

Female Workers in the Midst of Crisis and Technological Change

Editorial

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Atnike Nova Sigi

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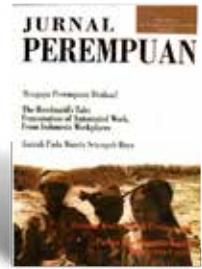
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Female Workers in the Midst of Crisis and Technological Change

The current world of work is being characterized by disruption, where the type of industry that developed since the industrial revolution has changed, both in terms of technology and the form of its industrial relations. This change in the world of work has been exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic, which has lasted more than a year already. The pandemic, for example, has forced some workers to work from home, with the consequence of increased domestic workload. Meanwhile, the pandemic has adversely impacted various industrial sectors and has caused job loss in certain sectors. For women, these technological change and crisis are aggravated by the economic system and patriarchy that still subordinate women.

The 4.0 industrial revolution has created new types of workers and has made old types of jobs obsolete as they are no longer compatible with market and technological developments. The disruption brings opportunities for those who have access to digital knowledge, skills, and technology; but leaving those without access. Digital gap phenomenon has been disproportionately experienced by many women due to their unequal social and economic position.

As workers, women not only encounter problems as a class or group of workers, but also face challenges due to their gender identity. One of the challenges facing women is the *glass ceiling effect*, which hinders women's career advancement in the workplace. The view that the world of work has masculine character stem from assumptions such as that female workers have lower abilities than male workers. This view can be seen from the separation between men's and women's fields of work. Hence, professions in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) are perceived as men's jobs, while professions in the fields of social science, humanities, education, are perceived as women's jobs.

Feminist perspective criticizes the dominant view that separates the economy from domestic work. The world of work is identified with masculinity, while domestic work is considered as feminine sphere with no economic value. This bias gender segregation results in the marginalization of women in the world of work, including in trade union/labor unions.

The historical development of trade unions/labor unions shows an overlook towards female workers as part of the working class. This overlook towards female workers could not be separated from the early development of capitalism, where women were assigned for reproductive work in the household, and (if needed) then would serve as reserve workforces. However, the concept of reserve workforce is questionable as more women enter the workforce.

Increasing female workforce then is also followed by a consequential increase of women in the trade unions/labor unions' membership. However, this does not automatically prompt trade/labor unions to pay attention to gender inequality facing female workers. Trade unions/labor unions initially viewed the working class as a homogeneous social group, which was constructed for men. It was the Marxist and Socialist Feminists who later exposed the intertwined of gender inequality with class issues.

Using separate organizing strategy, women labor movement, sought to strengthen the internal structure of trade unions/labor unions and encouraged them to include gender justice agendas as part of the unions' agenda. This was where the female workers' issues, such as reproductive health, wage discrimination, including sexual violence, began to enter the agenda of trade unions/labor unions, both at the global level, including in Indonesia. At the global level, problems of harassment and violence in the world of work has been recognized with the adoption of the ILO Convention No. 190 of 2019 on Violence and Harassment. Meanwhile, at the national level, trade unions/labor unions also joined the advocacy upon the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence.

Women's participation in the world of work brings opportunities that can strengthen women's position in society. However, a gender-blind world of work could deepen the existing gender inequalities. In the world of work that experiences change and crisis, feminism continues to strive to take a critical approach towards the exploitative and masculine characters of the world of work.

Along with the publishing of "Female Workers in the Midst of Crisis and Technological Change" edition, the Editorial Team of *Jurnal Perempuan* would like to

announce that starting in 2021, *Jurnal Perempuan* will publish three editions a year. This decision was taken by the Editorial Team with the aim of providing a longer span of time in improving the quality of *Jurnal Perempuan* and

encouraging further works on women's knowledge in Indonesia. Wishing you a fruitful reading. (**Atnike Nova Sigiyo**)

Abstracts Sheet

Tendy Gunawan

Program Officer, International Labour Organization (ILO)
Country Office for Indonesia and Timor-Leste

Strategy for Abolishing Barriers to Women Labor Force Participation

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol 26 No.1, April 2021, page 1-14, 11 pictures, 2 tables, 19 references

The female labor force participation rate has not moved from 50-55 persen in the last ten years, and this condition has been exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic. This study looks at the various challenges for women in entering the world of work, maintaining jobs and building careers, and what strategies stakeholders can take to remove various barriers to women's labor force participation. The strategic recommendations include affirmative actions and policies that could be taken by policy makers and companies to remove barriers to women's participation in the workforce. The study is based on literature reviews of various studies and surveys conducted by the ILO in 2010-2020, especially regarding women in the world of work.

Keywords: gender equality; women labor force participation; glass ceiling effect

Afwan Purwanto Muin, Marina Nasution, Widia Primastika
Aliansi Jurnalis Independen Jakarta

The Lack of Attention to Lactation Needs in Media Companies

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol 26 No.1, April 2021, page 15-24, 31 references

The fulfillment of exclusive breastfeeding is important not only for the babies and toddlers, but also for prevention of breast cancer to mothers and/ or women. Although the government has developed policies related to exclusive breastfeeding, the achievements are still inadequate. One of the problems is the lack of support from the workplace environment. This study focuses on the attention and support of media companies to the lactation needs of breastfeeding women journalists. This qualitative study uses the in-depth interview method and literature study. The results of the study show that media support for the lactation needs of female journalists is still very low. The newsroom must have a special policy that fully supports the lactation needs of journalists both at the office and outside the office. The study also found that full support from the social work environment plays a very important role in the success of a female journalist in giving exclusive breastfeeding.

Keywords: women and journalism; feminism; access to lactation; working women

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Rethinking Strategy for Gender Equality in Trade Unions

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol 26 No.1, April 2021, page 25-32, 21 references

The non-strategic role and position of women workers in trade union organization, even in the women-dominated sector, is hardly changed even though the number of women members of trade unions is increasing. Various programs have been carried out to increase the

strategic role of women in trade union organizations but so far have not shown significant results. Based on interviews with officers of gender equality programs for trade unions, union leaders and women and men members and literature studies this paper offers an idea of the need for a non-exclusive approach and actively and proportionally involving men in awareness-raising and gender equality programs for trade unions. This idea is based on the fact that in trade unions gender-related program is always left to or only involves women. The strategy in the gender equality awareness and improvement program that only involves women causes the program's effectiveness to be low because half of the causes of the problem is not involved.

Keywords: women worker; trade union; gender equality

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Analyzing 'Working from Home' as 'the New Normal' for Working Women from the Perspective of Feminism

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol 26 No.1, April 2021, page 33-41, 2 pictures, 1 table, 27 references

Working from home, when workers accomplish their duties and works at home, have become an important phenomenon during the Covid-19 pandemic, that have been practiced for more than a year since the Covid-19 outbreak. For working women, working from home have combined two women's duties in one place at the same time, those are their responsibilities as workers, and their responsibilities at homes – including care work, as the common gender role of women. This article aims to explore whether working from home could become a conducive mode of work for women and family's welfare. What factors do the policy makers need to consider, so that working from home would not reproduce gender inequality against women. This article was developed from literature studies on the analysis and policy framework at the global level, and also several existing researches about the challenges that have been faced by working women during the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia.

Keywords: teleworking; working women; Covid-19 pandemic; gender and economy

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Affirmative Approach in Strengthening Women's Access to the Information and Communication Technology's Vocational Training

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol 26 No.1, April 2021, page 43-54, 10 pictures, 2 tables, 24 references

Despite growing of internet users and digitalizing economy as result of Industry Revolution 4.0, Indonesia still experiences gender-based digital divides, in which, women are left behind in the digital economy and the growing information and communication technology (ICT) sector. To address the issue, affirmative action in accessing skills development programs and labor market are crucial. The aim of the study is to observe whether current affirmative action for women, have

contributed in addressing the issue, and what other affirmative actions and initiatives are necessary, if any. The paper uses mixed qualitative and quantitative methods in which primary data are collected through interview and online survey respectively; and secondary data are collected through literature review. The study argues that affirmative action alone would not be adequate to address gender inequality in digital economy and ICT sector. This study concludes that an integrated intervention between access to capacity building and women's participation is needed, to enable women to enter the digital economy and the ICT sector.

Keywords: digital divide; digital economy; affirmative action; women participation

Atnike Nova Sigiro
Jurnal Perempuan

Advancing the Agenda of the Confederation of Trade Unions on the Prevention of Sexual Violence in the World of Work in Indonesia

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol 26 No.1, April 2021, page 55-68, 4 tables, 23 references

This article was formulated based on interviews with 5 (five) trade union confederations from a number of confederations in Indonesia, namely:

Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Nasional (KSPN), Konfederasi Serikat Buruh Muslimin Indonesia (KSarbumusi), Konfederasi Serikat Buruh Seluruh Indonesia (KSBSI), Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Indonesia (KSPI), and Konfederasi Kongres Aliansi Serikat Buruh Indonesia (KKASBI). This article seeks to explore the efforts made by the trade union confederation in promoting gender equality - specifically in advancing the agenda for the prevention and elimination of sexual violence in the world of work. This article was compiled based on research with a qualitative approach, with data collection methods through interviews and literature studies. The results of this study found that the confederations interviewed had already set up internal structures that have specific functions on issues related to gender equality, gender-based violence, and women's empowerment; although still limited and on ad-hoc basis. This research also finds that the role of the trade union confederation is particularly prominent in advocating policies related to sexual violence and gender-based violence in the world of work, such as advocating the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, and the ratification of the ILO Convention No. 190 on Violence and Harassment.

Keywords: women and trade union; sexual violence at work; women and the labor movement

Strategy for Abolishing Barriers to Women Labor Force Participation

Tendy Gunawan

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Abstract

The female labor force participation rate has not moved from 50-55 percent in the last ten years, and this condition has been exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic. This study looks at the various challenges for women in entering the world of work, maintaining jobs and building careers, and what strategies stakeholders can take to remove various barriers to women's labor force participation. The strategic recommendations include affirmative actions and policies that could be taken by policy makers and companies to remove barriers to women's participation in the workforce. The study is based on literature reviews of various studies and surveys conducted by the ILO in 2010-2020, especially regarding women in the world of work.

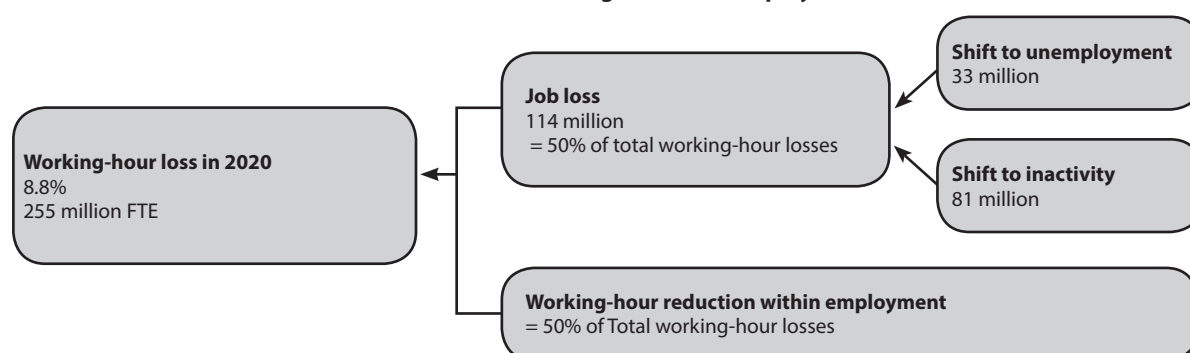
Keywords: gender equality; women labor force participation; glass ceiling effect

Pandemic Impact to Gender Equality

Covid-19 pandemic has brought tremendous impacts to Indonesia's employment condition. Based on the latest information issued by the Central Statistic Agency (BPS), more than 29 million of workers in Indonesia are

affected by the pandemic, in which 2.56 million become unemployed; 0.7 millions are out of the workforce; 1.77 million are unemployed temporarily; and 24.03 millions of workers experiencing reduced working hours.

Picture 1. Estimated lost working hours and employment in 2020



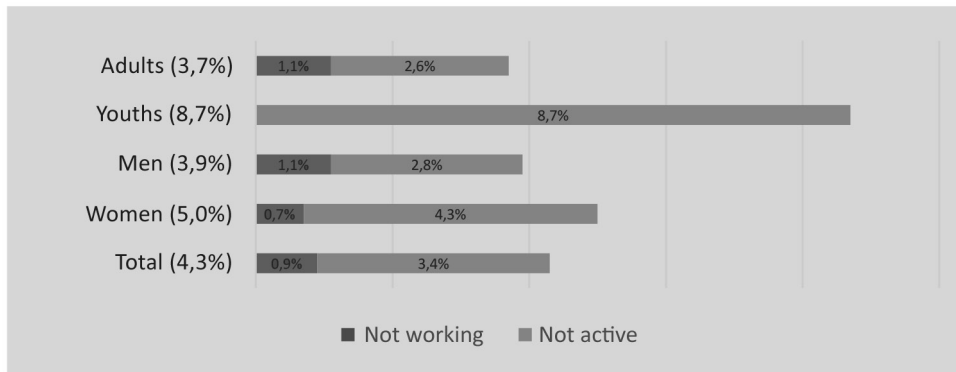
Note: The number of jobs loss, being out of work and being inactive is a relative to the number in 2019. The shift to inactivity also indicates a decline in the workforce. The number of jobs loss is converted into the number of working hours using the actual number working hours, while full-time jobs are calculated based on the 48 hours of working hours in a week.

Source: ILO Monitor 7th edition (2020)

The pandemic' impact to employment is not only happening to Indonesia, but also globally. ILO's report on the impact of Covid-19 pandemic to the world of work shows that the total reduction of working hours in 2020 equals to 255 million of full-time jobs (Picture 1). The same report also estimates that youth workers and female

workers experience far worse impact than male workers, with the percentage of unemployed and temporary unemployment is 8.7 percent for youth workers, and 5 percent for female workers, compared to only 3.9 percent for male workers (ILO 2011).

Picture 2. Decomposition of job loss: unemployed and inactive



Source: ILO Monitor 7th edition (2020)

Picture 3. Impact of Covid-19 Pandemics to Business Sectors

Sector	Risk Status	Growth of working hours (year-to-year) (%)		Growth of employment (year-to-year) (%)	
		2020 Q2	2020 Q3	2020 Q2	2020 Q3
Accommodation and food service activities	High	-33.0	-17.5	-20.3	-13.6
Other services*	Medium-High	-20.8	-9.1	-13.4	-6.3
Construction	Medium	-14.8	-4.0	-8.4	-2.2
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	High	-13.0	-4.9	-7.2	-2.8
Manufacturing	High	-11.9	-4.4	-5.6	-2.5
Education	Low	-11.4	-1.3	-1.4	0.1
Transport, storage; communication	Medium-high	-9.8	-3.7	-3.1	-1.6
Transportation and storage	-	-14.9	-8.5	-6.2	-6.1
Information and Communication	-	1.3	5.8	5.0	7.3
Real estate, business and administrative activities	High	-7.9	-4.0	-2.5	-2.1
Agriculture; forestry and fishing	Low-medium	-6.9	-4.3	-3.9	-3.1
Public administration and defense; compulsory social security	Low	-4.2	1.5	-1.2	1.8
Utilization	Low	-3.5	0.7	0.1	1.1
Human Health and social work activities	Low	-3.4	0.2	-0.8	0.5
Mining and quarrying	Medium	-2.4	-1.6	3.6	2.8
Financial and insurance activities	Medium	-0.5	2.2	3.4	3.5

* "Other service" sector includes employment in "arts, entertainment and recreation"; "other service activities" and "activities of households as employers".

Source: ILO Monitor 7th (2020)

Picture 3 shows the variety of Covid-19 pandemic's impacts to various employment's sectors. From the data above, it is evident that sectors such as accommodation and food services, wholesale and retail, business and administration, and manufactures are the most affected employment sectors by the pandemic, and these sectors are known mostly to employ women. According to ILO (2020) there are four main reasons why female workers are more affected by Covid-19 pandemic compared to men workers.

First, the proportion of working women in the highly affected sectors during the pandemic is very huge. Globally, there are 510 million of female workers, or 40 percent of female workers work in highly affected sectors, such as accommodation and food services, wholesale and retail, business and administration, and manufacture. In Southeast Asia region, the proportion is even bigger, where there were around 50 percent of working women work in the highly affected sectors during the pandemic, compared to only 33.2 percent of male workers.

Second, majority of domestic workers are women migrant workers who are much affected by the pandemic. ILO (2020) estimates that 72.3 percent of migrant domestic workers around the world are at risk of losing their jobs and income.

Third, majority of workers in health and social sector are women. Globally, 70 percent of workers in this sector are women. Ironically, the female workers in this sector tend to do the lower skill and the lower wage's types of jobs, with gender-based wage gap (26 percent lower in high-income countries, and 29 percent in middle-income countries, compared to men). Meanwhile, workers in health sector are very vulnerable to Covid-19 pandemic as they have to work in long-hour, with limited human resources, limited availability of personal protective equipment, and high risk of infection; especially in low- and middle-income countries.

Fourth, during the pandemic, due to online schooling, closure of daycare center, and the absent of assistance

for parents to take care children, have increased women's burden, especially to the working women. Prior to the pandemic, women were already burdened with three quarter of unpaid household work (ILO, 2020). Single parents endure more burden (78.4 percent of single parents in the world are women), especially when they have to work and altogether taking care of children at home (ILO 2020).

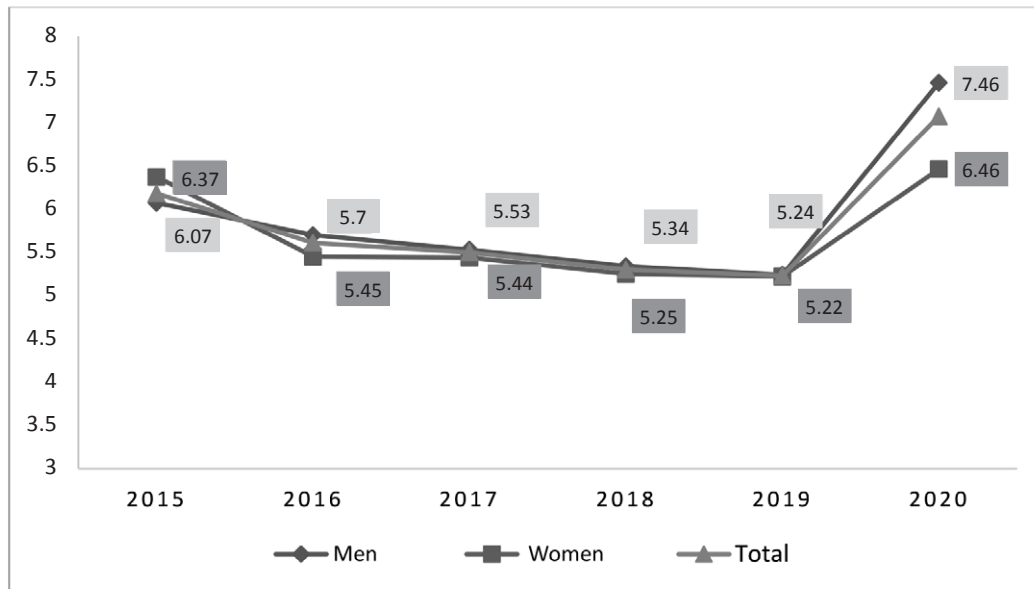
These four factors imperil the gender equality progress for the past decade to only take a worse outcome due to pandemic. This article aims to answer whether similar situation also happen in Indonesia. Considering the very low women labor force participation in employment, what strategy could be taken in order to sustain and improve their career? This article will describe and analyze several challenges that women face in workplace in order to sustain and to improve their career, and what could stakeholders such as government, employers, and workers do to improve women's participation in labor force. The data presented in this article are taken from various studies and surveys that ILO has conducted from 2010-2020, regarding women in the world of work.

Female workers in Indonesia and Covid-19 Pandemic

Based on the data searching on the impact of Covid-19 pandemic, as of now there is no any particular study at national level that specifically highlight the impact of Covid-19 pandemic, especially to the working women in Indonesia, though as described in earlier part, globally, women in many sectors are heavily affected by the pandemic (sectors such as accommodation and food services, trade and retail, business and administration, and manufacture) compared to men. Does the same trend also happen in Indonesia?

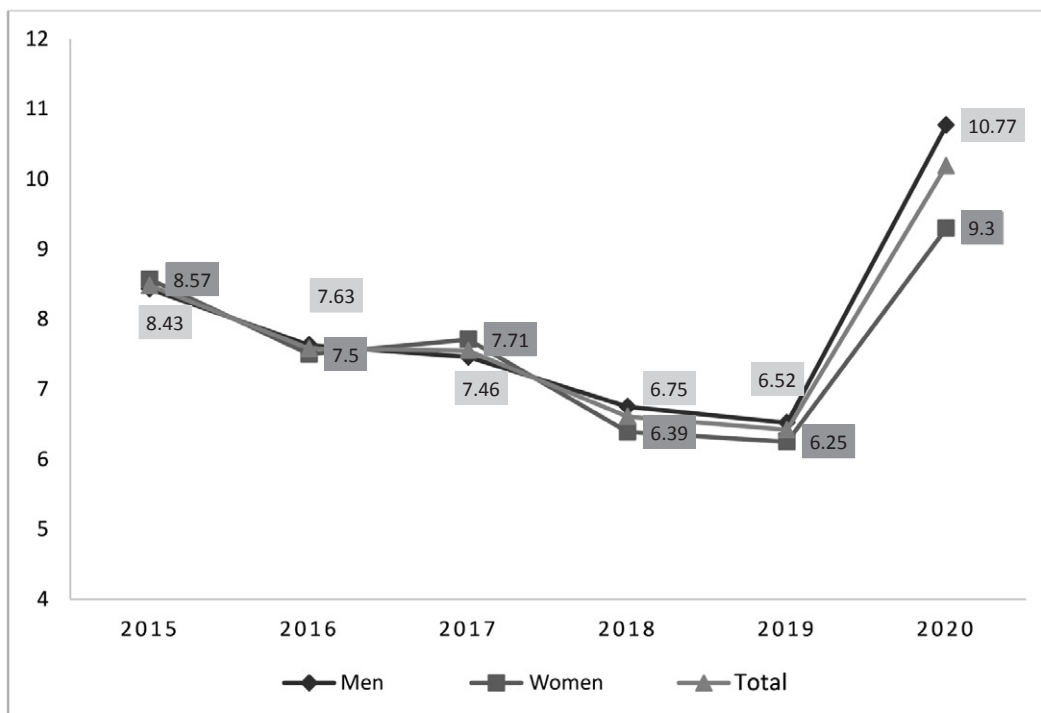
The recent information processed by ILO from the National Employment Survey of the Central Statistic Agency (BPS) in 2020, reveal that the rate of open unemployment and underemployment among women in Indonesia shows similar trend to men for the past five years, and it increased significantly in 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic (Picture 4 and 5).

