For example, the existence of an SDG document that omits care work as a priority in the indicators on SDG 5 outcomes compiled by the Bappenas shows the diversity of views and the lack of connection between one ministry and another.

Several frameworks for equitable care work have been developed by different parties. For example, Chopra & Krishnan and Oxfam International (2022) have emphasised the importance of the Triple R, namely Recognise, Reduce, and Redistribute, in promoting gender-responsive quality of care. Meanwhile, the ILO has added two important elements to the Triple R, namely Reward and Representation (ILO 2018; Eddyono 2023). Triple R is based on several considerations and principles. Firstly, care work is very important and needs to be increased in number and strengthened in quality for families, society, and the world (Chopra & Krishnan 2022). The care crisis is seen as reducing the quality of human life. Recognising the value of care work is therefore crucial. This includes recognising care workers as decent

workers (ILO 2018). Secondly, Chopra and Krisnan (2022) emphasise the principle of gender transformation, that the disproportionality of women’s care roles needs to be reduced and then redistributed to other parties in order to achieve equal gender relations. The division of domestic work is fundamental to all efforts to support women’s participation in public life, especially in the world of work. The reduction and redistribution of this role through the existence of care infrastructure, protection/social security, care services, and labour policies related to care (Chopra & Krisnan 2022; ILO 2018).

In addition to the Triple R, the ILO stresses the importance of respect for care work and care workers to encourage more people to do care work, not just women. Representation of care workers is also considered very important to promote the full participation of care workers, especially women, the formation of care workers’ organisations, and constructive social dialogue to further improve the quality of care work and the well-being of care workers (Eddyono 2022).

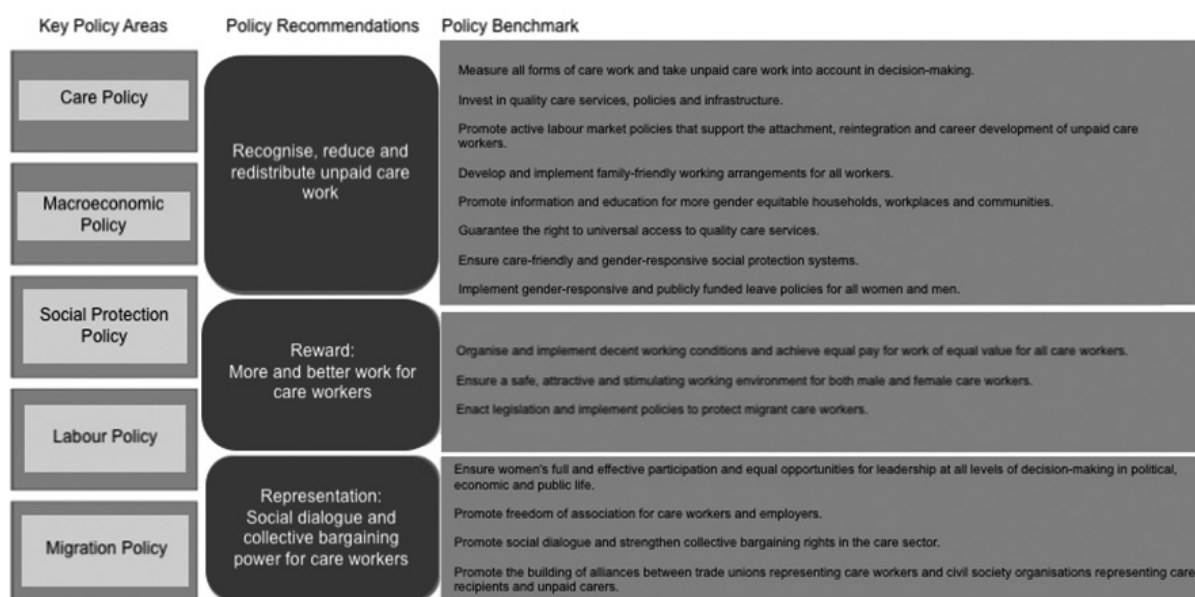


Chart 4. ILO's policy framework on care work

Figure 1. ILO's Policy Framework on Care Work

Source: Eddyono 2022

The Triple R plus 2R or 5R framework can unravel the complexities and contradictions of policies and responses to efforts to increase women’s participation. The key word is care work transformed into gender justice. Gender transformation requires that any programme developed addresses aspects of changing roles and more equitable power relations. Strategic gender approaches and programmes need to be developed, not just practical gender. The author reflects that there are a number of things that need to be considered in policy making to support gender justice for women in the world of work:

First, while the provision of day-care can be a starting point as a practical gender solution, it is not enough. Especially if the provision of day-care is emphasised, imposed, and managed in the workplace only for women workers. Day-care must open up space for the

involvement of both parents in the placement of children in day-care, before and after the children are left in day care. Day-care is important not only for women but also for men. The development of diverse day-care is adapted to the social context, such as community-based day-care, which further strengthens the division of roles between individuals and community involvement in childcare (Eddyono 2023). Day-care organisations also need to consider the gender diversity of workers or caregivers in order to create an inclusive environment. In addition, day-care workers need to be recognised and their welfare guaranteed. Finally, it is important to present a day-care module that socialises gender equality education from an early age, as the content must become a learning standard.