Picture 4. Unemployment Rate in Indonesia, by sex, 2015- 2020



Source: BPS (2020)

Picture 5. Underemployment rate in Indonesia, by sex, 2015-2020



Source: BPS (2020)

Having seen the trends shown in Picture 4 and 5, does it mean the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia affect men more than women? In contrast to the global study where women are more affected by the pandemic than men?

Unfortunately, this could not be concluded simply by looking at the unemployment and underemployment rate. A more comprehensive research should be done in order to explore various factors that affect unemployment rate in a more detailed manner, for instance jobs based

on sector, age group, level of education, and so on. Nevertheless, there are several hypotheses that might trigger the phenomenon shown in Picture 4 and 5, namely;

First, female workers participation is already low to begin, even long before the pandemic hit, hence, the impact of Covid-19 pandemic to women seems to be smaller compared to men;

Second, the unemployment rate between men and women before Covid-19 pandemic was already different, hence, the impact of Covid-19 pandemic seems not substantial, or in other words, there are other factors than Covid-19 that cause the difference in trend. This certainly would require further validation, through a more comprehensive research;

Third, the proportion of women who left labor market is bigger than men during the pandemic, where women decide not to seek for employment, and therefore their presence is not accounted in the labor force market.

This means, although both men and women experience significant negative impact due to Covid-19 pandemic, but it is inconclusive that women experience far worse impact from the pandemic without any further study.

Women Disadvantaged Position in the World of Work Long Before the Covid-19 Pandemic

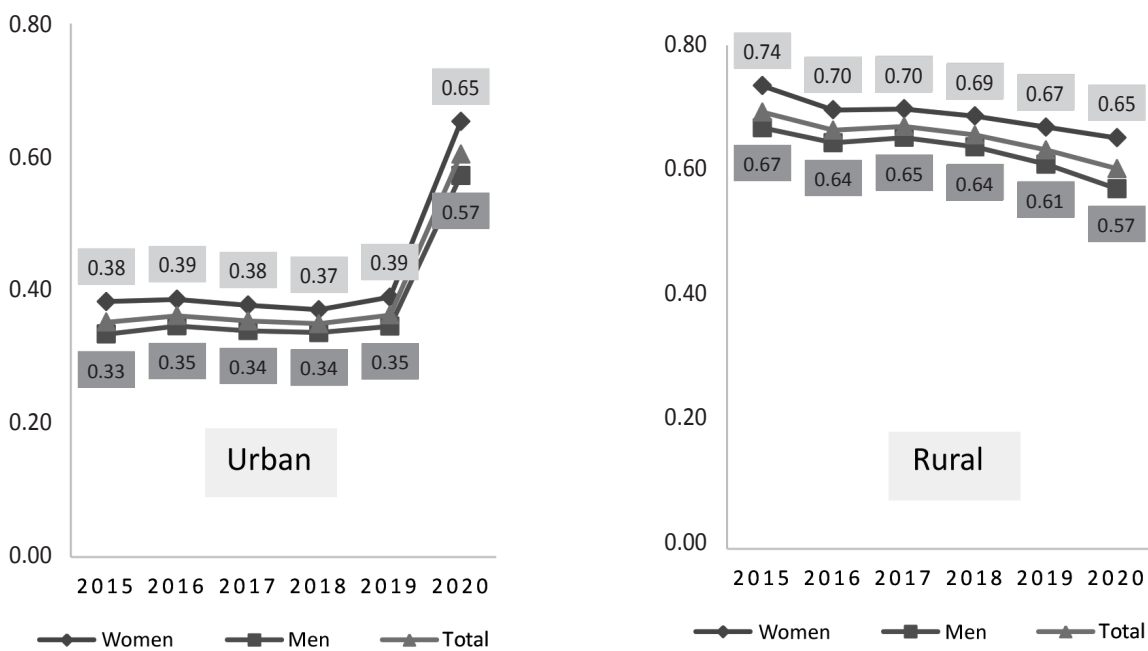
Natural disaster and health crisis entail gender dimension, it is because long before the pandemic hit, women's position in the world of work has been in a disadvantaged position compared to men, due to several factors elaborated below.

This pandemic has caused asymmetrical impact towards men and women. Due to the sustained gender-based division of labor accepted in the society, women tend to work in care work-related profession/field. In addition to that, women's low access to opportunity and level of education and training, have made many women to be employed in low-wage sectors. Even without the pandemic, women in informal sectors have had experienced risks, then with the pandemic the vulnerability and risk are multiplied.

The impacts of pandemic are more severe to women who work in the underpaid care works sectors, such as domestic workers, child care, and elderly care. Female labor force in informal sectors such as logistic, retail, food service, and hotel industry, are those among the most affected ones (Himmelstein & Venkataranaman 2019).

In August 2019, BPS recorded a total number of labor force aged 15 years and older as of 126.51 million people, and 70.49 million of them worked in informal sector. Furthermore, the proportion of working women in informal sector is higher than men, both in urban and rural areas (Picture 6).

Picture 6. Proportion of informal sectors' job opportunity in Urban/Rural areas, by sex, 2015-2020



Source: BPS (2020)

From Picture 6 shows the rapid increase of the proportion of informal sectors in 2020 for both women and men in urban areas, which might be caused by the shifting of formal workers into informal workers during the pandemic. However, this phenomenon did not occur in rural areas where prior to the pandemic, there had been decreasing numbers of employment. This might happen due to urbanization of population from rural to urban areas. Both in urban and rural areas, the proportion of working women in informal sector is always higher compared to men, whether before and during the pandemic.

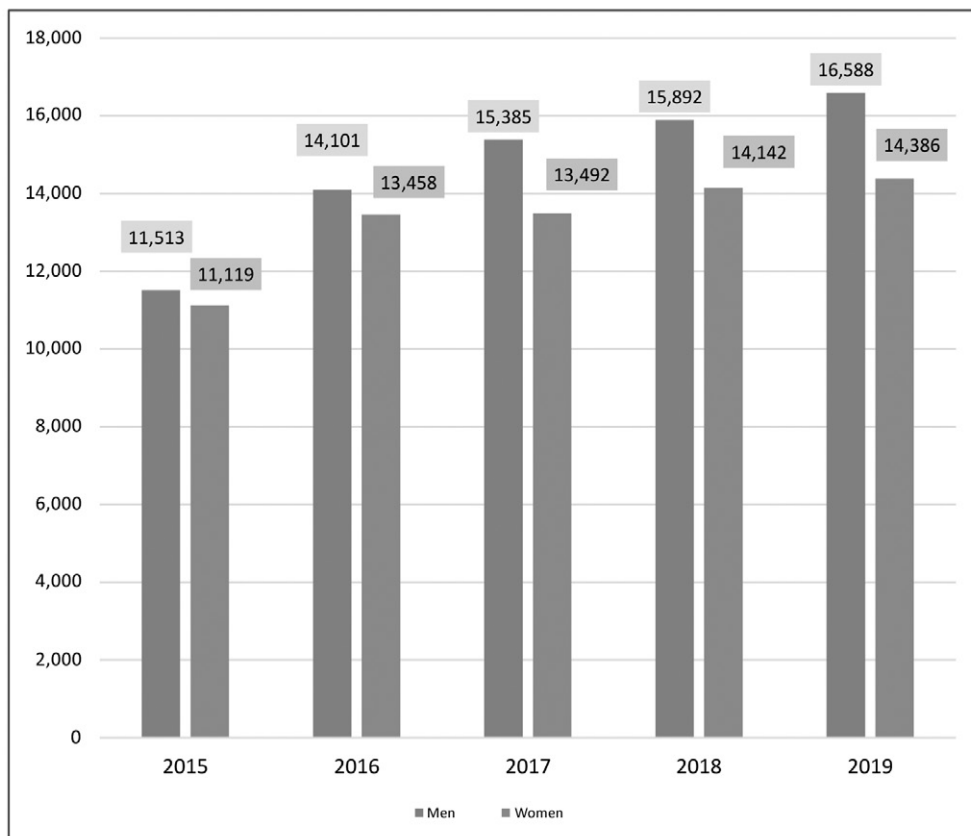
The definition of informal workers according to BPS (2020) are those who are self-employed and do freelance work in agriculture and non-agriculture sectors. Example of informal workers are street vendors, home workers, minibus driver, domestic workers, and so on. Informal workers tend to receive lower salary compared to formal workers, and it is often characterized with the lack of working contract and social protection. This has made the informal workers to be more vulnerable than formal workers, for instance when they suffer from long-term illness and this interferes their ability to earn living, without any social protection and employment security, informal workers are most likely to fall into poverty.

The absence of employment contract also makes them prone to exploitation (working hours, wage, and so on), as well as their work safety and health security. During the Covid-19 pandemic, where many formal workers shift to informal workers, quite often they also lost their social protection schemes that they previously received from their employers; and this is exacerbated due to the increased risk of mental and physical health during their pandemic.

In addition to the shifting of formal sectors into informal sector, during the pandemic, majority of the workers also experience reduced working hours and restricted social interaction. Many of the people start to use social media and e-commerce platform to earn extra income by selling food or other products. As the consequences, informal sector's contribution and participation in the economy is increased.

Aside from the bigger proportion of women compared to men in informal sector, women also experience vulnerabilities in term of wage, in which the wage gap between women and men continues to happen and wider. Picture 7 shows the increasing wage gap between women and men in the past five and women continues to widen from 3.4 percent in 2015 to 13.3 percent in 2019 (BPS 2020).

Picture 7. Average Wage Level per hour, 2015-2019



Source: BPS (2020)

The data from Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection in 2019 shows that married women experience the largest wage gap with ratio of wage between married women to married men as of 74.31 percent, and single/unmarried women experience the lowest wage gap with ratio as of 94.47 percent (Table 1). This also indicates that wage gap has correlation to

women's marital status. It would be interesting to explore why such phenomenon happen, whether does it happen because of any existing stereotype that married women have lower performance? Or does it happen because of the different type of work performed? Or does it happen due to something else? Further study could be undertaken to explore the possible reasons.

Table 1. Average of net monthly wage/salary of population age of 15 and over, by marital status and sex, 2018

Marital Status	Sex		Wage Ratio
	Women	Men	
Single	2,249,317	2,307,684	97.47
Married	2,520,372	3,391,631	74.31
Divorced	2,252,832	2,490,975	90.44
Widowed/widowered	1,946,021	2,389,277	81.45
Total	2,398,674	3,064,920	78.26

Source: Ministry of Women's Empowerment (2019)

The two factors mentioned above, informality of work and wage, have already put women in disadvantaged position in the world or work, and it hinder women's active participation in the labor market, and the trend seems to prevail with or without Covid-19 pandemic.

The next part of this article will elaborate the factors that hindering women's participation in labor market, including factors that causing wage gap between women and men.

Factors that Hindering Women's Participation in Labor Force

Prior to Covid-19 pandemic, women's participation in work force in Indonesia was already low, at the level of 50-50 percent for the past five years. Many factors that hinder women in employment, among others, are the imbalanced burden of household work and the stereotype towards women's type of work that limit women's career development.

Imbalanced Burden of Household Work Hinders Women from Entering Labor Market

One of the reasons why female workers prefer not to work in formal employment sector is family factor and household work load. In Asia and the Pacific, including Indonesia, women use 4.1 more times to perform household chores compared to men, and 80 percent of the total hours to do household chores are performed by women. ILO's research (2018) estimated that it would

take 210 years to close the gender gap in household works. Hence, in the post Covid-19 pandemic, the gender gap in household works may continue to regress below pre-pandemic's estimation.

Though the perception about different gender role in unpaid household work starts to shift slowly, but the society still perceive men as the main breadwinners and women as the main person in charge of the household works (ILO 2018). According to ILO (2018), all over the world, women perform more unpaid care work compared to men.

Household work is one of the main barriers for women to enter labor market, to sustain, and to develop their careers. Mothers with children under six years old usually experience the worst situation, where only 47.6 percent of them are currently employed. Unpaid household work also reduces women's quality of work. Female workers with children under six years old lost almost 1 hour of their paid work per week, and on the contrary, they contribute 18 minutes additional working time for men. Furthermore, women with family responsibility also tend to work in informal sector with flexible working hour arrangement (ILO, 2018). However, this type of informal sectors employments usually does not provide social security program.

It is obvious that the Covid-19 pandemic bring negative impacts on female workers in Indonesia. If the inequality of burden from unpaid care/household work had been experienced more by women compared to men,

then the Covid-19 pandemic have multiplied the impact. The application of social distancing also has shifted the productive work that previously were undertaken at the office into the house. This shifting has influenced all members of family as work and education activities must be done at home. The wide scale social distancing has triggered dilemma or conflicts to women’s different roles from different aspects, such as professional, family and social. Since the gender role and social expectation expect women to take up care work, then women must bear multiple burdens, as they are also expected to be able to meet them altogether (L.Couch et al. 2020, p.268).

The prevailing ideas of “good mother” and “bad mother” in the society also affect the way women try to meet those social expectations. Women would feel guilty and be burdened when they consider themselves as unfit in providing the care for family, especially for their children. According to Meisenbach, Rodriguez Castro, Brady, and Cook in L. Couch et al (2020), in the socio-cultural context women are expected to provide intensive care for the children and family. Therefore, the situation of pandemic would require women to work online from home and to divide their time between professional work and household works, as well as to be a replacement “teacher” for their children who take online schooling. This burden would continue since during social distancing they could not delegate the

caretaking of children to third party, such as to the elderly or childcare service provider.

On the other hand, during the pandemic, women’s paid work is also at risk. The prevailing stereotype perceive that female workers could not fully present and/or not fully perform due to their domestic responsibilities. Women are perceived to be unable to work professionally when they work from home. With the double burdens and stereotype of that women cannot optimally undertake professional work, women are more likely to leave labor market during the pandemic.

Stereotype on Women’s Type of Work that Limits Women’s Career Development

Other challenge that is experienced by women in the labor market’s domain is the gender stereotype. Several forms of gender stereotypes have affected the gender inequality in the world of work such as, the assumption that women are incapable for leadership, that women are less professional than men, and the gender-based division of labor such as profession in the area of STEM (*Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics*), and other stereotypes.

ILO report in 2019 report shows that the proportion of women in companies tend to decrease as the position/ title increases (ILO 2020b). Hence, the proportion of women in manager position is fewer than men.

Table 2. Proportion of women and men in various manager positions in companies with balanced gender composition (by percent)

	Junior Manager	Middle Manager	Senior Manager	Top Leader
Women	13.0	10.5	8.2	5.1
Men	87.0	89.5	91.8	94.9

Source: ILO (2020b)

In general, female workers tend to fill supporting management position, such as human resources development, finance, and administration. Meanwhile, the men tend to fill positions in operational work, research and development, and cost and benefit management, positions that are considered to be more strategic for achieving career in top ladder of the high-level executive.

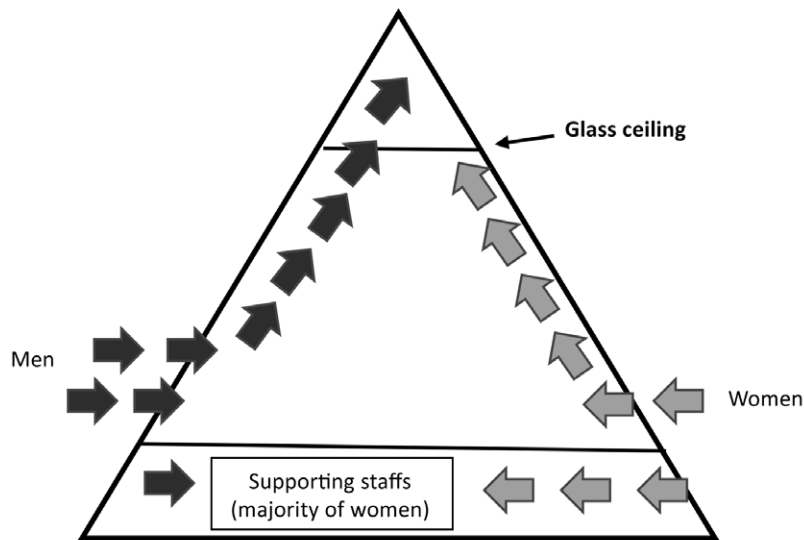
Women’s barriers to obtain the high career ladder is called “*the glass-ceiling effect*”. One of these barriers is caused by the gender-based division in management function, which later limits company’s option in selecting women candidates in the top executive position in the company.

The term “glass ceiling” describes the situation when there is not any objective reason for women not to be on top of the management structure as men, but the prevailing discrimination in the structure and process of the organizations and the society are still embedded (ILO 2001). Women with qualification and competency would look up through the glass ceiling and see what they can achieve, but an invisible blockage would prevent them to go through the glass ceiling. There are several levels of glass ceilings, depending on how far women have progressed in the organizational structure, and it usually is represented by a pyramid like shown in Picture 8. In

some countries or companies, glass ceiling might be closer to the top management of a company, while in

others this might be in the lower position such as junior management and even lower.

Picture 8. Glass ceiling in the pyramid structure of organization

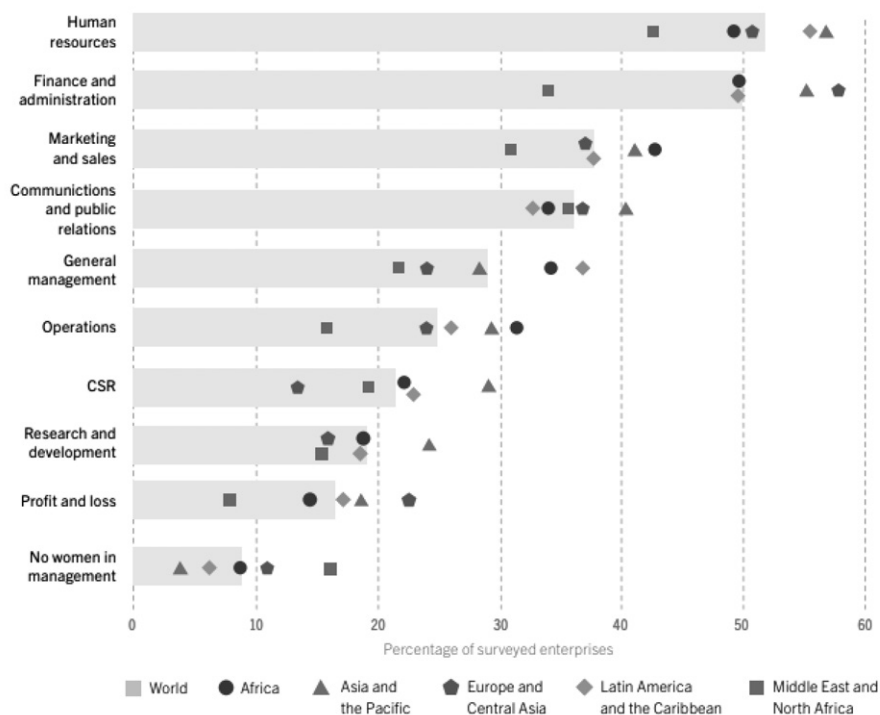


Source: ILO (2001)

Among female workers, the phenomenon of “glass ceiling” come in the behavior and action that would widen the gender gap between men and women in the workplace, which hinder the interest and career development of women. Discrimination against women in the workplace would only generate gender gap that would hinder women’s ability to reach position at the top-level management.

According to the survey conducted by ILO in 2019, globally, the three top positions where women could achieve middle and senior management are: human resource (51.8 percent), finance and administration (49.8 percent), and sales and marketing (37.8 percent) (ILO 2019). Women’s proportion in management position in many companies in the world are shown in Picture 9.

Picture 9. Female Workers’ Proportion in Middle and Upper Management Worldwide



Source: ILO (2019)

The gender-based division of management function also correlates with gender stereotype during recruitment and promotion process. Furthermore, the different type of jobs and occupations taken by women also show gender stereotype when women and men in selecting major in educational institutions (ILO 2020c). The field of engineering, manufacture and constructions, as well as in information technology and communication, are predominantly men. While women dominate the field in social, humanities, healthcare and welfare, and education.

Interesting example comes from garment sectors. Garment and Footwear sector in Indonesia, is cited by the garment and footwear sector bulletin published by the ILO in 2017. In 2016, this sector contributed around 1.4 percent of Indonesia's GDP and employed 4.2 million of workers, in which 58 percent of them were women. The garment and footwear industry also hired 35.3 percent of all female workers, and 19.8 percent of all male workers, in manufacture sector. Although the proportion of female workers in this sector is higher than the men workers, but 95 percent of the women worked at the operator level where majority of workers in this industry work, in compared to only 89 percent of men. Men also tend take the more senior management position (ILO 2017)

Furthermore, the same bulletin also shows that 78.1 percent of men are classified as workers/employees in compared to only 73.3 percent of women. This gap is widened to 7.5 percent if it only accounts permanent workers (75.9 percent of men compared to 68.4 percent women). This shows that female workers in this industry experience gap in terms of employment status and also career development.

Strategy to Eliminate Barriers to Women's Participation in the Labor Force

Considering the various challenges faced by female workers in entering labor market, maintaining employment, and aiming higher occupational career, this part will elaborate several strategies that could be implemented by various stakeholders in Indonesia.

Both Men and Women Should Take Responsibility in Domestic Works

In Indonesia, the common view that men are the main breadwinners, and women are mainly responsible for household and family, still exist. Behavior and attitudes that stem from this perception is difficult to break without any affirmative and systematic actions to push for changes in gender role.

Company's affirmative policy could be made by providing flexible working hours for both women and/or men workers who have children or dependents. One of the examples is the application of special leave for parents who have to attend school's meeting and school report card presentation, could encourage women to stay employed and keep the balance between their family's responsibility and career.

Policy of paternity leave for fathers also need to be promoted in order to give bigger portion for men's involvement in parenting, and provide opportunity for behavioral changes in the longer term. Globally, the number of countries with paternity leave policy for fathers prescribed in the law has increased from 40 to 94 countries between 1994 and 2015 (ILO 2015). Countries with the highest paid leave for fathers are Japan (equivalent to 30 weeks full time work) and South Korea (equivalent to 15 weeks full time work) (The Guardian 2020).

Giving Women Opportunity in Study and Career in the Non-Traditional Field for Women such as in STEM

Currently, works in the fields of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) are still dominated by men, with only 28 percent of women who work in this sector. Indonesia's labor market requires around 9 million digital talents until 2030 (World Bank 2018). The rapid growth of ICT sector is supported by electronic trade industry with its trade value is estimated amounted to 65 billion US Dollar in 2022 (McKinsey & Company 2019). Women's low participation in this sector indicates the loss of economic potential for women to contribute in the fast growing of ICT sector.

The stereotype that certain jobs fit only for men or women, is started from school, especially in secondary and higher education when selecting majors in school. Since 2017, ILO Office Jakarta has been implementing pilot project that helps dropped out women to take up skills training in STEM sector (*Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics*), and provide non-technical skill (*soft skill*) for women who are already employed to further develop their career (ILO 2017).

From May to August 2020, this project has organized e-commerce training to 624 participants, where most of them were women. The training provided skills to manage online shop and to create online shop apps using just smartphones. Based on the survey conducted in November 2020 to the training graduates, 95 percent of the participants have found job opportunities, 78 percent

agreed upon the importance of online business venture, and 66 percent agreed that online business is easy to do. The training delegitimized the initial assumption that women could not do coding-related job (ILO 2020e).

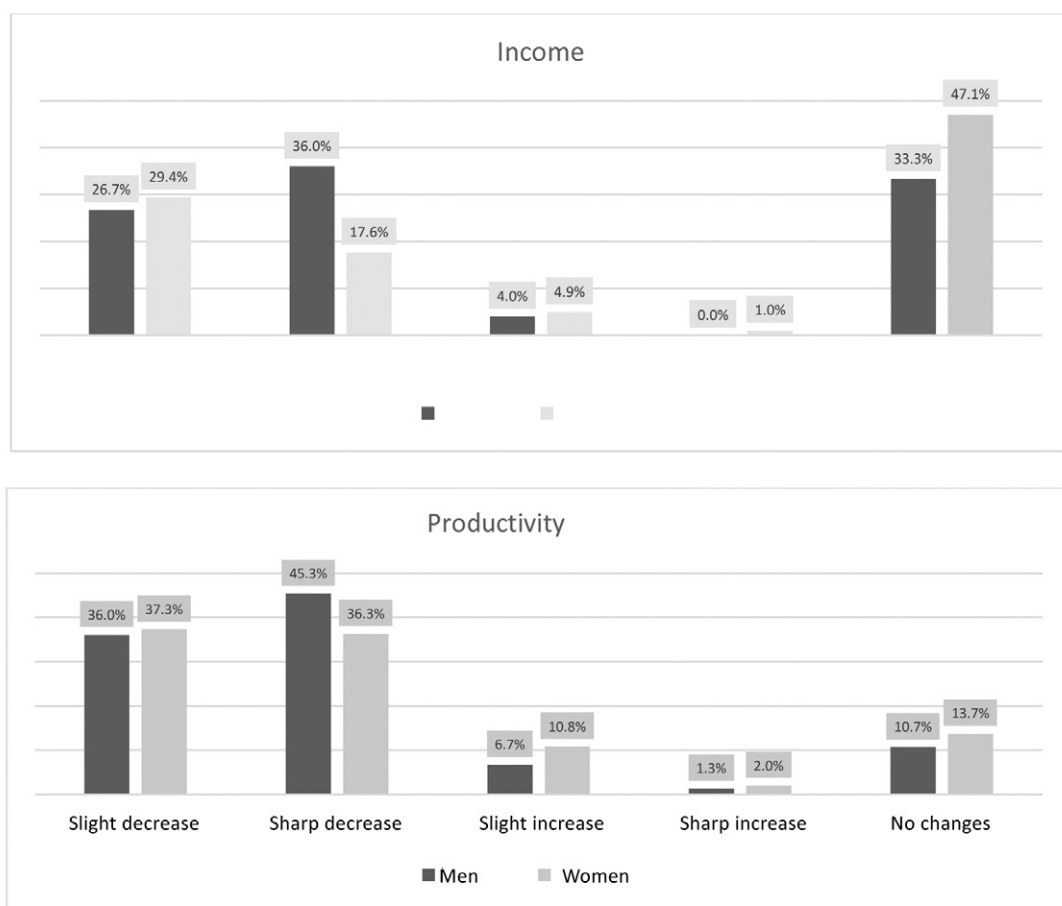
Government could also develop affirmative action in education sector. One of the affirmative policies that can be developed is by setting quota for women participants in male-dominated subject. Furthermore, government could also develop university scholarship for women in STEM-related fields.

Working Hours Flexibility to Improve Productivity of Female workers

If men and women could take more balanced gender role in household works, then teleworking could give greater flexibility for both women and men.

It is interesting to assess ILO’s survey on the impact of Covid-19 pandemic that was conducted in 2020 (ILO, 2020d). The survey to 437 respondents in Indonesia found that women respondents stated that their productivity has increased during the pandemic, and it even surpassed men’s productivity. The number of women respondents who stated that their income increased during pandemic is also higher than men respondents.

Picture 10. Comparison of Productivity and Income Between Women and Men during Covid-19 Pandemic



Source: ILO (2020d)

The findings of survey show that women remain to be economically productive during teleworking mode.

The Opportunity for Career and Skills Development Encourage Female workers to Retain Jobs

ILO’s companies survey conducted in 2019 to 40,000 workers in 8 companies in Indonesia, analyzed three

factor affecting women’s employment retention (ILO 2020b). The three factors analyzed are: (1) general work satisfaction; (2) views on justice and career opportunity; and (3) balance between household works and employment.

According to this survey, female workers’ satisfaction is correlated to the opportunity to access training and

career promotion. The female workers who obtain training opportunities that they required to progress their career, tend to report that they receive the amount of wage for the equal value job and that they are overall satisfied with their jobs. The women who understand the criteria required for career promotion also believe that they have received fair compensation and opportunity for career promotion. In addition, the women who worked in more flexible working hours also agree that the flexibility is necessary in balancing work and family lives.

Based on the survey above, in order to retain women in the workplace, companies could take affirmative measures in providing opportunity for training, for example by providing percentage quota for women participants in career-development training and other trainings that usually are dominated by men.

Other thing that companies could do is providing special quota for women in accessing work skill training in the field of engineering in government's training centers.

Children Daycare Facility Could Support Women to Retain Employment

A research conducted by ILO in 2010, shows that parenting time for pre-school and school children would affect working parents, employers, and community in general (ILO 2010). The research mentioned that the insufficient time and quality of parenting would affect women's labor force participation and gender equality, productivity in workplace, economic development, child's development and family welfare and society in general.

The same study (ILO 2010) also stated that daycare facility would not only improving parents' access to paid employment, but it would also contribute to job creation in child-care service sector. Child-care jobs could replace the unpaid household works such as cleaning homes and preparing meals for children. ILO estimates that 10 job opportunities would be generated for every 100 women entering workforce.

The ILO Convention No.156 of 1981 about Workers with Family calls for measures to develop or to promote services, whether public or private, for children and family care facilities (Article 5(b)). Measures to support workers with family responsibility have been recognized

as one of the ways to promote gender equality according to the ILO Convention No.111 of 1958 on Discrimination (Employment and Occupation). Indonesia has ratified this ILO Convention.

Unfortunately, Indonesia has not yet ratified the ILO Convention No.156, though this convention is important since it stipulates that state plays important role in providing public service and facilities for child care. In practice, in the past few years, efforts to provide public service and facility for child care have been done. One of these efforts is the establishment of Child-Friendly Integrated Public Space (*Ruang Publik Terpadu Ramah Anak/RPTRA*) initiated by the government of Jakarta since 2017.

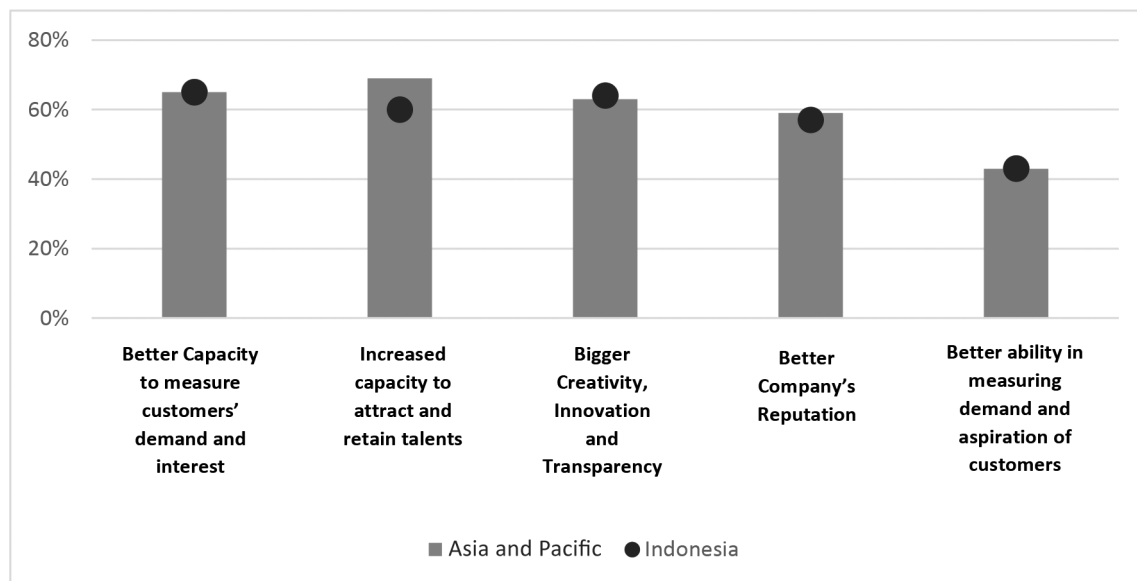
However, in terms of regulation, there has not been any provision or regulation that require companies or government in providing daycare facility for children. The current existing daycare services are provided independently and voluntarily by companies.

Promoting the Benefit of Diversity and Gender Equality in the World of Work.

Other measure to reduce women's barrier to access and to involve in labor market could be done by promoting diversity and gender equality in the world of work. This measure is important and need to be implemented.

In 2020, ILO in collaboration with *Investing in Women* conducted survey about women's role in companies and its impact in increasing revenue, to 416 companies in Indonesia (ILO 2020a). The survey complemented ILO's global survey to 12,940 companies in 70 countries around the world. Several conclusions are drawn from the survey. First, 66 percent of the 416 companies participating in the survey said that gender diversity in the workplace has increased productivity and revenue, through creativity and innovation. Second, 61 percent of the companies said that gender diversity has improved companies' success in recruiting and retaining workers with great potential. Third, 53 percent of the companies said that gender diversity has increased company's reputation. Meanwhile, 46 percent of the companies said that gender diversity also gives better opportunity for companies in measuring consumers' demand and aspiration.

Picture 11. Percentage of companies that declared positive Impacts of gender diversity and equality for company's profit in Indonesia and Asia Pacific



Source: ILO (2020a)

ILO's survey (2020a) found that most of the companies that participated as respondents felt the increasing profit through gender diversity and equality (Picture 11). The positive impact experienced by respondents in Asia Pacific for instance are: increased productivity and profit (>60 percent); company's increased ability to attract and maintain talented workers (>60 percent); increased creativity, innovation, and transparency (>60 percent); improved company's reputation (around 58 percent); and better ability to understand customers' interests and aspiration (around 45 percent). Similar percentage of positive impacts are also experienced the respondents of companies in Indonesia.

Gender equality in the workplace is correlated to the company's openness and role in providing better opportunities for women, by adopting gender equality principles into the human resource management in recruitment process, career development, remuneration and others. Often times, the gap happened unintentionally, but because the lack of knowledge of company's management and employees about gender equality. Therefore, the role of organizations such as Indonesia Employers' Association (APINDO), the Indonesia Chamber of Commerce and Industry, or gender-based organizations such as *the Indonesia Business Coalition for Women Empowerment (IBCWE)* play important role in building gender awareness among their members and providing business examples about the benefit of gender equality to the company's profits.

Aside from the role of employers promoting gender equality, workers themselves have an important role in advancing the rights of female workers and negotiating better conditions for women to survive and maintain careers in the workplace. Trade unions at the company level, sectoral trade union federations, and trade union confederation, and also national level confederation, could also be used to voice out gender equality for female workers. Remuneration system, for example, can be negotiated in Collective Bargaining Agreements between workers and the management at company level, guidelines for gender principles can also be adapted to the industrial sector through trade union federation.

Conclusion

Female workers in Indonesia were already at a disadvantaged position even before the Covid-19 pandemic. The Covid-19 pandemic has widened the existing gap between women and men with the rising of informal workers and wage gap. Although further research is needed to look at the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic in on female workers in a more comprehensively, various policies and programs that could increase women labor force participation must still be carried out.

Various research findings conducted by ILO have found various gender inequalities that hinder the development of women labor force participation in Indonesia, namely the unbalanced burden of unpaid domestic work between men and women, stereotypes

on the type of jobs for women, and the “glass ceiling effect”.

Gender inequality that hinders women labor force participation can be corrected through policies that encourage equal gender roles between women and men, both in the world of work and in the household. For example, the policy of paternity leave for fathers, the policy of flexibility in working hours and remote work, and childcare facilities by both the government and companies.

In addition to policy changes that promote gender equality, efforts to encourage women labor force participation also require affirmative policies and programs from various parties, both government and companies. For example, by providing a special quota for women to improve skills in companies and access to skills improvement in job training centers for the government, policies to provide greater opportunities for women to take STEM-related fields of study (Science, Technology, Engineering, Mathematics).

The strategies presented in this article, of course, requires further contextual research. Different jobs sectors, for example between the manufacture sector and the service sector, certainly would require different forms of gender-based specific policies and programs.

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The Lack of Attention to Lactation Needs in Media Companies

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Abstract

The fulfilment of exclusive breastfeeding is important not only for the babies and toddlers, but also for prevention of breast cancer to mothers and/ or women. Although the government has developed policies related to exclusive breastfeeding, the achievements are still inadequate. One of the problems is the lack of support from the workplace environment. This study focuses on the attention and support of media companies to the lactation needs of breastfeeding women journalists. This qualitative study uses the in-depth interview method and literature study. The results of the study show that media support for the lactation needs of female journalists is still very low. The newsroom must have a special policy that fully supports the lactation needs of journalists both at the office and outside the office. The study also found that full support from the social work environment plays a very important role in the success of a female journalist in giving exclusive breastfeeding.

Keywords: women and journalism; feminism; access to lactation; working women

Female Workers and Lactation Experience

Lactation's experience is a women's exclusive experience. The issue of breastfeeding has become one of the issues that come to the attention of feminist scholars, because it is correlated to the issue of gender inequality. Simone de Beauvoir, one of the feminist scholars, views that women's reproductive function is often made as the reason why women experience discrimination. In *the Second Sex* (1979), there is a view that since the beginning of history, women have been attached to domestic work and excluded from public life because of their reproductive function. Another thinker who highlights the connection between human reproductive patterns with women's domestication is Joan Huber, a sociologist. Huber in Rippeyoung and Noonan (2012) states that human reproductive and neonatal patterns are the root of gender inequality. According to Huber, historically, infants' need to breastfeeding has excluded women from work and power. In the past, since women had to take care and breastfed their children, they were prevented from other activities, including their participation in public spaces. Women's reproductive role, in this case breastfeeding, contribute in placing women as subordinate group in the world of work. In a patriarchal culture, men are socially privileged in the world of work. Men are not identified with child care and household work, so they have more freedom to carry out

various activities in public spaces. This makes men the ordinate group in the world of work.

The illustration provided by Huber seems still relevant to the current conditions, where women are often excluded from public life due to the meaning attached to their bodies. The female body, especially the maternal body, the female body during pregnancy, childbirth, lactation and child care, is considered incompatible with the professional world. According to Young (2005), in public world, organizations and in the world of work, maternal experiences are often treated as the experience of others.

In the context of modern women, many women have been involved in the world of professional work while still carrying out household care work. In this situation, women are often faced with the dilemma between prioritizing the interests of household care and the interests of fulfilling their obligations in the world of work. Women's reproductive work, namely breastfeeding, is one of the challenges faced by women who also carry out productive work. Conflicts between women's identities as mothers and as professional workers quite often put women in a situation where they have to sacrifice one of them. This dilemma is one of the problems that need to be recognized among the issue of women participation in the world of work.

BPS data (2020) shows that Women Labor Force Participation Rate (*Tingkat Partisipasi Angkatan Kerja/TPAK*) is lower than men. One of the reasons for the low rate of women labor force participation happened due to the unrecognized challenges concerning women's reproductive function, namely in maternal experiences such as pregnancy, breastfeeding and nurturing. Breastfeeding working women experience various obstacles, including: lack of support from co-workers, the lack of lactation rooms that provide privacy, and the lack of space for breastfeeding storage (Rippeyoung & Noonan 2012). A number of studies show that women have difficulty in carrying out their roles as nursing mothers along with their roles as professional workers, so that in breastfeeding conditions, many women decide to reduce their professional working hours, change jobs or even quit from their profession.

A number of policies have been issued to respond to these challenges. Through a number of policies, the state arranges for companies to accommodate these special needs, so that children could continue to receive intensive care, without the women having to sacrifice their careers. Unfortunately, these rules have not been fully implemented by companies. The government seems to only focus on increasing the number of female workers without seriously addressing the issue of discrimination in the work environment.

In Indonesia, the gap between the Labor Force Participation Rate is quite large, at the ratio of 82.69 percent for men and 51.88 percent for women (Sakernas 2018). The government has made a number of efforts to increase this figure. The Ministry of Manpower, for example, has issued several policies to ensure a non-discriminatory world of work. However, over the last 20 years, the percentage of labor force participation tends to stagnate. The average labor force participation of men reached around 84 percent, while the average rate of women only reached of about 50 percent. This inequality occurs partly because the labor market does not recognize and does not accommodate women's specific problems. This research specifically wants to highlight how is the dilemma of women journalists in carrying out child care work, namely breastfeeding, with the challenges of professional work.

This research is a qualitative research that focuses on the experiences of women journalists in carrying out their roles as nursing mothers and as professional workers. Through in-depth interviews with 12 respondents from 8 medias, the author explores the importance of lactation room in supporting women's involvement in the world

of work, especially to journalistic profession. Interviews were conducted in March-April 2021 by telephone.

Journalist profession provides multiple challenges for women journalists during breastfeeding time. It is because journalists do not only work in offices, but have to do mobile work. This means that the need for lactation rooms is not only needed in the company buildings, but also in the area where they do news reporting. Therefore, to ensure that breastfeeding rights of the women journalists are fulfilled, the availability of lactation rooms in public spaces are also need to be considered.

The Discourse and Policy Concerning Breastfeeding

In the last few decades, the discourse on breastfeeding has develop rapidly at the global level. The health approach states that exclusive breastfeeding at the beginning of the baby's life period will make the baby's nutrition optimally fulfilled in order to process the formation of immunity, also brain and physical development of babies. In addition, the fulfillment of exclusive breastfeeding can also reduce the risk of death on infants and the risk of breast cancer on mothers.

Breastfeeding is also discussed from an economic point of view. Although there has been not any research on the effect of exclusive breastfeeding on the economy in Indonesia, but various studies in other countries such as the United States, Italy, Australia, the Netherlands, England, and Spain show that exclusive breastfeeding can save health costs' components. Exclusive breastfeeding can reduce the risk of costs arising from *otitis media*, *gastroenteritis*, *necrotizing enterocolitis*, respiratory infections, asthma, childhood leukemia, type 1 diabetes, obesity, and sudden infant death (Quesada et al. 2020).

The World Health Organization (WHO 2018) released a statement that breastfeeding is the most effective way to ensure children's health and lives' survival. According to WHO, based on global data, only 40 percent of infants under the age of six months who received exclusively breastfeeding. For this reason, WHO recommends that every baby should be breastfed within one hour after birth. In addition, WHO and UNICEF also recommend exclusive breastfeeding for the first 6 months of infants' lives without the need for any other foods, including water.

Fanny et al. (2011) in the journal *Media Gizi Pangan*, analyzed the burden of health care costs for children under five according to their breastfeeding history, with a case study in South Sulawesi. The research findings indicate that an optimal breastfeeding's history could reduce the

cost of healthcare services for infants. Comparison of the cost burden of among children who have been breastfed, those who have been breastfed less than 24 months, and those who have never been breastfed, resulted in a significant amount of cost. The largest amount of expenses incurred by parents whose children have never been breastfed reached approximately Rp 161,318.20 per three months. This amount is more than double of the costs incurred for the category of those who are still breastfed until and the category of had been breastfed.

With the expanding discourse that breastfeeding for babies provides great benefits for mothers and children's health as well as its economic benefits, the pressure for women to give breastfeeding to babies is also increased. Through various campaigns at global and national levels, women are faced with social expectations to breastfeed their babies. According to Gatrell (2013), the idea of a "good mother" as mothers who breastfeed their children has been widely internalized among women.

In responding to the global discourse on the campaign to fulfill breastfeeding for infants, Indonesian government has established a national policy of government regulation – PP No. 33/2012 concerning Exclusive Breastfeeding Program. The target of exclusive breastfeeding set out in the 2015-2019 National Strategic Plan, is to reach 50 percent by 2019. However, UNICEF noted that the rate of exclusive breastfeeding in Indonesia is still low because only 1 between 2 babies under 6 months age, who received exclusive breastfeeding. This means that more than half of babies in Indonesia have been introduced to complementary foods before 6 months old. This means that the policy has not been able to accommodate the problems and needs of women in the maternal period to be able to provide breastfeeding to their babies.

Data from the National Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) 2019 also shows, there are only about 37.3 percent of infants aged 0-6 months who received exclusive breastfeeding. Various factors underlie this condition, among others is mothers' lack of knowledge and awareness, lack of support from family and closest people as well as their environment, including the lack of support for the women who breastfeeding in the workplace.

As regulated in Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, maternity leave rights for women are given for 1.5 months after giving birth. However, the maternity leave time may shift depend on the condition of women, for example in condition of premature birth. In the explanation of Article 82 paragraph (1), a leave can be

extended based on a statement given by doctor or midwife before or after childbirth. Providing maternity leave for three months poses challenge to the target of exclusive breastfeeding for the first 6 months of an infant's life. According to Bailey and Pain (2001), breastfeeding is a time-consuming and energy-consuming activity. This is the reason why evidence show some women who stopped their lactation process after returning to work.

Based on BPS data, it is known that the level of women's participation in the labor market is still low. BPS, as of February 2020, recorded at least 51,934,989 women who work in various sectors. This figure has not significantly increased when compared to the women workforce in 2017 which amounted to 49,772,097. It is unfortunate that women's participation in the world of work is still low, even though women's participation in the world of work has proven to be able to improve the economy of a country. The inequality in women's participation in the world of work is exacerbated by the patriarchal values in the world of work. Some of women's obstacles in the world of work include: violence in the world of work, negligence towards the rights of female workers such as lactation rooms and also wage discrimination.

The patriarchal cultural norms are manifested in various forms of discrimination in the world of work. In the aspect of wages, for example, discrimination occurs because many of media companies use the Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 as the standard in determining wages for female workers. This also applies to press companies. The Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 article 31 paragraph (3) states that the husband is the head of the family and the wife is a housewife (Stellarosa et al. 2019). This rule reflects the division of gender roles within the family. Men are positioned as breadwinners, while women are housewives. Therefore, the income earned by working women is considered only as additional income. According to Okin (1989), the division of gender roles in the family have resulted in the inequality towards the distribution of rights. In the context of employment, female workers find it difficult to obtain jobs security rights, such as family health insurance.