Second, the shift in emphasis from maternity leave to parental leave. Parental leave puts mothers and

fathers on an equal footing in employment agreements and policies. The implication is that companies can be more equitable in their recruitment of workers. Parental policies can prevent labour market aversion/exclusion of women workers. Both male and female workers are equally likely to take parental leave, as both have caring responsibilities. According to the author, parental leave is strongly linked to the principle of equal roles within the family and in childcare.

Third, of course, the provision of parental leave should not be the burden of one party, namely the employer. Given that care work has far-reaching implications for public welfare and the formation and strengthening of a quality population and society, the provision of family leave must be a social protection system. The state should play a role by providing social security or incentives for providers of leave. A social security and reward system should also be established for those who support parental leave. The provision of day-care and parental leave are mutually reinforcing efforts to reduce, share, recognise, and reward care work.

Fourth, the recognition of care workers must take the form of labour policies. Care workers need to be recognised as workers in order to be guaranteed decent and safe work. Recognising care workers as decent workers means recognising that care work is work that is not only needed but highly valued. Care workers are therefore part of and included in social security systems. Like workers in other sectors, care workers must have their rights guaranteed and fulfilled.

Fifth, gender-equitable policies and implementation of day-care, parental leave and employment policies require comprehensive planning that is integrated into macro and micro state policies. These programmes need to be structured in the form of a clear roadmap to ensure that a gender-equitable transformation of care is achieved within a clear timeframe. It is also important to ensure comprehensive data collection on the different forms of care work and care workers, as well as on the availability of services and the conditions of existing services at the national level. Studies on social protection systems, including paternity leave, should also be undertaken. Documenting care practices in the current context and conditions allows stakeholders to map future needs as an integral part of the care work roadmap. The existence of this care work roadmap must be included in the medium and long-term development plan. Neglect of care work should no longer occur.

Closing

The Indonesian Government, in this case the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA), is involved in regional and international discussions. However, attention to the issue of care work has not been widespread at the government level. The government is not singular and one ministry does not represent the face of the government in responding to the issue of care work. Current government policies also tend not to support a more equitable division of care work roles for women. This is manifested in the absence of an agenda to amend Law No. 1/1974 on Marriage. The law still standardises the traditional gender roles of women and men. Further evidence can be found in the existence of RUU KIA, which still focuses on the role of mothers/women as the main caregivers. Although there are efforts to include the role of fathers/men, this involvement is yet to exist in the framework of a more equitable transformation of gender roles. The existence of the day-care programme initiated by KPPPA still does not place the role of fathers proportionally as parents who have the responsibility of caring for children. The solution offered is still to share/ delegate the task to other institutions.

The author argues that the lack of political support for fair care work is due to the country's unclear gender ideology. There is an unsustainable development in the country's gender ideology, namely the change from traditional gender ideology to the concept of women's empowerment. The concept of women's empowerment is more in line with the concept of gender harmony. This means that women are encouraged to engage in the public sphere and contribute to development. Women's participation in the labour market is aimed at the economy, but the state's gender ideology does not recognise this, let alone respond seriously. If the responsibility for caring for children and the family remains with women alone, equality in participation in the labour market will not be achieved. According to the author, this ideological tug-of-war means that a gender-just transformation has not been at the centre of state's policy and efforts to change care policy.

Researchers see the importance of advocating for changes in policies on marriage that dichotomise women's (domestic) and men's (public) roles, as this role standardisation is the basis for denying or excluding recognition of paid and unpaid care work. In addition, the existence of a roadmap for economic care that is oriented towards the transformation of gender justice is very important. This roadmap should promote gender-equitable care work policies, including: the availability of

support for women working in the public sector through the provision of comprehensive care services, not only for children, but also for the elderly, disabled, and family health. The roadmap should emphasise the recognition and security of care workers, including domestic workers. It should also include men's participation in paid and unpaid care work, including parental/family leave for new-born care and child health care.

Bibliography

ASEAN. 2021. "ASEAN COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK ON CARE ECONOMY", *asean.org*, accessed on 12 November 2023, at <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/8.-Final-ASEAN-Comprehensive-Framework-on-Care-Economy.-20-Oct-2021.pdf>.

Beghini, V., Umberto, C., & Pozzan, E. 2019. *Quantum Leap For Gender Equality: for Better Future of Work for All*. International Labour Organization: Geneva.

Blair-Loy, M., Hochschild, A., Pugh, A. J., Williams, J.C., & Heidi. 2015. "Stability and Transformation in Gender, Work, and Family: Insights from the Second Shift for the Next Quarter Century", *Community Work & Family*, Vol. 18(4). DOI:10.1080/13668803.2015.1080664.

Chopra, D. & Krishnan, M. 2022. "Care is not a Burden: a 7-4-7 framework of action for operationalising the Triple R", *Gender & Development*, Vol. 30(1-2), pp. 35-57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1352074.2022.2066265>.