In an effort to fulfill the rights of the female workers, especially in relation to give breastfeeding for babies, the government has introduced a number of policies, including: Article 83 of the Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, Article 22 of the Law No. 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection, and Article 128 paragraph 2 of the Law No. 36 of 2009 concerning Health.

Article 83 of the Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower prescribe mandate that: *“Female workers/ laborers whose children are still breastfed should be given appropriate opportunities to breastfeed their children if this is to be done during working hours.”* This policy was issued to accommodate nursing mothers’ needs, who have finished their leave period. This rule further strengthens the Article 22 of the Law No. 23 of 2002 concerning Child Protection which states: *“The state and government are obliged and responsible for providing support of facilities and infrastructure in implementing of child protection.”* As well as strengthening article 128 paragraph 2 of the Law No. 36 of 2009 concerning Health which states: *“Mothers are guaranteed, that during breastfeeding, the family, government, local government, and the community must fully support the baby’s mother by providing special time and facilities. Even when the special facilities are provided in the workplace and public facilities.”*

As efforts to promote a gender-equal working situation and to accommodate women’s needs, a number of policies have been issued, but unfortunately, at the implementation level, women’s rights are still being violated and many are not being fulfilled.

Women’s rights that are connected to their reproductive roles are still alienated from the work systems and processes. Fulfilling the right to menstrual leave, and lactation rooms are often considered less important in supporting the work of breastfeeding women.

In a survey on Jakarta Journalists’ Real Wage and Decent Wage held by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (AJI) Jakarta, an important issue emerged regarding the availability of lactation rooms in media companies. AJI conducted an online survey from January to February 2021 involving 97 respondents. The respondents came from 44 mass media. The survey revealed that out of 44 mass media, only 5 media that already have lactation rooms at work. The media are Metro TV, Republika, Medcom, Kumparan, and Detik. The survey data shows that the majority of mass media have not guaranteed the fulfillment of the lactation rights of female workers, even though the law has made it mandatory. Another finding from the survey is that out of 50 of the female respondents, 35 of them admitted that they did not get menstrual leave, or did not know that their companies apply menstrual leave.

The AJI Jakarta survey received mixed responses from media workers, including some who claimed that the media where they worked had provided lactation rooms,

in contrast to the respondents’ statement who took part in the survey. This shows that even though lactation room are available in the work place, but the facilities are not necessarily known to all of the journalists who work in the media. This means that there is an information gap about the rights of female workers (lack of sensitization) so that the facilities are not known by the journalists. This research wants to further find out about this issue by interviewing a number of female journalists regarding lactation rooms in the workplace.

Safe and Comfortable Lactation Room is Needed to Support Female Workers

Although the development of female workers is in line with the economy growth of a country, unfortunately the support upon the availability of lactation room is still low. Female workers who breastfeed often face difficulty when they have to pump breastmilk due to the lack of facilities provided by the offices.

The law has required companies to provide a lactation room, but in reality, there are still many workplaces that do not provide it. A research conducted by Saputri et al. (2020) found that statistically breastfeeding practices in Indonesia from 2002 to 2017 had increased, but the trend of exclusive breastfeeding on working women was lower. Yulia Sari (2016) explained the reasons for the low rate of exclusive breastfeeding for working mothers in Indonesia through *Kesmas: National Public Health Journal*, that is the lack of support from the work environment and the society. Several challenges have affected the fulfillment of breastfeeding for working mothers, those are: the unavailable lactation rooms at work, inflexible work schedules, relationships with superiors, decreased productivity, and financial problems.

The lack of lactation rooms in the workplace, ultimately forces women, who want to give exclusive breastfeeding to their children, to quit from work. Therefore, the existence of a lactation room in the office and rules that are friendly to breastfeeding female workers are important because it can encourage productivity and motivation of the breastfeeding women to return to the office after maternity leave (Basrowi et al. 2018)

A survey conducted by Poynter in 2017 found that the media industry is not friendly to workers who have children. The research was conducted involving 390 journalists in the United States. The research found that 31 percent of respondents said that media companies do not have regulations that support lactation, while another 19 percent of respondents said they did not

know. In fact, gender sensitive company policies are needed to increase women's participation in the world of work and to foster gender diversity within the editorial body.

A study towards 1,600 journalists conducted by the University of Kansas in 2015 showed that female journalists were more prone to burnout than men. The reason is because women bear more social burden than men. This burden is manifested in the social demands towards women as caregivers for children and families. The traditional patriarchal norms make women morally responsible to ensure the best care for their children. On the other hand, women also need to be involved in the public sphere to support their family economy and to affirm the need for self-existence.

Working women are required to simultaneously be able to negotiate their identity as mothers with reproductive tasks such as breastfeeding, and to present themselves as professional workers who can put aside family matters while at work. Women are simultaneously required to fulfill both roles.

To allow the both roles are served, the availability of a proper and adequate lactation room becomes important. Then, women would be able to carry out both roles without having to sacrifice one of them.

The experience of one of the female journalists in the interview shows the challenges of the nursing women.

My office doesn't have any lactation room. First, I was given a place for lactation in the office kitchen, the room is clean and can be locked, but it's not comfortable because every time I pumped breastmilk, the kitchen door was knocked by friends who want to use the kitchen, because in my office the workers are not allowed to eat in the working desk. Eventually, I moved to pump in the toilet even though I knew the that the toilet wasn't sterile. Then I felt that I had failed in breastfeeding my child. My office only occupies one floor in a building in Jakarta that has 12 floors, but there is no lactation room available in that building. (NA 2021, an editor in a foreign media with a bureau office located in Jakarta, interview, 31 March).

The division of roles based on gender norms places women in charge of family care and nursing, so it is not surprising that women feel frustrated when they cannot breastfeed their children. This is connected to the normalization over the concept of "good mother".

Starns (2002) in *The Works of Breastfeeding* explains that this dilemma stems from the assumption that "good mothers" are those who can provide breastmilk as the main food for their children. A good mother is also described as a woman who puts the welfare of her child

above anything else. Social pressures over the mother's identity, urge women to prioritize lactation over their professional work. So, when women fail or have to stop breastfeeding their children, they will feel guilty and feel that they are bad mothers (Starns 2012, p. 250). Women often feel not good enough when they do not achieve social demands in the reproductive work and in the private spheres. In various literatures, women are often faced with the dilemma between fully taking care their children and working. When carefully observed, women's choice to continue their careers as journalists, could also be part of the effort to take care and to support the economic sustainability of the family.

The statement from NA reinforces the urgency for the availability of lactation rooms in office buildings in Indonesia. Based on a survey conducted by the Ministry of Health in 2016 towards 338 companies in 19 provinces and 78 regencies or cities, only 64.8 percent of office buildings in Indonesia have provided lactation rooms (Astuti 2018). This means that not all companies have supported exclusive breastfeeding for their female employees.

By simply providing a lactation room is not enough, companies need to provide a proper lactation room to support exclusive breastfeeding. Based on the Minister of Health Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia No. 15 of 2013 concerning Procedures for Providing Special Facilities for Breastfeeding and/or Breastmilk, a proper lactation room would requires at least includes: a designated room with a minimum size of 3x4 meters and/or adjusted according to the number of female workers who are breastfeeding; lockable doors, which are easy to open/close; tile/cement/carpet floors; have adequate ventilation and air circulation; free from potential hazards in the workplace including pollution, quiet environment away from noise, adequate lighting in the room and not dazzling, humidity ranges from 30-50, maximum 60 percent, and a sink with running water for washing hands and washing utensils.

The regulation does not only regulate about lactation room, but in the Article 11, it states that a lactation room must also have adequate equipment such as breastmilk storage and other supporting equipment according to standards. The standard equipment for storing breastmilk is a refrigerator to keep breastmilk, cooling gel, a bag for carrying breastmilk, and a breastmilk bottle sterilizer.

In my office, there is a lactation room, but I often pump breastmilk in the prayer room because the lactation room is on a different floor from the newsroom. My office doesn't use any elevator, so I'm become lazy to go up and down

if I left something. My friends also pump breastmilk at the prayer room because it is closer and more comfortable. (KR 2021, editor at a national media based in Jakarta, interview, 31 March)

KR's statement shows a discrepancy between the company's policies and implementation. This makes efforts to fulfill breastfeeding rights would not be enough just by changing at the policy level, but also by encouraging changes in awareness about the company's full obligations to fulfill the rights of female workers.

The comfort factor affects the level of milk production. Actually, it's not only because the lactation room is on a different floor, but if the lactation room feels lonely, there are no friends. Even so, I also like pumping at the shopping center near my office. The room is more comfortable, pumping while working is also comfortable. (KR 2021, editor at a national media based in Jakarta, interview, 31 March).

KR's statement also shows that companies need to provide a representative lactation room to support female workers who breastfeed. It is because the comfort factor of the lactation room also affects women's psychological condition and will ultimately bring impact to the lactation process.

Special Editorial Team Policy for Breastfeeding Journalists

Based on a number of experiences explained by women journalists, one of the main challenges for female journalists to carry out their professional work is the unavailable adequate lactation room. For this reason, the editorial team must be involved in helping breastfeeding female journalists to easily access the lactation room. Not a few breastfeeding female journalists who are still actively doing news reporting outside the office, who have experienced breastmilk seeping and throwing away breastmilk because the news reporting location does not allow space to undertake lactation. The majority of female journalists who knew and experienced those difficulties could not refuse their superior's request for fearing that it will weaken their bargaining position in the newsroom.

Quotes from IS and IP's experiences show that the working women's lactation experience, especially in the field of journalism, is not easy. In order to avoid marginalization in the work environment, women often undertake their professional work even though they are tired and physically not in optimal conditions, they want to meet the expectations of professional norms - which only reflect masculine experiences. In the world of work, men are in a superior position compared to women,

because men are considered as competent human beings to work, their bodies are consistent (no changes due to reproductive function), rational and are not attached to household care. With these characteristics, men are considered as workers who fully and completely involved in professional work (Gartell 2013, p. 625-626). This idea has been used as the basis for discrimination against women in the world of work.

I've tried to do news reporting in remote areas, in the middle of reporting there was no lactation room, I've used bathrooms, had it in foreign countries, and that's it, I always tried to pump everywhere, the challenge was about (breastmilk) storage. I've had mastitis¹ due to late pumping during news reporting. Luckily, when I asked to do news reporting for art desk, the office allowed me. Because in the art desk, the reporting areas are clear. (IS 2021, journalist at a national media based in Jakarta, interview, 31 March).

The lack of adequate storage for keeping breastmilk is one of the obstacles faced by female journalists. One of the informants in this article told story why she chose to go back and forth from the news reporting area to the office, so that she could store breastmilk in the refrigerator in the office lactation room. Another informant also told a story that she was willing to bring lactation equipment and breastmilk storage during the reporting, so that her role as a mother and worker could run simultaneously.

The experience to pump breastmilk while reporting outside the office is fun, even though I have to bring a lot of heavy/large (lactation) bag. Now I am using use a backpack that has a breastmilk box in it, but sometime I also carry a portable breastmilk box. The challenge is, for example, when I'm escorting a press conference, especially at a house of a prominent official that doesn't have a lactation room, I have to wait for the press conference to finish before going to a mall. I often go there (mall) to pump every time I get home from work. (IP 2021, reporter at a national media based in Jakarta, interview, April 2).

The strategic and comfortable lactation room's location would help the working journalists to be productive and to support for journalists who are working so that they can be productive and be able to give exclusive breastfeeding for their children. UL, a female journalist—an Editor-in-Chief of one of the medias is aware of the company's obligation to support workers who are married, so that the media does not only provide a lactation room, but also a nursery room. For UL, the existence of a lactation room is important to maintain babies' health.

If they don't have any storage, they would pump in the bathroom, even though it's not hygienic. The minimum requirement for lactation room it has to have refrigerator,

a rather dim light to make it comfortable, and there is a comfortable seat. But the most useful thing is to pump and store the milk. Media X not only provides lactation room, but also prepare nursery room. The lactation room is also accessible. (UL 2021, Editor-in-Chief of Media X, interview, 5 April).

As a woman and as editor-in-chief, UL understands the challenges faced by female journalists. The provision of lactation room that meet the standards and the needs of female workers could become a form of support for female journalists.

In addition to the media led by UL, resource person SY from other media, who also has lactation room explain that so far, the location and facilities of lactation room in her office can support the women who work in the media.

So far no one has ever complained about the lactation room in media Y. A special refrigerator for breastmilk is also provided by the office, female employees here who are breastfeeding also use the lactation room facilities. The location is also strategic, no one complains about the position of the lactation room, because it is situated in the middle of the building. (SY 2021, Chairman of Labor Union of media Y, interview, 31 March).

Journalism work has a high working mobility, mobile news reporting areas, quite often the news reporting must be done from out of town. Therefore, in order to support the women journalists' participation, the editorial team need to set up friendly policies to workers who are under lactation period. This gender-sensitive policy will increase the chances of female journalists to re-enter the world of work after the maternity leave ends.

The book *Jejak Jurnalis Perempuan* (2012), which was compiled by the Alliance of Independent Journalists, found the causes of gender inequality and injustice that occurred in press companies. The inequality could be seen not only by the number of journalists who work, namely 2 to 3 female journalists out of 10 journalists, but also the position of women in the editorial room, only 6 percent of female journalists who sit in the editorial leadership. The higher number of men who sit in the editorial leadership have caused the media's policies to be less friendly to women. Policies in editorial work are made gender neutral, whereas affirmative policies are needed in the context of breastfeeding female workers.

The Need for Social Environment's Support

Not only from the company, support from the social environment also affects women's breastfeeding processes. Rahadian (2014) said that quite many breastfeeding women who get negative comments from

their family and coworkers, even women who pump breastmilk while working are often accused of being unproductive by their co-workers. Whereas women's work productivity is also influenced by support from the social environment such as from their husbands, families, and companies where they work. In addition to that, the stigma of working women who breastfeed is also caused by the view that women are responsible for domestic activities. This construction ultimately hinders women's careers and makes women depressed and affected breastmilk processes.

Supports from fellow journalists also play a very important role in the success of female journalists in giving exclusive breastfeeding to their children. Especially when they covering news from outside the office. IP from media A stated that support from fellow journalists outside the office, apart from husband and family, plays a very important role in breastfeeding her child. She can pump breastmilk calmly and comfortably in front of her fellow journalists, without feeling shy or embarrassed, because it is not considered taboo by them. This means that a friendly working environment to breastfeeding women could become supporting factor for women to continue breastfeeding and undertake their professional work altogether. The awareness about the need to support breastfeeding female workers needs to be built in working environment.

I received amazing supports from reporting crews. Aside from support from my partner and family. Sometimes in the pressroom, also in front of the staffs. But it really has to be like that, the reporting crews also have understood it already. And thank God [they] support me to give exclusive breastfeeding for child. So, whether they are men or women, the reporting crews have already get used and it's not considered to be taboo for me to pump breastmilk in front of them. (IP 2021, reporter of media A, interview, April 2).

It is different from NA. A journalist who has worked in Media B in Medan for about 7 years, shared her experience of being teased by her fellow cameramen as a "Yakult saleswoman", a "Bengali milkwoman", every time she pumped breastmilk during news reporting. However, she chose to ignore the teasing and continued to consistently pump breastmilk for her baby.

I often got ridicule from my friends, because when I brought breastmilk bottles, carry along a cooler bag, I was often being ridiculed, they called me Yakult saleswoman, Bengali milkwoman. I think I didn't mind the ridicule, but sometimes if the people didn't understand, it could be embarrassing too. But I didn't really care." (NA, 2021, reporter at a media based in Medan, interview, April 5).

NA's experience of receiving ridicule from colleagues regarding her lactation activities demonstrates a rejection towards women's bodies and maternal experiences in the work environment. The ridicule is a manifestation of the exclusion of maternal experience from the world of work. When maternal experiences are disclosed to public life or work environment, these experiences are seen and treated as taboo and disrupt the clear boundaries between private and public spaces at work (Gartell 2013, p. 624).

The Pandemic and the Need for Lactation Room in Media Company

The presence of a lactation room is still needed by media workers despite the Covid-19 pandemic situation. Large-scale social distancing policies have made most of the workers switch their places of work, from the office to the home. However, for journalists, the majority are not like that. It is during the pandemic, that the work's mobility of journalists is increasing. During the pandemic, people's need for information makes media workers, similar to the medical workers, who still have to work during the pandemic. Although some media have applied Working from Home (WfH) system, it is possible that the media workers are still asked to come to the office. This also applies to female media workers who are breastfeeding.

Media company policies should accommodate the experiences of women journalists who are breastfeeding during the pandemic. In a pandemic situation, female journalists and their babies are more vulnerable from being exposed to Covid-19. Therefore, when female journalists have to come to the office, the lactation facilities that comply with Covid-19 standards and protocols need to be available and obeyed. Based on case studies, infected neonates with SARS-CoV-2 showed mild clinical manifestations or were asymptomatic (without symptoms), the number of severe cases and complications was relatively rare, and the prognosis were good. The risk of neonatal infection, through vertical transmission through mother-infant or breastmilk transmission, is still inconclusive and requires further research (Felicia 2020).

The dynamic and changing demands towards the journalist profession have made female journalists unable to fully undertake WfH. Therefore, lactation rooms need to remain open during the Covid-19 pandemic. The need for lactation rooms persists, especially for female media workers who are in breastfeeding period, if they are still required to come to the office.

Every media company that provides lactation room during the Covid-19 pandemic, needs to make adjustment regarding lactation room. The adjustment can be made with several things according to the standards of working from office during the Covid-19 pandemic situation.

The adjustment can be made by providing sterilizer device that can be used at any time, before or after the lactation room is used by media workers. Sterilizer is currently available in the form of an electric device. In general, electric sterilizer works by using Ultraviolet-C (UV-C) light technology, which can damage viral and microbial proteins (Fan, Xueton et al. 2017). But on the other hand, UV-C ray is also harmful to human skin. For this reason, in addition to providing facilities, companies also need to provide instructions for the use of electric sterilizer when it is used in lactation rooms. The user manual must be accessible and readable by workers before using it.

The other simple way is by providing liquid disinfectant lactation room and constantly monitor its availability. The provision of disinfectant liquid should be maintained to allow breastfeeding media workers to minimize the potential of Covid-19 transmission in the lactation room. Disinfectant liquid should be applied to the lactation room before and after breastfeeding. It is important to know that it is important to avoid direct expose of the liquid disinfectant to breastmilk pumping equipment. Furthermore, it is important to provide social distancing for seating arrangements in the lactation room. In addition to the limited access to the breastfeeding media workers, the use of masks in the lactation room is also important and it is still important to avoid conversation while pumping breastmilk.

Another important thing is that companies need to provide regular disinfection officers for lactation rooms, as well as to monitor compliance with the use of lactation rooms by media workers. The use of the lactation room certainly refers to the media workers who use it, that meet the standards of working from the office, for example, not experiencing symptoms of Covid-19 or had not visiting crowd before entering the office. If workers comply with the health protocols, including choosing not to go to the office and getting checked first should they experience any of Covid-19's symptoms, then apprehensions about Covid-19 transmission through lactation rooms can certainly be reduced.

To support the women's participation in the world of work, especially in journalist during the current pandemic era, a situation where women experience multiple vulnerabilities. Therefore, the fulfillment of safe

lactation room and working condition that are friendly to the breastfeeding mothers should be fulfilled. Paying attention and fulfilling the needs of the breastfeeding working women is the company's obligation, because this matter serves as part of the rights of the workers and as ways to ensure non-discriminatory working condition.

Conclusion

The experiences of the female journalists in this study show that female journalists have to experience challenges in negotiating their identity during lactation. On one hand women are required to fulfill their gender role to nurse the children, that is to give exclusive breastfeeding. On the other hand, women are required to perform their professional work optimally. Based on the experience of the informants, it is clear that media company policies need to accommodate this situation so that women can perform both roles without sacrifices any of them. One of the forms supports to women's participation in the world of work is by providing lactation room that is in accordance with the standard provisions.

Based on the experiences of journalists in the interviews, this research shows that the government's program to encourage exclusive breastfeeding in Indonesia has not been adequately implemented. This is evident by the fact that there are still many media companies that have not complied with the policy regarding the provision of lactation room in offices. The media companies that have had lactation rooms still ignore the basic facilities for lactation room, such as room access, and the lack of storage for keeping breastmilk.

In the context of journalism, female journalists have to experience multiple work challenges. The difficulty of the breastfeeding female journalists who look for lactation room in public areas and news reporting area in office buildings shows that the availability of lactation rooms in public spaces is also still low. In addition to lactation rooms in media companies, the number of lactation rooms in public spaces also needs to be increased.

This study also found that social support from co-workers had become one of the important things in supporting female workers, especially during lactation. Company has the responsibility to create a gender sensitive work situation and environment. The elimination of social stigma, including bullying, such as ridicule against breastfeeding mothers is necessary. It is because stigma and humiliation against reproductive function could cause shame, anxiety and increase the feeling of depression in female workers. Bullying against

breastfeeding mothers for due to breast-feeding related activities can cause multiple burdens to the breastfeeding mothers. In fact, it is very important to maintain comfort for breastfeeding women.

In the Covid-19 pandemic situation, the provision of lactation rooms for media workers also needs to be integrated with the health protocols. Provision of routine disinfectant and sterilization equipment must be applied in the lactation rooms. This is to prevent the transmission of Covid-19 through lactation room, given the need for lactation room persist, even during the Covid-19 pandemic situation. According to the regulation, as the regulator of media companies, especially the press, the Press Council should revise the Press Council Regulation No. 4/Peraturan-DP/III/2008 concerning Press Company Standards. In the regulation, there is no clause that requires media companies to provide lactation rooms that meet the health standards, comfortable and safe for breastfeeding media workers is not yet available. The mandatory requirement for lactation room is important to be included in the Press Company Standard Regulations, so that the availability of lactation rooms in each media would be affirmed.

Working women's breastfeeding experiences need to be recognized and to be accommodated both in policy and in daily life. If not, then women would be restricted in choosing between working or breastfeeding. With adequate policies and facilities, women could do both jobs simultaneously.

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Endnotes

- 1 Mastitis is inflammation of the breast tissue. This condition is often experienced by nursing mothers so that it interferes with the process of breastfeeding the baby.

Rethinking Strategy for Gender Equality in Trade unions

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Abstract

The non-strategic role and position of women workers in trade union organization, even in the women-dominated sector, is hardly changed even though the number of women members of trade unions is increasing. Various programs have been carried out to increase the strategic role of women in trade union organizations but so far have not shown significant results. Based on interviews with officers of gender equality programs for trade unions, union leaders and women and men members and literature studies this paper offers an idea of the need for a non-exclusive approach and actively and proportionally involving men in awareness-raising and gender equality programs for trade unions. This idea is based on the fact that in trade unions gender-related program is always left to or only involves women. The strategy in the gender equality awareness and improvement program that only involves women causes the program's effectiveness to be low because half of the causes of the problem is not involved.