Eddyono, S. W. 2019. *Women's Empowerment in Indonesia: A Poor Community in Jakarta*. Routledge: UK.

Eddyono, S. W. 2022. *Mendorong Lingkungan Kerja Perawatan yang Adil Gender*. Oxfam: Jakarta.

Hadiz, L. & Eddyono, S. W. 2004. *Pembakuan Peran Gender dalam Kebijakan-kebijakan di Indonesia*. LBH APIK: Jakarta.

House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR RI). 2022. Academic Paper of the Draft Law on Mother and Child Welfare (RUU KIA).

International Labour Organization (ILO). 2018. *Care Work and Care Jobs, For the Future of Decent Work*. ILO: Geneva.

International Labour Organization (ILO). 2019. *Quantum Leap For Gender Equality, for Better Future of Work for All*. ILO: Jakarta.

International Labour Organization (ILO). 2022. "Intervensi Pemerintah Diperlukan untuk Kepatuhan terhadap Hak Maternitas", accessed on 15 November 2023, at https://www.ilo.org/jakarta/info/public/pr/WCMS_834805/lang--en/index.htm.

Kabeer, N. 2008. *Paid Work, Women's Empowerment and Gender Justice: Critical Pathways of Social Change*. LSE Research Online: UK. https://eprints.lse.ac.uk/53077/1/Kabeer_Paid-work_Published.pdf.

Kompas. 2022. "RUU KIA Diharapkan tak Bikin Buruh Perempuan jadi Dipersulit Kerja", *national.kompas.com*, accessed on 17 November 2023, at <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2022/06/24/06100661/ruu-kia-diharapkan-tak-bikin-buruh-perempuan-jadi-dipersulit-kerja>.

Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA). N.d. "Rencana Strategis 2020-2024", *kemenpppa.go.id*, accessed on 18 November 2023, at <https://rb.kemenpppa.go.id/6-permen-pppa-tentang-renstra-kementerian-pppa-2020-2024/>.

Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA). 2023. "KemenPPPA: Daycare Ramah Anak Pendukung Produktivitas Perempuan Bekerja", accessed on 10 November 2023, at

<https://www.kemenpppa.go.id/index.php/page/read/29/4373/kemen-pppa-daycare-ramah-anak-pendukung-produktivitas-perempuan-bekerja>.

Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA). Regulation of the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection No. 5/2015 on the Provision of Gender-Responsive and Child-Friendly Work Facilities in the Workplace.

Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA). Regulation of the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection No. 12/2022 on the Implementation of Child Friendly District/City.

Power, K. 2020. "The Covid-19 pandemic has increased the care burden of women and families", *Sustainability: Science, Practice and Policy*, Vol. 16(1), pp. 67-73. DOI:10.1080/15487733.2020.1776561.

Republic of Indonesia. Law Number 1 Year 1974 on Marriage.

Republic of Indonesia. Law Number 52 Year 2009 on Population and Family Development.

Republic of Indonesia. Presidential Regulation (PERPRES) Number 25 Year 2021 on Child Friendly District/City Policy.

UN Women, D. Snyder - Policy Brief, 2020 - *gbvguidelines.org*. COVID-19 and the care economy: Immediate action and structural transformation for a gender-responsive recovery

UN Women. 2020. "Whose Time to Care? Unpaid Cares and Domestic Work During Covid-19", accessed on 17 November 2023, at https://data.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/inline-files/Whose-time-to-care-brief_0.pdf.

Villanueva, J. et al. 2020. *CARE MATTERS: Taking action on unpaid care and domestic work in ASEAN*. Oxfam Briefing Paper: Oxfam International.

Wieringa, S. 2015. "Gender Harmony and the Happy Family: Islam, Gender and Sexuality in Post-Reformasi Indonesia", *Southeast Asia Research*, Vol. 23(1), pp. 27-44. <https://doi.org/10.5367/sear.2015.0244>.

Yeates, N. 2005. "A Global Political Economy of Care", *Social Policy & Society*, Vol. 4(2), pp. 227-234. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746404002350>.

(Endnotes)

- 1 See ASEAN. 2021. "ASEAN COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK ON CARE ECONOMY", *asean.org*, accessed on 12 November 2023, at <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/8.-Final-ASEAN-Comprehensive-Framework-on-Care-Economy.-20-Oct-2021.pdf>.

- 2 A similar debate emerged and was discussed at the Unpaid Care workshop, organised by Oxfam in consultation with civil society, on 8 September 2022 and 11 October 2022..
- 3 See Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPPA). 2023. "KemenPPPA: Daycare Ramah Anak Pendukung Produktivitas Perempuan Bekerja", accessed on 10 November 2023, at <https://www.kemenpppa.go.id/index.php/page/read/29/4373/kemen-pppa-daycare-ramah-anak-pendukung-produktivitas-perempuan-bekerja>.
- 4 See International Labour Organization (ILO). 2022. "Intervensi pemerintah diperlukan untuk kepatuhan terhadap hak maternitas", accessed on 15 November 2023, at https://www.ilo.org/jakarta/info/public/pr/WCMS_834805/lang--en/index.htm.