Keywords: women worker; trade union; gender equality

Introduction

"...want to increase the number of female managers because 80 percent of workers are women, because if there many female workers in trade unions, there will be more thoughts and aspirations, and there would be more colorful and this will help other female workers who are still afraid to speak out..." (Ismarlina, a female worker participating in Sekolah Buruh Perempuan/Female Labor School)¹.

The bargaining position of Indonesian workers is in general getting weaker, as seen in various cases of violations against workers' rights that lead to industrial disputes and actions, which prove employers' stronger position and government's weak role in protecting the working citizens, even in fulfilling workers' rights as regulated by the laws. The situation highlights the important role of trade unions in advocating the interest of the workers. Although in fact, trade unions have to face more challenges both internal and external challenges, in maintaining their existences. The challenges towards the existence of trade unions particularly are caused by the development of global capitalism strategy and government policies on employment and labor, that become more in favor of capital.

The situation faced by trade unions in Indonesia is also faced by trade unions around the world. The global capitalist system that continues to develop

various strategies to survive and to accumulate amid the increasingly vulnerable economy and the more frequent crises have forced trade unions, whose position become more marginalized and whose power to be eroded. Economic crisis firmly has reduced the number of unions' members due to layoffs. The application of labor market flexibility (Nugroho & Tjandraningsih 2007) and the industrial relation have been developed as a more flexible capital strategy in dealing with the crisis also bring effect on reducing union members because due to the decreasing number of permanent workers. Workers with permanent employment status are the main constituents of trade unions.

Challenges to the existence of trade unions have direct impact to their members. Double impacts are experienced by female workers because apart from their role as workers, which are still not fully recognized in trade unions, female workers-related problems have not been considered as part of the trade unions' issues. There is a tendency within trade unions in prioritizing issues such as wage issues and other government policies as their advocacy but excluding the problems faced by their female members.

As union members, women who work in various occupational sectors that are predominantly women, have not been proportionately represented in term of

position, roles and interest, within trade unions. Only small number of women who hold strategic positions in trade unions. Various efforts have been made to bring women's perspectives and interests into trade unions, but the progress has been very slow. This paper aims to examine and also to offer alternative strategies to bring women into the spotlight in trade unions, through assessment and analysis towards program and educational activities for building capacity and gender equality, that have been organized by trade unions and civil society organizations. In general, a program approach that only focuses on women and does not involve men had become one of the main obstacles that makes the labor empowerment goals are difficult to achieve.

Information provided in this article make reference to literature studies and qualitative approaches made based on conversations and interviews with female and male activists in trade unions.

Trade unions and Female Workers in Indonesia

The Role of Trade unions

From political science perspective, trade union is a highly important element in democracy. Trade unions that organize the working class, with the number of members and organizational capabilities, according to Rueschemeyer et al. (1992), could provide capacity for workers to balance power between classes in the capitalist system. Especially with the characteristic identified by Valenzuela, that is its ability to disrupt the economy and prevent total repression for democratization (Baccaro et al. 2018). Although Baccaro et al. further wrote that for the Asian context the contribution of trade unions to democratization as mentioned by Rueschemeyer et al. (1992) needs to be reviewed. However, the power of trade union members in terms of their number and organizational capacity serve as the main asset for trade unions everywhere, to give great influence in the democratization process, both in the workplace and in the wider political arena. Discussions about the political role of trade unions in Indonesia can be seen, for example, through the work of Suryomenggolo (2014), Caraway et al. (2015), Triyono (2016), Aditya (2018), Faedlulloh (2019), and Rochadi (2020).

In term of industrial relations' framework, trade unions also have role in creating industrial democracy in the workplace as legitimate voices in decision-making concerning work and employment relations. However, the industrial democracy initiated by Sydney and Beatrice

Webb in the 19th century (Salamon 2010) needs to be critically addressed due to the question arises whether democracy in the workplace with trade unions as its main element is consistent with the democracy within trade unions. Gumbrell-McCormick and Hyman (2019) stated that several authors who wrote about industrial relations argued that trade unions cannot gain legitimacy as a democratic force unless they can prove that their internal organizations also apply democratic principles. In order to make effective role in promoting democracy, trade unions would need what Regalia identifies as "*the capacity to interpret, decipher, sustain, and redefine the demands of the represented, so as to evoke the broadest possible consensus and approval*" (Gumbrell-McCormick and Hyman 2019).

Since the moment of reform in Indonesia – which is often interpreted as the opening of democracy and the escape from an authoritarian government – the world of trade unions was one that had them the most. In the last twenty years, with the end of the single union era by President Habibie, with the signing of the ILO Convention No. 87 on Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organise, and the ILO Convention No. 98 on Organise and Collective Bargaining Convention, and the promulgation of freedom of association through the Law No. 21 of 2000 on Trade Unions/Labor Unions by President Abdurrahman Wahid, the number of trade unions have grown rapidly. This is different from the previous period when there was only one union existed, that was the Union of All Indonesian Workers (*Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia/SPSI*). Data recorded by the *industrial-union.org*, a project on trade unions' empowerment, based on an official data from the Ministry of Manpower, shows that by 2020 the number of organizations at company's level were more than 10 thousand, with a total of 3.2 million members. Those organizations at company's level were affiliated to 111 federations and those federations were affiliated to 16 confederations.

Women in Trade unions: Majority but Invisible

The influential trade unions at national level in Indonesia organize workers in sectors that are predominantly women. However, as the usual situation in the workplace, the high amount of numbers is not necessarily in line with the level participation and strategic role in trade unions. Sociologically, female workers face a multi-layered power structure. The industrialization process that began in the early 1970s was characterized by feminization and urbanization of women who came from poor social classes with low education into

the environment and had to deal with social classes consisting of men who were more educated, powerful, and economically stronger, both at work and in trade unions. This situation immediately put female workers in subordinate position. In an interview to a woman activist who describe her experience when started working in the early 1990s, at that time she always kept her head down, did not dare to look her (male) superior in the eye, and did not have the courage to express her opinions. This condition is still experienced by female workers today and it brings impact to the marginalization of women's interest.

To date, national data of trade union members disaggregated by gender is not yet available. Some of the union federations own membership data based on gender. For unions that organize workers in the predominantly women industrial sector such as garments, shoes, toys, cigarettes, then the percentage of members will be dominated by women, and vice versa. Thus, the majority of union members in those sectors are women. However, it can be estimated that there would be small numbers of women who hold position as leaders, whether in unions at the factory level, at the branch, and federation levels, as illustrated below.

Majority of SPN's members are women (Serikat Pekerja Nasional/the National Trade union. However, out of a total of 600 unions executives, there are only less than 5 percent of them are women, and only 1 woman hold leadership at the regional level (Shanto 2021, interview, 31 March). In Garteks (*Gabungan Serikat Buruh Tekstil*/the Association of Garment Trade Unions), there are 15 chairwomen out of 130 labor union executives (12 percent) at the factory level and 3 chairwomen at the branch level. Garteks has 4 female leaders at company level out of 130 organizations at the company level, and 3 female branch leaders out of 18 organizations (Ary Djoko 2021, interview, 1 April).

Women's marginal position in trade unions has become unchanged global phenomenon. Ledwith (2012) wrote that women subordinate positions in trade unions continues, although there have been many changes with the increasing women's participation in the world of work, and the emergence of concerns towards gender deficits since the second wave of feminism in the 1970s. The situation was mentioned as a story about exclusive masculinized unionism versus demands for inclusive gender politics.

European Trade Union Confederation stated that improving gender balance in trade unions' leadership and in the decision-making structures remains a fundamental

challenge for trade union movement (Ledwith 2012 citing Pilinger 2010).

Women's position as members of trade unions continue to face the same problems such the common violation against workers' rights and also against right to reproductive protection, and experience sexual harassment and discrimination. In trade unions, as illustrated above, women do not hold the top positions nor the strategic decision-makers, instead they hold the traditional positions as implementers such as treasurer, secretary, and education staff. During trade union events, female members hold task as finance officer (cashier), caterer, host, or carry souvenir trays.

During regular protests of the trade unions and during the commemoration of the International Labor Day, problems faced by female workers have not become dominant issues and demands, as noted by LIPS (Majalah Sedane 2019). Female workers' issues only emerge during the commemoration of the International Women's Day, which celebrated mainly by women and with little participation of men.

Women's marginalization and underrepresentation in terms of numbers, interests, and roles in trade unions have become questioned through various research and perspectives, reveal male domination over trade unions has made the female members invisible from the male. (ILO 2005, Hilmy & Fatma 2011, Subagya et al. 2013, Zuhaena 2015, Nilamsari 2017, TURC 2019).

Women's stagnant participation in the medium and large-scale businesses is reflected in their roles in trade unions. It is important to highlight, that trade unions in Indonesia mostly still concentrate on organizing workers in the formal sector, particularly in the manufacture industry.

Women's Experiences in Trade Unions

Although at a very slow pace, freedom of association that started twenty years ago has opened up opportunities for roles and voices of female workers through trade unions. Through the struggles of the pioneers on women's rights as trade union members, then the female trade unions' members that raise female workers' interest in trade unions have been gradually emerged. The fight that began twenty years ago by claiming the rights of female members to sit as delegates in union's congress and to change congress' regulation that eliminated women's suffrage, while the statute has regulated the legal rights for members to vote and to be elected. The fight was followed by 30 percent of quota

of women attendance required in trade union activities (Lilis Mahmudah 2021, interview, 26 March).

Long before that, one of the initial struggle to raise women's voice was started an activity that was initiated by the late Ari Sunarijati, a female SPSI activist who established Pondok Pekerja Wanita (dormitories for female workers) in Jakarta, Sukabumi, and Surabaya in the early 1990s, and also followed by establishing *Lembaga Wanita, Pekerja dan Anak* (Women, Workers, and Children Institute) as an affiliated organization to the biggest trade union in Indonesia at that time. The objectives of its establishment were to educate female workers about their rights as workers and trade union members, and to prepare women as union leaders (Ashoka.org 2021)². At that time, with only one union controlled by the government, the main objective of the carried-out activities was to prepare potential trade union leaders that genuinely came from the workers group.

The struggle to raise women's voices in trade unions was also carried out by another female activist. Her personal experience to engage with the dominant male unionist activists and placed female activists to serve coffee because of their gender, triggered her to fight for equality for female workers in trade unions. The occasion where 'women made coffee for men in public spaces' later became a tool for creating equality in trade unions at company level, by prohibiting female executives from making coffee for male executives (Endang Rokhani – a lawyer, educator, and motivator for female workers 2021, interview, 30 March).

Another initiative to fight marginalization of women in trade unions was also carried out by a female worker who tirelessly fought to get herself to become women's representative trade union, by continuously learning to understand about unequal gender relations in the workplace and the union. Her personal experiences in facing resistance from male activists in the trade union against her achievement in climbing the union hierarchy ladder, had further strengthened her motivation to raise female workers' problems and interests (Izzah Inzamiyah – an educator of female union members 2021, interview, 29 March).

The initiative is still being undertaken until today because female workers still face the same barriers to get equal opportunities in trade unions. A small survey conducted by the Bekasi Women Trade Unions Committee (*Komite Perempuan Serikat Pekerja Bekasi/ KPPSB*) on 13 March 2021 in commemorating the International Women's Day by targeting female union members, stated that the two main obstacles for women

to hold decision-making positions in trade unions are the views (of men) that women do not have the ability to lead and that women have time allocation problem.

If being conceptualized, women's experiences and the obstacles they face in trade unions are reflection and manifestation of the connection between gender stereotypes, unequal gender relations, and patriarchal culture in society. The ideology that constructs and shapes gender roles have rooted in the society's mindset and quite often influence or even more become the basis for biased policies, that resulted in policies that put female workers in a weaker position.

In order to remind and to emphasize, gender is a concept as well as an analytical tool towards the view about men and women, both as physical and social construction. Gender, gender relations, and its various elements are the main work of feminism. Feminism itself questions the politically constructed and driven gender relations, and thereby feminist theory requires tools to clarify social and political structures, and show how gender is being produced and reproduced; through gender lens, feminism seeks to examine the assumptions of power, change awareness, see oppression, and action to end it (Arivia 2016).

The social construction towards the point of view about character and role of women have clearly used by men and women in the work place and in unions. In the later development, a clear line between women's issues and men's issues, women's affairs and men's affairs, organization's affairs and women's affairs, work processes affairs and women's affairs.

In the workplace, the distinction between women's affairs and other matters can be illustrated as follows. If there is a problem regarding violation against protection of reproductive rights, such as sexual harassment, it would be almost automatically considered as women's problem or a gender problem, and are not considered as part of K3 issues (*Kesehatan dan Keselamatan Kerja/ Occupational Health and Safety*) nor as work process/ procedure problem. Because the violation is considered as women's problem, therefore the female victim has to resolve it herself.

A similar illustration also occurred in trade unions where women's issues are not considered as organizational issues, but rather as specific issues. There is not any trade union that has put sexual harassment's issue as organizational issue, that is institutionally taken up as priority issue, even in unions where the majority of members are women. An exception applies to FSBPI

(*Federasi Serikat Buruh Persatuan Indonesia*/Federation of Indonesian Trade Unions), which takes the issue of sexual harassment a priority agenda of the organization. It is a common phenomenon in trade unions to leave the solution towards sexual harassment problems and the protection of reproductive rights, to be handled by women. It is also a common thing in trade unions' forums that men would be active when discussing general issues; while the discussion shifted into women-related issues, then the time and place are automatically transferred to women. Likewise, in events hosted by external parties, there is some kind of automatic division of assignments for men to attend activities that discuss issues on wages, collective labor agreements, or social security; and for women to attend activities that discuss issues on reproductive rights, sexual harassment, and maternity protection.

The male activists from the SPN (*Serikat Pekerja Nasional*/National Trade Union), KEP (*Kimia Energi Pertambangan* /Chemical and Energy), and FSPMI (*Federasi Serikat Pekerja Metal Indonesia*/the Federation of Indonesian Metal Trade Unions) who were interviewed admitted that trade union is a very masculine organisation and still differentiate between organizational issues and women's issues (Shanto, Guntoro, Kahar 2021, interview, 31 March). A masculine organization is characterized by, for example, meeting hours that last until late at night, and meetings that are held out of town for days, and meeting rooms full of cigarette smoke and sexist jokes. The condition would make it difficult for women to optimally participate due to the uncomfortable situation. The existing distinction between women's issues and organizational are already known. Issues that are considered as organizational issues are issues regarding wages, collective bargaining agreements, government's policy concerning employment-related issues such as the Omnibus Law Cipta Kerja, social security, advocacy and litigation. Maternity leave and maternity protection issues are considered as women's issues. According to the male executives, the separation between women's issues and organizational issues partly happen due to the exclusive attitude of women who are perceived as only willing to deal with matters relating to women's reproductive rights, and are reluctant to take part in litigation and advocacy. Women are also perceived to be satisfied to stay in a comfort zone in the women-related department within the organization. For the record, all unions have a women-related department under the organizational structure, and later also established women's committee serve as part of the organizational chapter. Different from the male's point of view about

the comfort zone above, a female branch leader saw that the establishment of women's committee in the union are created as a stage that allow the unions' executive to avoid to deal with women-related issues.

Similar to their female counterparts, male executives also see that women's roles and activities in the unions are driven by factors from within the women themselves, as a boundary made by women to adjust with their status as wives and/or mothers. Those internal factors are recognized by male executives as a result of a patriarchal culture that restricts women's mobility public arena.

Women's Empowerment Program in Trade unions

Marginalization of women's role in trade unions has been and is being addressed through various gender equality programs organized by trade unions as well as their supporting institutions. These programs are primarily aimed at building female workers' awareness to speak and to address their struggle upon the violations of rights in the workplace, and to open up women's awareness towards their ability in taking important and strategic roles in organizations on an equal basis with men. The temporary affirmative approach or also known as positive discrimination have coloring the programs, since the social reality have place women in unequal position within the society; this approach indeed aims to promote social equality through special treatment to the groups that are socio-economically marginalized. And female workers are one amongst the marginalized group within society.

A female workers empowerment program implemented by the Trade Union Rights Centre (TURC), a non-governmental organization focused on labor rights advocacy, in collaboration with *CARE Indonesia*, in the form of Female Workers' School (*Sekolah Buruh Perempuan/SBP*) for example, aims to increase the capacity of the female union executives at the factory level in using public data for advocacy purposes. SBP participants are all women and the trainers are mostly women. Sustained participation of women in SBP have also faced challenges similar to women's participation in other unions' activities, those are: permission from their families and companies. SBP confirmed that female workers do need to be trained to present themselves and to voice their desires and interests to the public, and to be introduced to workers' rights and rights to fight discriminatory actions from both companies and organizations. SBP's processes also show that although it started twenty years ago, but awareness building process about female workers' rights has to be restarted again.

Industry All Indonesia Council that consist of 11 trade union federations, has established a women's committee since the end of 2013, with its main agenda is campaigning for maternity protection. Aside being part of the international agenda related to the ILO Convention 183 on Maternity Protection Convention, it also accommodated reports from female members of affiliated federations regarding examinations required to get menstrual leave rights.

The activities of the women's committee of the *Industry All Indonesia Council*, similar to the women's committees in other trade unions, are fully handled by women. Men's participation is very limited and tends to be formal and ceremonial. Otherwise to give *ad hoc* assistance for matters that are considered to be men's affairs, such technical nature and technology-related matters.

Gender training programs in trade unions are designed specifically for women, and men are not allowed to participate in some of the activities. On the one hand, it is designed to give women the freedom to express their desires and concerns about gender-related issues in a forum where men are not present. On the other hand, this method would further distance men from understanding and awareness towards the unequal of gender relations and it would emphasize the assumption among men about gender issues as women-only concerning matters. What is more important is the assumption that men do not contribute to the existing unequal gender relations. Meanwhile, it is admitted that patriarchal culture is the cause of unequal gender relation.

Gender awareness and equality programs using the affirmative action approach that prioritize women as a disadvantaged group, on the one side, create an exclusive impression, that would further emphasize the separation between women's affairs against organizational affairs, or to exclude women's interests from the organizational affairs. An affirmative action could also negate meritocracy and assume that an achievement or progress is achieved not because of hard work but a privilege – and that could be counterproductive. One of the examples is men's jealousy to women who are given too many privileges to increase their capacity through various special training for women.

An affirmative action is indeed needed to open up space to equalize the playing field, for women against men. However, in the context of female union members, this approach needs to be complemented by other methods and strategies that can eliminate its

counterproductive side. The method principally involves not only female members but also male members, and trade union executives.

The article "*Feminising the Unions*" offers an alternative culture, that is the culture of femininity, which sees female union members as "putting importance on affective relationships rather than the instrumental one; prioritizing social factors over the purely economic factors; making connections between home, work and society; acceptance towards diversity and beliefs that everyone's voice should be heard; disliking formality, hierarchy, and top-down decision-making, as well as the believe towards informality and the importance of grassroots opinions" (Ledwith 2012). Femininity culture grows out of women's lives experiences as caregivers, subordination, and multiple roles in society and in paid work.

Integrating feminine culture in trade unions working culture can be considered to be implement as a way to open up friendly space in organizations that would allow women to be bolder in expressing themselves and their ideas for advancing the organization, thus realizing the principles representation of all and democracy.

A more inclusive approach seems to have found its way. The younger generation of male union members was seen from the unions' executives who were being interviewed as having equal attitude and having more open-mind, and less stereotypical towards gender roles, and therefore they were easier to work with. Similar situation also occurred in England, for example. Based on a research by Edmund Heery and John Kelly, Ledwith (2012) found that young and educated white-collar unions' executives, both women and men, were more supportive to gender-related agendas. According to Heery, as quoted by Ledwith (2012), this group can serve as the locomotive that would improve and would be more involved in efforts to carry out gender equality agenda in negotiation processes. A similar development to the emergence of young trade unions' cadres in Indonesia could open the door to gender equality in trade unions.

Fifteen years ago, the ILO (2006) has conducted research about issues on women and gender with a focus on the marginalization of female workers in trade unions in Indonesia. The research came up with a series of recommendations with priorities for improving the internal side of the organizations. Some of the recommendations including: producing statistical data on representation and participation disaggregated by sex, selecting female executives at all levels, ensuring

women proportional representation in executive bodies, selecting women for tasks with responsibilities in negotiation and establishing women's structure that are connected with decision-making bodies, developing assistance/mentoring programs for young women who have gender leadership potential.

At international level, ILO (2020) in collaboration with several multinational institutions have produced a report on the role of trade unions in achieving gender equality, recommended trade unions, among others, to pursue gender-sensitive collective bargaining, to develop gender equality action plan as a reference for decision-making within the unions, and to audit trade unions' structures and policies from gender perspective, and involve as many members as possible in gender-sensitive activities.

Conclusion

A patriarchal culture that is intertwined with stereotype gender role is a structural factor that limits women's role in the strategic position within trade unions. This factor shapes trade unions into a masculine organization that are difficult to be adjusted with women's gender roles, and has made women to withdraw themselves from active participation. Because of this factor, the principle of democracy in trade unions could not be fully realized since women's voices as the represented members are not accommodated.

The limited roles of women in trade unions is a reality that has been recognized by both female and male union executives. Organizationally, this limitation ought to be reduced through various education program designed for women, regarding gender awareness and equality, and specific leadership education for women. However, the educational method that separates women from men in reality could reinforce gender inequality and the separation of women's issues from organizational issues.

Ways to design strategies for an inclusive gender equality, that equally involves both women and men, are necessary. Unequal gender relations, which partly stem from patriarchal culture, cannot be resolved only by women, because it would increase women's burden. An affirmative action approach to build women's awareness about their abilities is indeed necessary, but it needs to be complemented with men's awareness that women as members of trade unions hold equal rights.

The exclusive educational approach for women could bring some changes, but it is only in a limited scale. If the education approach and method on gender equality

continue to be applied only to women, the trade unions activists and supporting organizations have agreed, that in the next 10 years, women would remain marginal from the organizational' strategic position.

Initiating an inclusive approach can be started immediately by reviewing ILO report that was made fifteen years ago, because the situation is still very much relevant. In addition, several ideas can be considered carefully, such as to conduct gender equality training for men who hold top position in trade unions, with men as trainers. Targeting top leaders of trade unions in order to raise gender awareness and gender sensitivity would be effective in incorporating issues faced by female workers into trade unions' agenda. Training men with a fully gender-sensitive male trainers, might be more effective, because the message would use men's point of view towards gender issues, and also the trainers' ability to criticize the sexist attitude of the unions' leaders towards the female members. Political will is from the male leaders' positions are needed. Like doing the Tango, the problem of women's limited strategic roles in trade unions must be addressed jointly, by women and men.

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Endnotes

- 1 Ismarlina's story can be found on the Trade Union Rights Center (TURC) channel <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XDo1e8sTKAg> - Cerita Perubahan Siswa Sekolah Buruh Perempuan Sukabumi, 3 December 2019.
- 2 An interview with the late Ari Sunarijati can be seen on the *Ashoka.org* website at <https://www.ashoka.org/en-id/fellow/ari-sunarijati>, accessed on March 31, 2021.

Analyzing 'Working from Home' as 'the New Normal' for Working Women through the Perspective of Feminism

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Abstract

Working from home, when workers accomplish their duties and works at home, have become an important phenomenon during the Covid-19 pandemic, that have been practiced for more than a year since the Covid-19 outbreak. For working women, working from home have combined two women's duties in one place at the same time, those are their responsibilities as workers, and their responsibilities at homes – including care work, as the common gender role of women. This article aims to explore whether working from home could become a conducive mode of work for women and family's welfare. What factors do the policy makers need to consider, so that working from home would not reproduce gender inequality against women. This article was developed from literature studies on the analysis and policy framework at the global level, and also several existing researches about the challenges that have been faced by working women during the Covid-19 pandemic in Indonesia.

Keywords: teleworking; working women; Covid-19 pandemic; gender and economy

Introduction

The Covid-19 pandemic has had a tremendous impact, not only to health sector but also to economy and employment. One of the employment trends due to the Covid-19 pandemic is the increasing number of workers who 'work from home'.

ILO (2020) estimates the worsening situation and women's condition in the world of work during the Covid-19 pandemic. First, sectors that employ a lot of women tend to be hit by a crisis due to the Covid-19 pandemic. In low income and lower-middle income countries, the manufacture sector, especially garment—which absorbs a large number of female workers, would disappear. Meanwhile, the shortcoming of the labor security and health security system would add the vulnerability of this group of female workers.

Second, female workers in the informal sector are the group that faces high risks, such as the loss of work orders due to disruption of supply chain, the risk of being exposed to the virus due to limited access to personal protective equipment, as well as job losses in the care work sector such as domestic workers.

Third, the increase burden in unpaid care work during the Covid-19 pandemic. This increased burden is a consequence of schools' closure and daycare centers' closure, reduced public services for people with disabilities and the elderly, and the unavailability of domestic workers to care for family members who are affected by the Covid-19 virus. Women's workload had increased more than that of men because nursing work is generally become the responsibility of women.

According to ILO (2021), the remote working model that has been developed during the Covid-19 pandemic is different from the practice of remote work in the prior to the pandemic. If remote work in the past was applied as a temporary solution for business continuity and/or maintaining employment, remote work during the Covid-19 pandemic is no longer temporary. During the Covid-19 pandemic, the 'work from home' scheme has been practiced in various countries for more than a year, so it has become a kind of 'new normal' for the world of work.

The term 'new normal' became increasingly popular when the Covid-19 Pandemic emerged and seems to continue for a long time. This term is used to describe

the uncertain situation driven by the Covid-19 Pandemic. Conceptually, the notion of a 'new normal' assumes that things will no longer be the same as they were in the past, and become a new order (weforum.org, 2020).

Chime Asonye stressed the need for a critical attitude to question whether the changes that have occurred due to the Covid-19 pandemic can be accepted as a (new) normal (weforum.org 2020). According to Asonye, what we call as the 'new normal', such as staying at home, remote communication (virtual engagement), and the phenomena that emerged during the Covid-19 pandemic, are not applicable to all or can be practiced by all part of society. For example, the 'lockdown' policy is a luxury for people whose income is earned on a daily basis to survive, such as daily wage workers, small traders/entrepreneurs. Meanwhile, the assumption that daily activities can be done online, actually ignores the fact that most of the world's population is still not connected to the internet or information and communication technology (ICT). Even if it is geographically covered by internet facilities, purchasing an internet data package will also be an additional cost (burden).

Various studies have found that the Covid-19 pandemic has had a more severe impact on women, especially as a result of gender inequality that has occurred and continues to this day. Therefore, the fact that 'working from home' has become a widely used pattern and continues to this day, needs to be criticized from the perspective of gender justice. How does the practice of 'working from home' affect working women? Can 'working from home' be regarded as the new normal that will continue in the future? What does the work from home scheme mean in the context of productivity, family welfare and gender equality?

This article is a literature study of the global policy framework and analysis related to the phenomenon of 'working from home' which is widely practiced during the Covid-19 pandemic, especially for women workers. This article tries to compare the policy framework and global analysis of the situation of working women in Indonesia,

especially through document studies of studies related to the impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic on women in Indonesia.

The Trend of 'Working from Home' during the Covid-19 Pandemic for Women

The term or concept of Work from Home (WfH) is increasingly popular during the Covid-19 pandemic. The results of a global survey conducted by the World Economic Forum (WEF) and Ipsos found that an average of 52 percent of respondents 'work from home' during the Covid-19 pandemic (katadata.id 2021). The 'work from home' model has strengthened for several reasons, namely the implementation of policies by the government to suppress the spread of the Covid-19 virus (Hukumonline.com, 2020), as well as the company's strategy to reduce production costs amidst economic pressures (Katadata.id, 202).

However, the concept of 'working from home' actually appeared long before the Covid-19 pandemic. Oskar Mungkasa (2020) describes the history of the emergence of the concept of working remotely at least since 1950 with the term telework, then telecommute in 1974. Mukasa's presentation shows that economic motives and increased productivity are the main motives for the emergence and development of the concept of remote work. Some of the developments of this concept, for example, aim to: reduce traffic congestion during peak hours, reduce energy consumption, fulfill the need for skilled workers, and others.

The concept of 'work from home' which is popularly applied in the context of the Covid-19 Pandemic needs to be distinguished from the concept of 'work at home' or working remotely which developed before the Covid-19 Pandemic. In general, there are several similarities as well as differences in concepts regarding 'work from home' (ILO 2021). The following table 1 describes several concepts related to the location where a job is taking place.

Table 1. Some concepts on the types of work based on the location where the work is carried out

Job location concept	Definition
Remote work	Situations where work is carried out fully or partially in an alternative location other than the main workplace, which is approved by the employer, or must be carried out by an independent worker whose workplace is not permanent. Example: workers have to work outside the main office/workplace such as: at a construction site, in the garden, at a client's house, in a shop, in a factory, on a bus (driver), on a highway (police).
Telework	Telework is a sub category of remote work concept. Similar to remote work, telework can be done anywhere other than the main place of work. The difference is in the use of personal electronic devices, such as computers, telephones, or other electronic devices.
Work at home	Work at home refers to work that is wholly or partly done from the home of the worker. Work at home does not include buildings, shops, workshops, which are attached to the house, but are not part of the worker's house.
Home-based work	Home-based work is a sub-category of work at home, i.e. workers whose main workplace is their home.

Source: ILO 2021

When we compare the concept of 'work from home' in the context of the Covid-19 Pandemic with the four concepts of work based on the location where the work is carried out, then the concept of work from home emphasizes the home as a location where work is carried out which intersects with telework, work at home, and home-based work. However, the concept of 'work from home' emerged and was applied not on the basis of the need for the type of work to be done suitable or requiring alternative work locations at home. The concept of 'work from home' is applied mainly in response to preventing the spread of the Covid-19 virus, regardless of whether the work that is done by someone can or is suitable to be done from home. This may explain why 'work from home' brings consequences or burdens for women workers in this article.

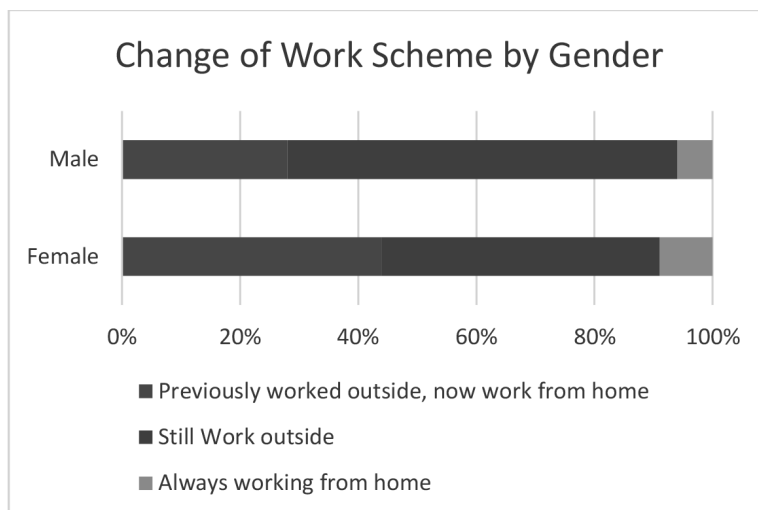
In his research supported by the International Telework Association & Council (ITAC), Hamilton concluded that this work system cannot be applied to all types of work. According to Hamilton, the work from home model has several impacts on the pattern of relations between workers, for example between remote workers and workers present at the office, workers and leaders/supervisors. Remote work systems place more emphasis on results when compared to jobs that require the presence or performance of workers.

Susan M. Heatfield (2020) a resource development expert found that 80 percent of workers would like to 'work from home' at some point in their lives, and 35 percent would like to switch their jobs to remote work. Heatfield said that in 2018 there were 5 million (3.6 percent) workers who 'work from home'. According to Heatfield, this remote work system is very helpful for employers in terms of savings, prevention of absenteeism (not coming to work), employee turnover, and general business productivity. However, Heatfield's findings were made from assumptions outside of a pandemic situation. Can a similar assumption be applied in the Covid-19 pandemic situation? Especially if these assumptions are put through the lens of feminism.

Challenges of Working from Home Faced by Women

The Rapid Gender Assessment Survey conducted by UN Women (2020) in Europe and Central Asia stated that the social distancing policy has made various institutions and business sectors adopt a form of work from home or a telecommuting approach. The survey found that 44 percent of women who before the pandemic worked outside the home then had to 'work from home'. The percentage of change in the work environment is higher than that of men, which is only 22 percent (see Picture 1).

Picture 1. Changes in workplace scheme by gender (in Europe and Central Asia)



Source: UN Women 2020

The UN Women survey explained that the percentage of women, who work from home during the pandemic, was higher than men because of the many ‘feminine’ work sectors such as education, public administration, and social work, which later turned into work from home schemes.

One of the assumptions in the development of the work from home model is to balance between personal life and life at work. But in reality, ‘work from home’ as a response to the Covid-19 pandemic, turns out to be a challenge for working women.

Currently, the government is reviewing the ‘work from home’ system as a way to deal with the situation during the Covid-19 pandemic and the possibility of it becoming a new normal in the future. However, the social impact that needs to be considered is the possibility of someone working longer hours than the applicable standard working hours.

The working paper prepared by ILO (2021) for the second meeting of the G20 on employment seeks to provide considerations in making gender-just policies. ILO recognizes that there will be a “natural test” of the application of ‘work from home’ which will affect work arrangements such as social isolation, distance from work colleagues, and gender inequality. Remote work can accommodate work-family balance needs, but the consequences of such a practice will be determined by how it is practiced, and to whom the model is applied.

There are no specific rules governing the model and practice of ‘remote working’ as in the context of this current pandemic yet. International standards only regulate some aspects such as working hours, for example

ILO Convention No. 155 of 1981 concerning Occupational Health and Safety. This convention regulates working remotely if the work is potentially hazardous.

This article explores some researches on the practice of ‘work from home’ in the context of the Covid-19 Pandemic and its impact on women in Indonesia. The research discussed in this paper certainly cannot represent all the phenomena that may be experienced by working women in Indonesia. Some of these studies reveal that there are generally accepted patterns of challenges and situations faced by working women. However, these studies also show that there are different challenges and situations faced by working women in one community to another, or from one profession to another.

The following are some common challenges experienced by working women when implementing ‘work from home’ during the Covid-19 Pandemic.

The hours of ‘Work From Home’ coincide with the hours of children Learning From Home

The implementation of working hours during the pandemic generally applies the same working hours as the period before the pandemic, which is morning to noon. At the same time, school hours during the Covid-19 pandemic also apply the same school schedule as before the pandemic. As a result, parents who ‘work from home’, at the same time also have to monitor their children online learning process. The role of caring for children and families, which are identified as women’s gender roles, then requires women to take responsibility for accompanying children when doing distance learning,

which before the pandemic was the responsibility of teachers or schools.

In their research on mothers with kindergarten-age children, Wardani and Ayriza (2021) found several challenges faced by mothers when accompanying their children online learning from home. First, people do not understand educational materials for early childhood, thus they cannot help explain teaching materials for children. Second, parents also need to motivate their children and help their interest in learning grows. Third, for working mothers, dividing their time and burden between work (in the office or other work) and accompanying children to study from home creates problems for the mother. This study found that some mothers choose to quit their jobs, or seek permission from their employers to get extra time to accompany their children to school from home.

Research conducted by the Indonesian Academy of Young Scientists (ALMI) states that when 'working from home' – due to the Covid-19 pandemic situation, female researchers must prepare teaching methods while doing domestic work (KSI 2021). One of the consequences, the publication of female researchers during the pandemic has decreased, when compared to male researchers. Meanwhile, the institutions where they work do not see this kind of condition as an issue of gender inequality.

In addition, the social and economic conditions of each working woman are very diverse, so the challenges in accompanying children to school from home are different. Research conducted by the Women's Journal (Sigiro, Gina & Komalasari 2020), for example, found difficulties experienced by mothers who are single parents or heads of families to earn a living while accompanying children learning from home. Difficulties are also experienced by parents who have children with special needs, because the parents do not have the educational skills for children with special needs.

Challenges of access to technology and information

The application of social distancing (social distancing) during the Covid-19 pandemic has made information and communication technology (ICT) an important tool for various activities, such as retail trade, medical consultations, 'work from home', studying from home, and others. Access to technology and the internet is a technical challenge faced by working women to 'work from home' and to assist children in learning from home. Access to information and communication technology comes in at least two forms. The first is access to ownership

or use of a device, such as a computer or mobile phone. Second, access to skills in using devices and applications.

Studying from home requires access to technology, such as access to a computer/laptop or mobile phone, as well as skills to use online meeting applications. Research conducted by Wardani and Ayriza (2021) found it difficult for mothers to operate telephone or computer devices to accompany children when learning from home. The research describes the challenges faced by mothers who are respondents, such as difficulty operating the Zoom application for the first time, having to buy a mobile phone so that children can learn online, and also technical difficulties because their mobile phones are not compatible with the latest technology.

Not all women have access to electronic devices and the skills to use them. Fisherwomen who were resource persons in the Women's Journal research revealed the limited skills of fisherwomen to use the technology needed by children to learn online (Sigiro, Gina & Komalasari 2020). Moreover, ownership of computers and mobile phones in fishing communities is still limited.

Research on a number of female lecturers found two barriers to access to technology experienced by these female lecturers (Haekal & Fitri 2020). The female lecturers in this study experienced barriers to access to ownership of computer devices. The price of computer gadgets is relatively unaffordable by the salary they receive, especially for non-permanent lecturers who are paid less. The lecturers also expect financial assistance to buy internet quota for lectures and online meetings. Barriers to access to skills in the use of computer devices and applications are experienced especially by elderly female lecturers. Prior to the pandemic, improving ICT skills as part of teaching skills was not a priority for universities. As a result, the emergency during the pandemic made some of these lecturers experience technological stuttering, while the training provided was not sufficient for them to immediately master the skills needed.

Impact on mental health when working from home

A survey report conducted by UN Women (2020) found that women were more likely to experience increased stress and anxiety during the Covid-19 pandemic. This is due to several interrelated factors, such as: the workload of care in the household that must be carried out by the greater number of people, including taking care of and caring for sick family members. In addition, women also experience anxiety due to the loss of work and family income.

Inequality in the division of labor within the household can also cause working from home to be a source of stress for women. When women tend to take on all the responsibilities of care work, then working from home will be a big burden, and cause stress (Kumparan.com 2020).

The tendency of stress in women due to increased household workload was also found in Komnas Perempuan's research (2020). A survey conducted by Komnas Perempuan in 34 provinces in Indonesia found that 1 in 3 respondents answered that increasing housework has caused stress. Meanwhile, the same survey found that 70 percent of female respondents answered that housework, especially cooking and washing clothes, had increased, while only 49 percent of male respondents felt that housework during the pandemic had increased.

A study was conducted on women cake entrepreneurs in the Kue Rungkut Lor II Village in the city of Surabaya (Sari & Zufar 2020) to see the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on women cake entrepreneurs in the region. The study found that women in the cake business community experienced psychological stress due to the multi-layered burden they had to carry out during the pandemic. The woman cake entrepreneur who was the subject of the research had to do various tasks, ranging from the business of making cakes, taking care of family health and welfare, as well as assisting children to learn from home. In one case it was even stated that the child was also a victim when the psychological pressure experienced by the mother was then vented to the child when the child was seen to be irresponsible in the learning process at home.

Although the challenges above are general in nature, women from different communities or professions experience different degrees and forms of problems. The challenges of access to technology and information between female lecturers and cake entrepreneurs may be of different degrees.

The Myth of the Sexual Division of Labor

The burdens and challenges experienced by working women when doing 'work from home' in response to the Covid-19 pandemic is a consequence of the myth about the sexual division of labor. The division of labor based on unequal gender roles between women and men.

A survey conducted by Sigiyo, Primaldhi and Takwin (2018) found that housewives in Indonesia do more than 8 hours of care work every day. The survey found that 78 percent of housewives' respondents in the study

stated that they worked more than 12 hours every day, 16 percent of housewives respondents said they worked between 8 and 12 hours every day, and 6 percent of respondents said they worked up to 8 hours a day.

When in 'normal' conditions a housewife has to do maintenance work for more than 8 hours, then in a pandemic situation where activities at home increase, the nursing workload that must be carried out is certainly greater. Especially if the housewife is a working woman. This condition is in line with the argument of Margaret Benston, a Marxist Feminist, that when women are free to work but still have to be responsible for domestic work, it cannot be said to be a liberation, but a double burden (Tong & Botts 2018).

Gender inequality in the context of capitalism is the main concern of Marxist Feminism and Socialist Feminism. According to Rosemarie Putnam Tong and Tina Fernandes Botss (Tong & Botts 2018) these two schools of feminism are difficult to distinguish from one another. The main difference between the two lies in the different emphasis on the roots of women's subordination. Marxist feminism emphasizes class as the main source of subordination. While Socialist Feminism seeks to understand the subordination of women by looking at various factors related to one another, such as class, gender, and also other aspects such as identity, race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation.

According to Iris Marion Young (Tong & Botts, 2018), when compared with a class analysis, an analysis of the division of labor based on sex can better explain why women are the ones being commanded, perform jobs that are considered trivial, work part time, and tend to be paid lower; while men give orders, perform directive work, work full time, and tend to be paid higher wages. According to Young, the marginalization of women as secondary workers is an essential and fundamental character of capitalism.

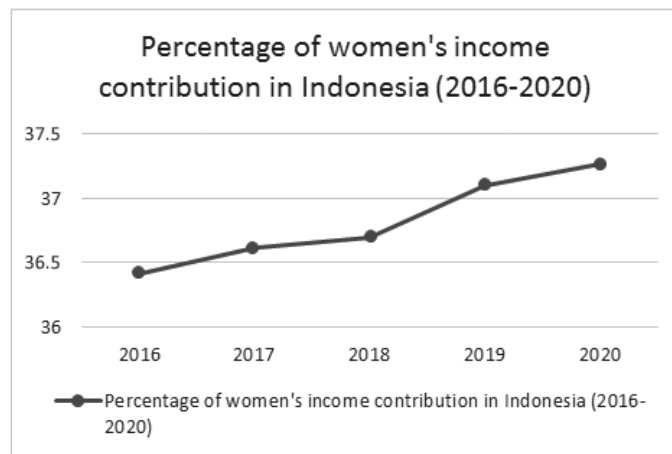
Principally, Tong and Botts (2018) argue that subordination to women is closely related to unpaid, underpaid, or unappreciated women's work. This, according to Tong and Botts, explains why women's status and power tend to be low. They further explained that in various countries, both developed and developing countries, capitalist countries and socialist countries, women generally have to do most of the domestic work, while they also have to do full time or part time work outside the house.

In its development, capitalism cannot maintain the division of labor based on gender between women and

men, because the value of wages received by men is no longer sufficient to support the family. Heidi Hartman explained, it was then women from the working class decided to work, not just to earn extra money for themselves, but to work to earn income to help men or their husbands to support their families (Tong & Botts, 2018). Unfortunately, according to Hartman, when women have to enter the world of work, at the same time, in general, men or husbands are not interested in doing domestic work.

Data collected by BPS shows that women account for more than 35 percent of family income each year. This percentage also tends to increase from year to year. Figure 3 below shows the contribution of women's income in the last five years. This figure shows that the contribution of women's income to the family is very significant. As explained by Heidi Hartman, the entry of women into the world of work is no longer complementary to family income.

Picture 2. Contribution of Women's Income in Indonesia (2016-2020)



Source: processed from BPS data (2020)

The feminist thought above explains the position of women workers in the context of capitalism outside of emergencies, such as situations of war, conflict, or the Covid-19 pandemic that has occurred since 2019 until the time this article was written. Meanwhile, various findings on women workers in the previous section explained that the Covid-19 pandemic as an emergency has formed a new work practice that unites domestic work with paid work into one location, even at the same time, namely at home.

After more than a year, women workers were forced to adapt to the practice of 'working from home'. Women are forced to perform two roles simultaneously, namely the role in their class position as working class, and their gender role in family care work – such as educating children, cooking, taking care of the sick, and others.

One solution to the double burden or additional burden experienced by women workers when implementing 'work from home' is to implement an equal or fair division of domestic labor between women and men, or among family members. However, such solutions do not fully address technical issues, such as access to technology and the internet, or the problem

when another spouse or adult family member still has to work outside the home.

Therefore, the impact of the 'work from home' phenomenon on women requires a more strategic solution, not merely an individual solution that must be borne by individuals and/or families.

Conclusion: The Need for Affirmative Policies for the Implementation of 'Work from Home' Policy

Social protection for women workers who use a gender-sensitive approach (a gender-aware response) is very much needed in an effort dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic. UN Women (2020) mentions several social protection policies that need to be developed. First, the need for a gender-responsive social protection system to guarantee women's income. Second, the need to expand access to appropriate and affordable childcare services so that women can continue to work. Third, dismantling the gender inequality that has occurred so far, including the division of labor in the home, the wage gap, and the low respect for work done by women.

In the context of Indonesia, it is necessary to develop gender-sensitive policies with practical and

strategic dimensions, as well as gender-responsive social protection models that are appropriate to local conditions and types of work/profession. The following are some policy approaches in the context of 'work from home' in response to the Covid-19 Pandemic that could be developed further.

First, it is generally necessary to build public awareness of the increasing household workload during the Covid-19 pandemic. This awareness-building effort needs to encourage changes in the division of labor within the family that are more gender-just or equal.

Second, support for access to technology and information in accordance with local conditions and types of work. The results will be more positive, if this access to technology and information can help women as well as other family members. For instance, free internet access services in residential areas, the development of teaching applications that are easy for parents to understand (user friendly), and also subsidies for purchasing computer devices for certain professions, such as teachers and lecturers.

Third, the government and employers need to develop a system of working hours and study hours that are friendly to women, children, and families in general. For example, by implementing more flexible working hours, lighter work targets, lighter learning targets and methods, and others.

Fourth, social protection for women workers when 'work from home' cannot only be the responsibility of the state, or only the responsibility of the employer. These two actors have an important role to play in preventing or reducing the impact of 'working from home' on women during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Feminism analysis of the practice of 'work from home' as a way to survive and adapt to the Covid-19 pandemic is urgently needed because after running for more than a year, women and society tend to accept the practice of 'working from home' as a consequence that must be an individual or family responsibility.

This paper considers that the trend of neglecting gender analysis towards the application of 'work from home' leads to neglect of the burdens faced by women workers, and at the same time perpetuates the gender-biased division of labor, as well as the exploitation of women in the world of work. Hence, the so called new normal situation contains inequality towards women, especially working women, who practice 'working from home' during the Covid-19 pandemic.

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Affirmative Approach in Strengthening Women's Access to the Information and Communication Technology's Vocational Training

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Abstract

Despite growing of internet users and digitalizing economy as result of Industry Revolution 4.0, Indonesia still experiences gender-based digital divides, in which, women are left behind in the digital economy and the growing information and communication technology (ICT) sector. To address the issue, affirmative action in accessing skills development programs and labor market are crucial. The aim of the study is to observe whether current affirmative action for women, have contributed in addressing the issue, and what other affirmative actions and initiatives are necessary, if any. The paper uses mixed qualitative and quantitative methods in which primary data are collected through interview and online survey respectively; and secondary data are collected through literature review. The study argues that affirmative action alone would not be adequate to address gender inequality in digital economy and ICT sector. This study concludes that an integrated intervention between access to capacity building and women's participation is needed, to enable women to enter the digital economy and the ICT sector.

Keywords: digital divide; digital economy; affirmative action; women participation

Introduction

Information and communication technology (ICT) and the digital economy (gig economy) have vastly growing as a main employment sector after the Industrial Revolution 4.0. The employment situation in this sector is different from the labor-intensive industry that has been declined, moreover has been closed down, due to digitalization. The ICT industry has great opportunities in creating new jobs in the future. Economic growth and the contribution of this sector to the GDP (Gross Domestic Product) have increased during the Covid-19 pandemic. The contribution of the ICT sector to Indonesia's total GDP was 7.2 percent (2016) and has increased to 9.5 percent annually between 2014 and 2017. Currently, the contribution of the ICT sector is bigger than any other economic sector at the national level (ILO 2019). Furthermore, the increasing contribution of the ICT sector to the GDP is estimated to continue after the Covid-19 outbreak or in the new normal era, which requires the implementation of social distancing.

According to the Association of Indonesian Internet Service Users (*Asosiasi Pengguna Jasa Internet Indonesia /APJII*), internet penetration in Indonesia in 2020 has reached 73.7 percent or 196.7 million users. This figure

increased by 23.5 million, or increased by 8.9 percent, compared to the figure in 2018. The largest penetration of internet usage take place in the island of Java, and it has not evenly distributed throughout Indonesia.

These statistics numbers on internet use in Indonesia confirm the existence of digital inequality among regions. Until 2020, 56.4 percent of internet users reside in Java, followed by 22.1 percent in Sumatera, 7.0 percent in Sulawesi, 6.3 percent in Kalimantan, 5.2 percent in Bali and East Nusa Tenggara, and 3.0 percent in Maluku and Papua (APJII 2020). Meanwhile, in ASEAN region, in his remarks at the virtual opening of the Hannover Messe Trade Fair, 12 April 2021, President Jokowi mentioned Indonesia as one of the countries with the fastest development of digital economy and industry 4.0 in Southeast Asia (Bisnis Indonesia 2021). The 4.0 industry is expected to contribute to Indonesia's GDP as of US\$ 133 billion by 2025. The ICT sector in Indonesia has employed 998,000 workers (ILO 2019).

Albeit the development of the digital economy and industry 4.0 has the potential to contribute to national GDP and future job creation, but digitalization also has negative impacts and has the potential to eliminate a number of jobs. Job loss due to digitalization is predicted

to bring impact to 30 percent of the current existing jobs (ILO 2020). Strategies to mitigate the impact of digitalization to jobs loss, and the efforts to respond to the demand from the new types of skills fit with the demands of the 4.0 industry, would require both reskilling and upskilling training interventions.

There are at least two vulnerability's scenarios due to digitalization of the economy or the growing of ICT sector for women. First, economic digitalization creates new vulnerabilities for women to be "victimized", when layoffs occur due to automation or mechanization of work. On the other hand, the emergence of new job opportunities due to the progress of the digital economy, does not necessarily provide job opportunities for women. This happens due to the low participation of women in digital education and training, as well as women's participation in the labor market in the ICT sector. The statistics on women's participation in the ICT sector and the digital economy worldwide, including in Indonesia, are still relatively small. ILO report indicated that women's involvement in the ICT industry stays in range of 26 percent (ILO 2021).

In term of regulatory framework, Indonesia has adopted a number of international standards related to anti-discrimination, including the ratification of the ILO Convention No. 100 of 1951 concerning Equal Pay for Men and Women, and the ILO Convention No. 111 of 1958 concerning Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) in 1999. However, discriminatory practices against women in the world of work still happen quite often. ILO report has indicated the existing discriminatory treatment of working conditions between women and men (ILO 2019).

In some of the cases, women tend to be marginalized. Whenever mass layoff occurred, for instance, female workers are more likely to experience layoffs compared to the male workers. This gender inequality continues in the 4.0 industrial era. One of ILO's research on women's condition in ICT sector, mentioned that women still receive lower salaries than men, while doing similar jobs. Research on ICT sectors in two countries, Indonesia and Thailand, shows that the average income of women in both countries is lower than the average income of men in the same type of industry (ILO 2019).

Before the 4.0 industrial era, Indonesian women had already experienced gender inequality in various aspects of life, including in the world of work. Several gender studies in Indonesia confirm one of the causes is the women limited access to education, trainings, and jobs (Wahyuningtyas, N & Adi, KR 2016). This

inequality continues in the Indonesia's digital economy. Gender inequality arises in terms of women's access to the internet and the lower digital literacy compared to men (VOA 2021; Kumparan 2021). This argument is in line with the findings of Plan International (2020) that confirms digital divide in developing countries that is still experienced by women and girls. One of the reasons was caused by the stereotype that men are more accustomed to using technology. In addition, in many cases women do not have adequate resources to access technology (Plan International 2020).

In general, the representation of women in the fields of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) is still low. ILO's survey in 2015 mentioned there were only 8 percent of women attended university or Vocational Education and Training in ICT when compared to 25 percent of men (ILO 2019). The 2020 Indonesian Women's Profile from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Children's Protection mentioned only 30 percent of women in Indonesia who studied ICT and STEM fields. In the world of work, the percentage is even smaller, where there were only 20 percent of women work in ICT and STEM fields (KPPA 2021).

The Covid-19 pandemic has accelerated the use and utilization of technology and the digitalization of the economy. At the same time, this epidemic is revealing the existence of a digital divide. The implementation of social distancing policies, online schools and work from home, has encouraged the use of technology both for household purposes, education, and economic activities. Those who from the start had limited access and digital literacy, tend to be lagging in carrying out the activities mentioned above.

Given the high digital literacy gap, and the limited access to training and the job market in the ICT sector experienced by women in Indonesia, this article wants to identify whether there is any existing affirmative policy that encourage women's involvement in ICT sector training and labor markets. In addition, this article wants to investigate any other affirmative policies or other interventions that are needed in order to reduce the digital divide experienced by women.

In responding to the problem above, a research was conducted using a survey method, by collecting data from 125 samples of respondents in March and April 2021. The sample were taken from the training participants of *the Women in STEM Project*, which was joined by 600 participants, whose recruitment pattern was carried out in a structured manner taken from 34 provinces in Indonesia. The Women in STEM project is one of the ILO

projects in Indonesia designed to encourage women's involvement in the fields of work related to Science Technology Engineering and Math (STEM). The Women in STEM Project aims to build awareness and build the capacity of women in the ICT sector, which still has a relatively low level of women's participation.

The research was conducted through a survey method, with quantitative data collection using questionnaires that were distributed online through the WhatsApp Group of the participants of the online training of the Women in STEM Project. In addition, this study also interviewed several trainees and women in the ICT sector industry. The questionnaires and interviews that were distributed covered several key questions as follows: Are affirmative policies in the view of women already in place and available to address the issue of greater access for women involved in Training and Employment in the ICT sector? Are policies and other interventions needed, to encourage and ensure women have access to training and employment in the ICT sector? What are the priorities and policy options and interventions that need to be taken to reduce the digital inequality experienced by women?

General Portrait of the Digital Divide in Indonesia

The concept of digital divide is defined as inequality related to access and utilization/use of information and communication technology. Another definition describes the digital divide as a separation between people who have access to and use digital media and those who do not have access to and use it. "*A division between people who have access and use of digital media and those who do not.*" (Van Dijk 2020).

ICT is a vastly developed sector. The acceleration of growth in ICT sector was mainly triggered by the Industrial Revolution 4.0 driven by the development of *e-commerce* and *fintech*, which is predicted to have a value of up to USD 65 trillion by 2022. This growth opens up job opportunities for everyone, women and men (ILO 2020). However, in reality there are still few women involved in learning digital skills in training centers and working in companies in the ICT sector and the digital economy.

The objective conditions related to the minimal involvement of women in learning and working in the ICT Sector and the digital economy that prompted this research to be carried out. This study aims to identify whether any affirmative policies exist and needed, as well as to find what factors can foster the importance of

affirmative policies, and the required follow-up to ensure women's greater access to digital training and jobs, in the technology-dominated ICT sector.

Technology is often assumed to be "gender-neutral". However, in practice, the perception of society at the most elementary level, such as the family environment, contributes a lot to the formation of perceptions related to the world of ICT and digital as the world of men. Furthermore, several studies and literature related to the digital divide found that the cause of the digital divide in Indonesia was triggered by social and economic disparities. Thus, women tend to have less access and lower digital skills than men, due to limited mobility, education level, time, economy and patriarchal culture (Wahyuningtyas, N & Adi, KR 2016). This condition is in line with the findings of gender imbalance in the ICT sector and other sectors due to the exclusion/lack of women's involvement in the digital job market (Kamberidou 2020).

According to the OECD, the digital economy incorporates all economic activities that depend on the use of digital inputs, including digital technology, digital infrastructure, and digital data and services (OECD 2020). The digital economy refers to producers and consumers, including governments, who utilize digital inputs in their economic activities (OECD 2020). In other words, the digital economy is not only about e-commerce, but about the use of digital computing technology. Many expertise need high level of ICT skills and are needed to run the digital economy.

Currently, the involvement of women in the digital economy apart from selling online in e-commerce is still very minimal (OECD 2018). In order to run the digital economy, pro-women policies are needed to encourage greater access for women to education, training and employment in the ICT sector. According to the OECD report, Bridging the Digital Gender Divide (OECD 2018), women spend 2.6 times more time than men doing housework and taking care of the family. This means that women have less time to do paid work or to increase their capacity than men.

Indonesia is also experiencing rapid progress in digitalization of the world of work. Statistics show that the penetration of internet usage, including social media, in Indonesia is among the highest in the world (Hanadian, Nurhayati & Woldff 2020). The era of digitalization of the world of work, or future work (future of work) should be accessible to everyone, but it turns out that women's groups, especially in rural areas and in developing countries, including Indonesia, have not benefited from this digital progress.

The low participation of women in the world of ICT and digital economy, compared to men, has caused potential loss to the state revenue (GDP). Plan Indonesia in its study found that losses due to the absence of women in the world of work have an impact on state income losses (Plan Indonesia 2021).

In Indonesia, the gender-based digital divide is confirmed by a research measuring the digital divide across 33 provinces in Indonesia. The results of this study concluded that limited access to the internet, due to infrastructure constraints, is the cause of the digital divide experienced by women (Ariyanti 2013). From a geographical point of view, the results of this study show the fact that the island of Java, especially DKI Jakarta, is the area with the lowest digital divide. While Papua is the region with the largest digital divide (Ariyanti 2013) this is in line with the ILO findings that the existence of the ICT industry indicated by the demand for skilled labor in Indonesia is still centered in big cities, on the island of Java (Wiryasti, Gunawan & Muhamad 2020).

Research conducted by the ILO's Women in STEM Project in Indonesia found that only 28 percent of women from the total workforce work in the ICT sector (ILO 2021). The Indonesian Women's Profile 2020 from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPA) found a similar situation, where only 30 percent of Indonesian women studied in the ICT and STEM fields. In the world of work, the percentage is even smaller, only 20 percent of women work in ICT and STEM

fields. This confirms that there are still gender disparities and inequality in women's participation in education, training and employment in the ICT sector and the digital economy.

The Indonesian Women's Profile 2020 found that women still lag behind men. The comparison of access to the internet between women and men is 44.86 percent versus 50 percent (Kompas 2021). The digital divide also occurs spatially, between urban and rural areas, as well as between women and men (KPPA 2021). Inequality of access in cell phone usage also occurs between women and men (KPPA 2021). In urban areas, access of cellular phone usage for women is 77.36 percent, while for men is 83.36 percent. While in rural areas, women cell phones usage is 65.81 percent, and for men is 73.56 percent. In terms of ownership, the ownership of cellular phones is influenced by economic factors, where 58.25 percent of women own cellular phones, while men ownership to cellular phones is 68.68 percent.

Respondents' Demographic Data

This article was formulated based on data collection using online survey to 125 respondents with the majority of respondents were women. The authors also conducted additional interviews with four respondents. Two women were from the group of job seekers from the research samples, and two other women were experts in the field of ICT. An overview of the respondent's profile can be seen in table 1 and table 2 below.

Table 1. Female Respondent Profile (N: 102)

Age	Education	Unemployed	Employed
15 - 20 years old	Senior High School/ Vocational/ equivalence	77	7
21 - 24 years old	3 years diploma/equivalence	1	2
21 - 24 years old	4 years diploma/ university/ equivalence	3	1
21 - 24 years old	Senior High School/ Vocational/ equivalence	2	1
Above 24 years old	3 years diploma/equivalence	1	
Above 24 years old	4 years diploma/ university/ equivalence	4	2
Above 24 years old	Senior High School/ Vocational/ equivalence	0	1
TOTAL		88	14

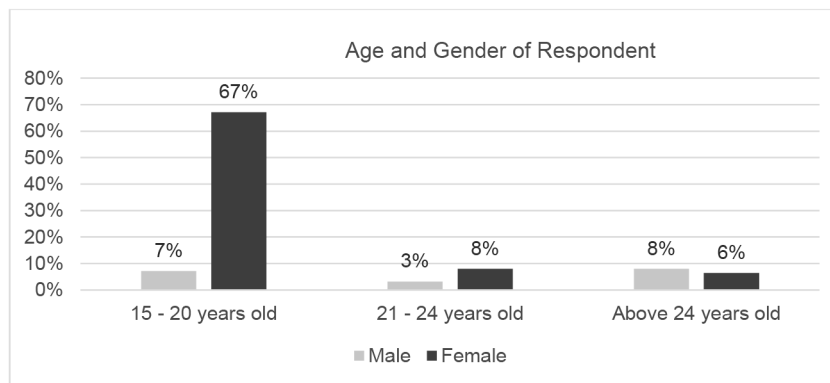
Table 2. Male Respondent Profile (N: 23)

Age	Education	Unemployed	Employed
15 - 20 years old	Senior High School/ Vocational/ equivalence	8	1
21 - 24 years old	Senior High School/ Vocational/ equivalence	2	0
21 - 24 years old	4 years diploma/ university/ equivalence	1	0
21 - 24 years old	Higher than bachelor degree	1	0
Above 24 years old	Senior High School/ Vocational/ equivalence	3	1
Above 24 years old	3 years diploma	1	0
Above 24 years old	4 years diploma/ university/ equivalence	5	0
TOTAL		21	2

Most of the respondents are between 15-30 years old, with the largest number of respondents aged 15-20 years. The educational background of the respondents

is the majority of Senior High School/Vocational School. A more detailed picture can be seen in the following diagram below.

Picture 1. Respondents' Composition by Gender and Age

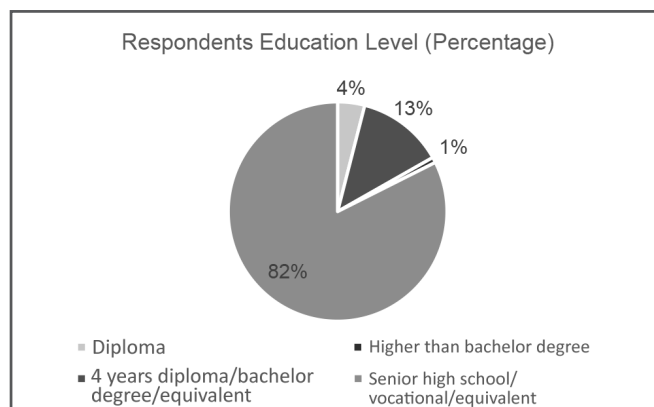


The respondents' profile or the composition based on age consist of the majority of respondents at the age of 15 to 20 years old (67 percent), aged of 21 to 24 years by 8 percent, and aged over 24 years by 6 percent. These age groups represent the largest age segment of the youth, who are looking for job opportunities/job seekers, or those who are in vocational school/high school who need access to training in order to enter the world of work after graduated.

ILO's data on the ICT labor market in Indonesia shows that half of the ICT specialists (50 percent of the total working in the ICT sector) are from senior high school education or vocational school graduates. Meanwhile, 15 percent of the workers in ICT sector are from below high school level. While the rest are Diploma or Higher Education graduates (ILO 2019).

The proportion of respondents based on their education level can be seen in Picture 2 below.

Picture 2. Composition of Respondents by Education Level

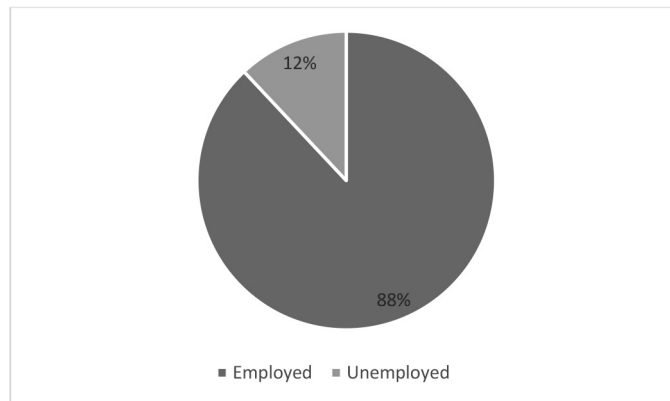


Picture 2 shows that most respondents have educational level equivalent to high school (82 percent), 13 percent have educational level above bachelor degree, 4 percent have three years diploma and equivalent, 1 percent of respondents have educational level equivalent to four years diploma or bachelor degree. Therefore, the respondents included in this research belong to the

largest percentage of workers in ICT Sector, based on education of high school and middle school levels, in line with the data from ILO.

At the time the survey was conducted, most of the research respondents had not or did not work, as of 88 percent. Only 12 percent of respondents were working at the time of the survey.

Picture 3. Percentage of Respondents by Employment Status

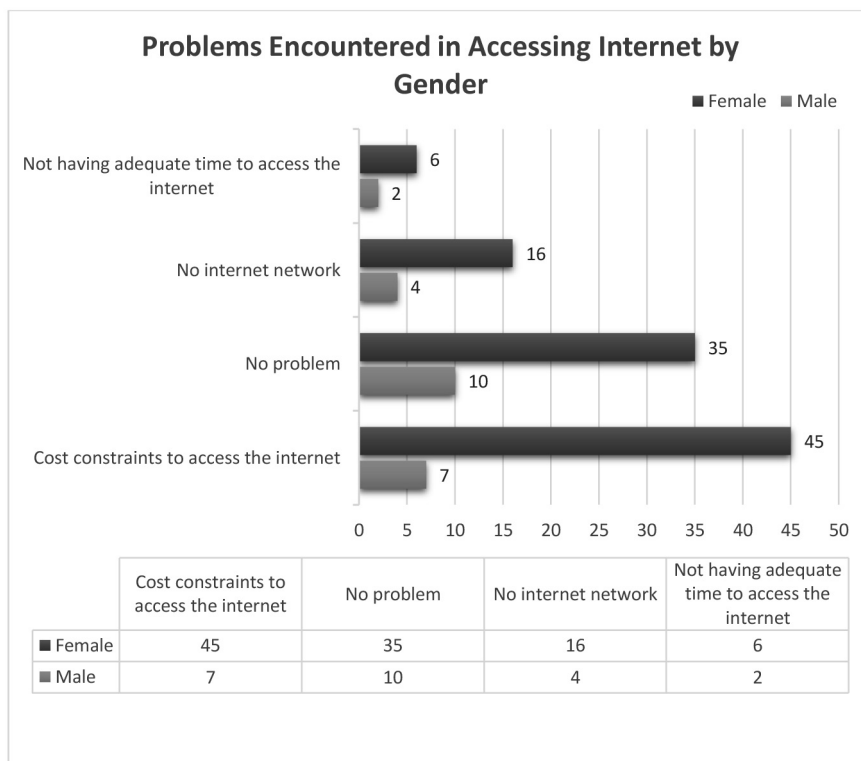


Factors Causing Digital Divide in Female Respondents

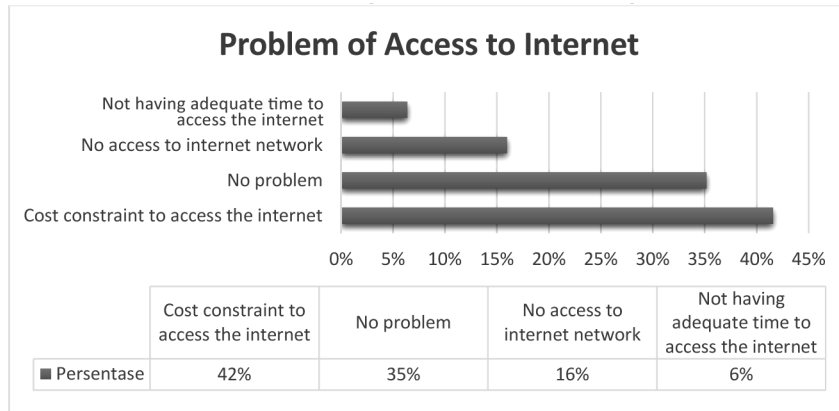
The ILO report “Future of Work in ICT” in 2020 mentioned skills shortage/gap in the ICT sector in several countries such as India, Indonesia and Thailand (ILO 2020). The report stated that women make up only

one third of the workforce in the ICT sector. This study tries to identify gender-based barriers that cause the digital divide experienced by women, both in accessing the internet and in obtaining education, training and employment in the ICT sector and the digital economy.

Picture 4. Barriers to Accessing the Internet (In Numbers)



Picture 5. Barriers to Access Internet (Percentage)

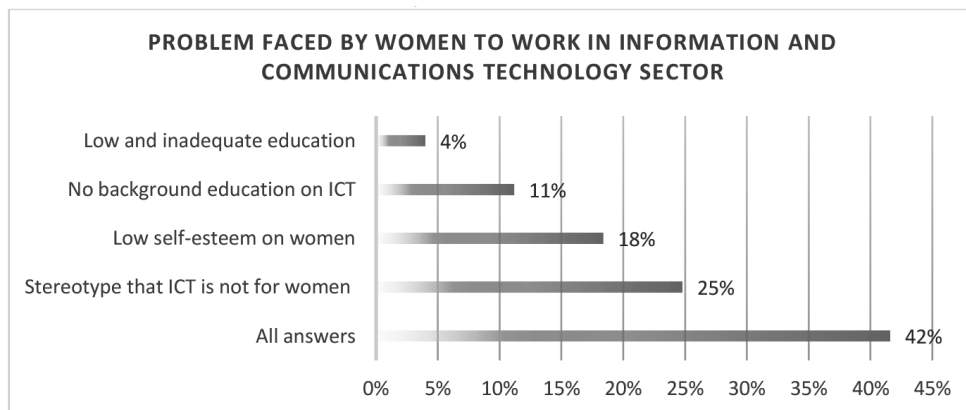


Picture 4 and 5 illustrate the answers of respondents (women (76 percent) and men (24 percent)) to the question of what barriers are encountered related to internet access as an entry point for digital training, where 45 percent of respondents mentioned cost constraints. Another problem is the obstacles related to infrastructure or the unavailability of access to the internet network (16 percent) and the flexibility of time (6 percent). However, 35 percent of female respondents said they had no problems in accessing the internet.

The biggest obstacle to accessing the internet is due to cost constraints. This strengthen the argument

that affirmative policies and actions by providing quota allocation for women need to target groups of women job seekers and those from low income groups in rural areas. In addition to government policies to build connection networks and internet access in rural areas. These policies and interventions need to be complemented by the provision of cash incentives that can be used by women to pay for internet connection fees or purchase internet packages to access online vocational training programs that will be undertaken. As for the limited time experienced by women in accessing the internet, it is indirectly happened due to the dual role of women carrying out domestic roles.

Picture 6. Problems Faced by Women to Work in ICT sector



This study also tries to look at the perceptions of the overall respondents, both women (76 percent) and men (24 percent) about the problems faced by women to work in the ICT sector. The respondents answered four main problems faced by women as shown in Picture 6. The first problem is the stereotype that the digital world is not a field of work for women (25 percent). Second, women's subjectivity that become the other hindering problem is the low self-confidence among the women (18 percent). Third, not having any ICT educational background, amounting to 11 percent respondents. The

last factor is the level of education which is generally low and inadequate, at 4 percent.

Barriers faced by women to work in the ICT sector can be grouped into two, namely: barriers to access to ICT education, knowledge, and skills; and gender stereotypes and/or biases towards the ICT sector as men's field of work, where women tend to be considered and consider themselves incapable of working in this sector.

Almost half of the respondents (42 percent), stated that all of the above-mentioned problems were faced

by women if they wanted to enter the ICT industry sector. This provides a strong indication of respondents' perception that women face multiple barriers to entering the world of ICT work.

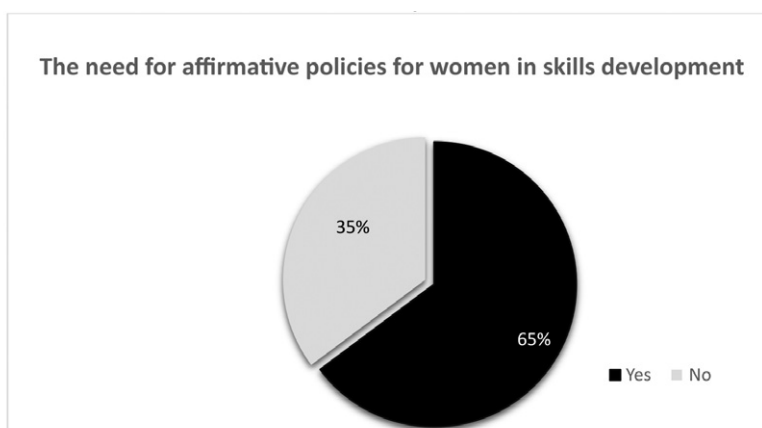
Efforts to Overcome Women's Digital Inequality

Strengthening women's access to ICT education and training, as well as building awareness of equal employment opportunities for men and women in

the ICT sector, are needed to overcome barriers to employment in the ICT sector. However, this intervention needs to consider the existing gender inequality faced by women. Picture 7 below represents respondents' answers to survey questions about affirmative policies needed by women to address digital inequality.

Respondents' answers in Picture 7 show respondents' views on the need for affirmative action as part of the effort to strengthen women's access to digital skills development.

Picture 7. The Need for Affirmative Policies for Women in Skills Development

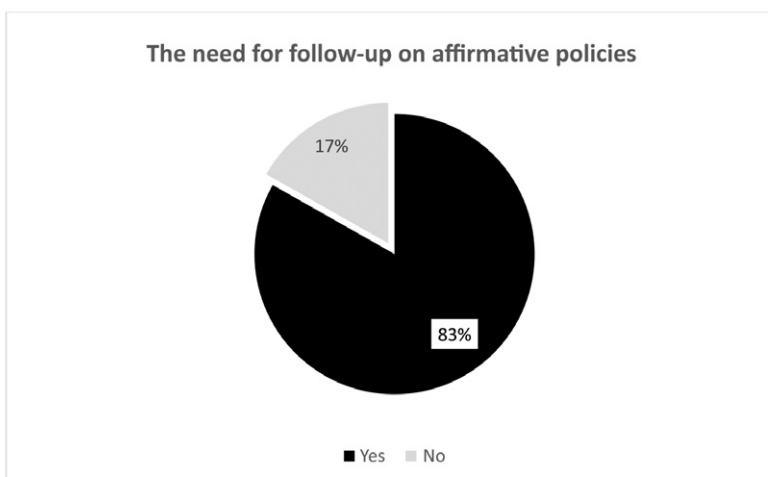


This study found that 65 percent of respondents stated the need for affirmative policies to encourage women's involvement in digital skills education and training. Affirmative policies often do not achieve the desired goals. As an example, is affirmative action in politics. The 30 percent quota for female legislative candidates in parliament has only reached 20.52 percent (118 women out of 575 total members of the DPR (CNN 2020). By 2020, the number of women who occupy the position of Company Leader or Chief of Executive Officer (CEO) in Indonesia only reached 20 percent, with an

increase of only 1 percentage point from 19 percent in the previous year (Kompas 2020). Therefore, affirmative policies for women need to pay attention to dimensions other than the provision of quotas or access to training.

Respondents in this study confirmed that extended affirmative policies are needed to effectively address gender-based digital inequality. Picture 7 below shows that the majority of respondents (83 percent) agree that further policies and affirmative action are needed for women to ensure access to digital training for women and address the issue of the digital divide.

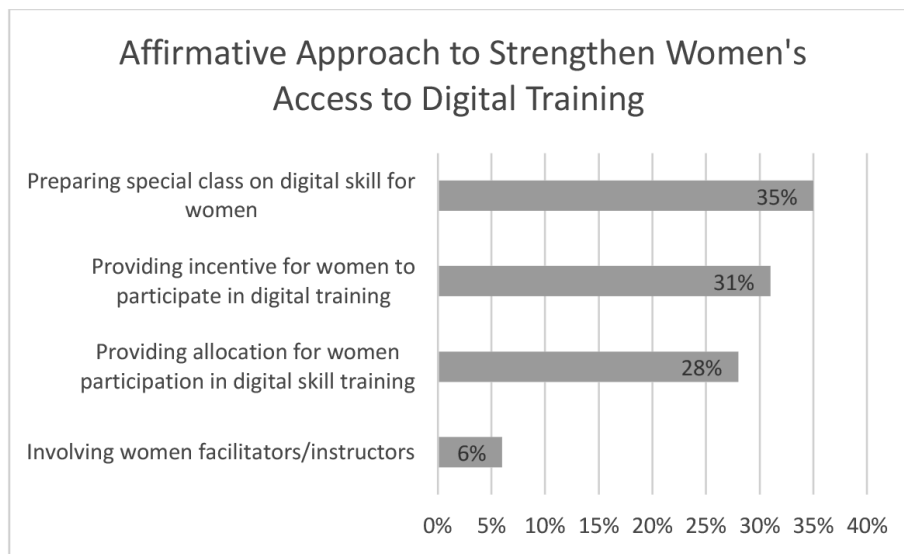
Picture 8. The Need for Follow-up on Existing Affirmative Policies



Meanwhile, respondents also stated several advanced affirmative policies in the field of ICT. Types of affirmative

policy that need to be implemented are as described in Picture 9.

Picture 9. Affirmative Approach to Strengthen Women's Access to Digital Training



Picture 9 shows some of the findings. First, 35 percent of respondents think about the need for special digital training classes for women. Second, 31 percent of respondents think that women need to have incentives to participate in training. This is related to the limited resources and time for women to participate freely in training because of their domestic role. Third, 28 percent of respondents saw the need for affirmation related to the allocation or quota for female participants in digital training. Fourth, another aspect of necessary affirmation is the involvement of female trainers/instructors or facilitators in training (5 percent). This was also conveyed in research interviews, where participants and the project coordinator who conducted the training confirmed that women felt more comfortable attending the training if there was any female instructor or training facilitator.

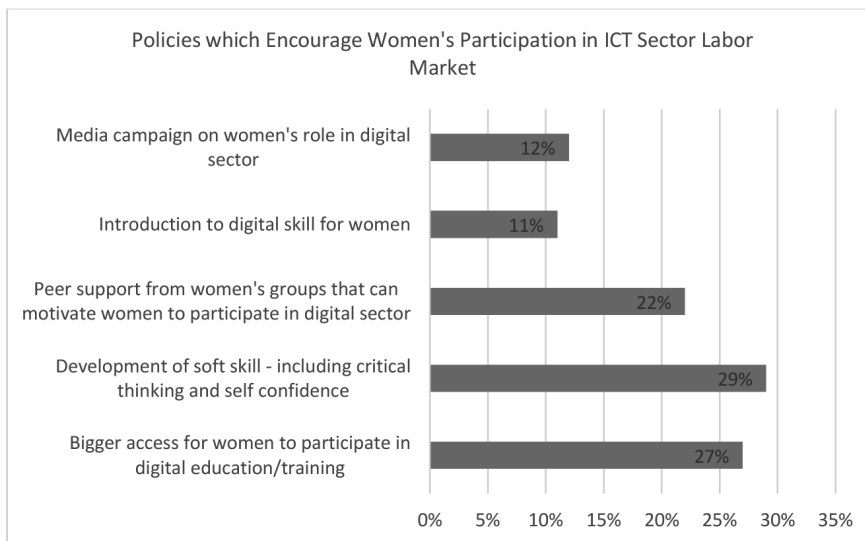
Interviews with several respondents were conducted to gain a deeper understanding of affirmative follow-up policies such as women only classes. Women only classes' affirmative policies include providing female instructors and mentors might become the expected policy options. The availability of female mentors and instructors

can create a more conducive atmosphere for female participants to raise questions and complaints related to the training they undertake.

To date, the Government of Indonesia has held vocational training related to the ICT sector for job seekers at the Central Training Center (BBPLK) and the Job Training Center (BLK). The training is provided for three months and six months of apprenticeship (ILO 2019). Recruitment of ICT training participants is open to both female and male job seekers, without affirmative policies.

Policies that encourage women to gain greater access to skills training in the digital field need to be followed up through further policies and interventions to ensure women can gain a place in the labor market in the ICT sector and the digital economy. Picture 10 below shows the three priorities that need to be taken based on respondents answers to the question of what further policies and interventions are necessary to ensure a smooth transition from training and education to the world of work.

Picture 10. Further Policies and Interventions to Encourage Women to Participate in the ICT Labor Market



The study found that respondents stated that the first priority needed in entering the world of work was the development of soft skills (non-technical) as of 28 percent. The required soft skills in particular are related to the ability of critical thinking and build self-confidence. This is in line with the findings of the ILO's rapid assessment of the demand for skills in the ICT sector, which identified that industry, apart from requiring technical skills, also requires non-technical skills (soft skills) in job positions within the companies (Wirayasti, Gunawan, Muhamad 2020). The ILO's rapid assessment identified the soft skills needed including: the ability to work in a team (33.72 percent), communication skills (20.18 percent), willingness to learn (12.39 percent) and the ability to think logically and integrity/honesty (11.93 percent). This is also in line with the recommendation of Bridging the Digital Gender Divide (OECD 2018) that closing the wage gap between women and men requires policies that strengthen women to have better self-organization, management and communication skills.

The absence of proactive policies, including affirmative policies, will contribute to increasing inequality, either due to technological change or economic recession, such as the current Covid-19 pandemic. Women and young women workers with lower wages are expected to experience a worse impact that will further exacerbate existing gender inequalities (WEF 2020).

The second priority needed in order to enter the world of work chosen by 26 percent respondents is greater access to digital engineering education. According to the 2018 OECD report, empowering women through providing access to appropriate ICT technical skills will

help to increase their income, which in turn will reduce the salary/wage gap. Regarding the ICT technical skills required by industry, a rapid assessment of ILO found that the skills currently in demand are: back-end development, database handling, front-end development, program illustrator and mobile programming (Wirayasti et al. 2020). Finally, the third priority is support from groups of women as well as men and a conducive environment (21 percent).

The abovementioned views of the respondents suggested additional affirmative policies through follow-up interventions are needed in organizing digital skills education and training for women. This is necessary to encourage more women to participate in the ICT work sector. Therefore, after the trainings, additional policies and interventions are required to promote the transition of women from education and training to the world of work.

In addition to providing quota allocations and incentives for women to be involved in digital training delivered offline and online, policy interventions and activities related to advocacy and awareness raising are also necessary. Based on the results of the interview, it was found that the internalization of culture and perceptions in the family environment were crucial and determined women's participation. The involvement of women mentors and instructors in training and the world of work, as well as encouraging the role models of women who are successful in the ICT industry sector, can be factors that motivate women to participate in the ICT sector.

Conclusion

Gender-based digital divide in the ICT industry sector exist as the impact of gender inequality in a broader context. This includes the continued existence of stereotypes about types of work based on gender, and the low access of women to education, which has occurred before the presence of the Industrial Revolution 4.0. The Covid-19 pandemic shows how the ICT sector provides opportunities for those who have the skills and access in this field, but leaves those who do not have the skills or access.

This study attempts to reveal the low participation of women in the ICT labor market due to the low level of education of women and the limited access of women to digital technology training. Affirmative action for women is required to overcome this limited access. Unfortunately, the existing affirmative policies, both access to training and job in the ICT sector, are still limited, both in terms of quantity and forms.

Efforts to eliminate the digital divide experienced by women cannot be realized without a comprehensive understanding of gender inequality. This study identifies that the digital divide experienced by female respondents is caused by barriers to access to the internet, which mainly occur due to the cost factor. Meanwhile, in general, female respondents face barriers to access to education, ICT knowledge and skills.

It is confirmed that affirmative policies serve as a precondition for eradicating the gender-based digital divide. Affirmative policies can be made in the form of access to ICT education or training. However, one of the factors that female respondents need to deal with is the gender bias that ICT is a male field of work, where women tend to be considered and consider themselves not having the ability and capacity to work in this sector. Therefore, this affirmative policy needs to be followed up with policies that consider the gender inequality faced by women in society. Therefore, access to soft skill skills activities, for example, will be beneficial for building women's confidence to participate in the ICT sector. This includes empowering women through building awareness at the community and family levels.

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Advancing the Agenda of the Confederation of Trade Unions on the Prevention of Sexual Violence in the World of Work in Indonesia

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Abstract

This article was formulated based on interviews with 5 (five) trade union confederations from a number of confederations in Indonesia, namely: Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Nasional (KSPN), Konfederasi Sarikat Buruh Muslimin Indonesia (KSarbumusi), Konfederasi Serikat Buruh Seluruh Indonesia (KSBSI), Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Indonesia (KSPI), and Konfederasi Kongres Aliansi Serikat Buruh Indonesia (KKASBI). This article seeks to explore the efforts made by the trade union confederation in promoting gender equality - specifically in advancing the agenda for the prevention and elimination of sexual violence in the world of work. This article was compiled based on research with a qualitative approach, with data collection methods through interviews and literature studies. The results of this study found that the confederations interviewed had already set up internal structures that have specific functions on issues related to gender equality, gender-based violence, and women's empowerment; although still limited and on ad-hoc basis. This research also finds that the role of the trade union confederation is particularly prominent in advocating policies related to sexual violence and gender-based violence in the world of work, such as advocating the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, and the ratification of the ILO Convention No. 190 on Violence and Harassment.

Keywords: women and trade union; sexual violence at work; women and the labor movement

Background

From time to time the number of female workers around the world tends to increase, as do those who become members of trade unions/labor unions (TU/LU). The increase in the number of female workers who become members of TU/LU is estimated to have occurred since around 1970 (Visser 2019). From 2016-2017 period, the number of female workers who became members of TU/LU in 27 countries was estimated to be greater than that of the male workers (Visser 2019). Therefore, the TU/LU should have given attention to the problems faced by women workers, especially the gender-based inequality. However, until now, the position of female workers in TU/LU is still marginal. This can be seen from the limited agenda of TU/LU regarding the rights of women workers, and the lack of attention of TU/LU towards the issues of gender-based violence that are experienced by female workers, such as sexual violence in the world of work.

The issue of violence in the world of work has become global problem, including in Indonesia. According to the UN Women (2019), both men and women in various sectors of work, could become the victims of sexual violence, however women still become the majority of

victims. A research conducted in Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines and South Korea, found that 30 percent to 40 percent of women had experienced sexual harassments in the workplace (ILO 2017). Meanwhile, in a survey conducted by Better Work Indonesia, found that 85 percent of female workers expressed concern about the issue of sexual harassment (ILO 2017).

The Annual Report of *Komnas Perempuan/The National Commission on the Elimination of Violence Against Women* (2021a) on the situation of women in Indonesia in 2020, recorded of 1,731 cases of violence against women that occurred in the public or community spheres. Violence in the public sphere included violence against women that occurs in the work place, community, neighborhood, and educational institutions. Out of the total cases, sexual violence was the highest form of violence, amounting to 962 cases (Komnas Perempuan 2021b). This report did not specifically classify how many of these cases are violence in the work environment, but it was stated that a total of 91 cases of the sexual violence were committed by their superiors. According to Komnas Perempuan, sexual violence in the workplace is rarely being revealed, let alone to be officially being reported.

A research on the female workers in the garment industry in Cakung – East Jakarta, found that 437 female workers (56.5 percent of the respondents) stated that they had experienced sexual harassment at work (Women Mahardhika 2017). However, there were only 26 victims have filed reports on the incidents of sexual violence. Most of the respondents who had experienced sexual violence choose not to report nor to tell others about the violence they experienced. The victims choose not to report their cases due to various of reasons, such as: shame related to self-esteem or feeling of disgrace, the general perception that a minor sexual harassment is not a serious problem, fear of reprisals or job loss, as well as the lack of knowledge and information on sexual violence's reporting procedures.

Efforts to overcome sexual violence in the work environment has started to become the attention of TU/LU. One of the examples of initiatives to encourage protection from sexual violence in the workplace was carried out by a network named *Komite Buruh Perempuan Kawasan Berikat Nusantara Cakung*. The committee consists of *Federasi Buruh Lintas Pabrik, Federasi Serikat Umum Indonesia, Perempuan Mahardhika, and LBH Jakarta*. This network sought to increase public awareness in the workplace (factory) to prevent the occurrence of sexual harassment. Through dialogues with companies and the government, this network has succeeded in getting the companies to put up large notice boards in front of factories, which designate the factories areas as free from sexual harassment zone (Women Mahardhika 2017).

This initiative done by *Komite Buruh Perempuan Kawasan Berikat Nusantara Cakung* serves as a positive effort in dealing with the issue of sexual violence in the world of work. However, this initiative is certainly much smaller compared to the number of cases found by Komnas Perempuan, particularly when there were more cases of sexual violence that have actually not been revealed. However, the efforts made by *Komite Buruh Perempuan Kawasan Berikat Nusantara Cakung* shows that TU/LU actually have the capacity and role to advance the agenda of sexual violence's prevention in the world of work.

ILO (2017) mentioned several case studies that show the key roles played by trade unions/labor unions in raising awareness about sexual harassment for their members, in negotiating policies and agreements on complaints procedures, and also in preventing sexual harassment.

Therefore, this article would try to explore the efforts that have been taken by TU/LU in promoting the agenda of sexual violence's prevention in the world of work. The terms world of work and workplace in this article will be used interchangeably to distinguish between violence in the world of work as violence in the context of work or industrial relations, and violence in the workplace to describe the location of sexual violence.

Advancing the Gender Justice Agenda in the midst of the masculinity of the Trade Unions

The increasing number of female workers and become members of TU/LU has also led to the increasing demands of women's rights agendas and/or gender justice's issues. These demands from the female workers, according to Sue Ledwith (2012), have encouraged TU/LU to make changes, both in their constitutions, structures, and also rules. Unfortunately, despite the increasing numbers of female members in the TU/LU, their position remains to be marginal. The ILO-ICFTU report (2002) stated that out of the total of 125 million members of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), 25 million of the them are women. However, there were only about one percent of women sit in decision-making positions in this international trade union confederation.

This research faced difficulties in obtaining data on the number of female workers who have become members of TU/LU in Indonesia. The data from the Ministry of Manpower in 2014 recorded of 1,678,364 people as members of TU/LU (Hukumonline.com 2015). Meanwhile, the data from the Ministry of Manpower in 2017 stated of around 2.7 millions people have become TU/LU's members (cnnindonesia.com 2018). However, gender disaggregated data is difficult to find. Therefore, this article would not analyze the quantitative representation of women in unions, nor it can analyze the ratio between the number of trade unions' female members with the number of women who sit as leaders or organizers in trade unions/labor unions. This article seeks to investigate whether the issue of sexual violence in the world of work has become the agenda of the TU/LU in Indonesia, and how this agenda has been advocated within the TU/LU that are being researched.

Why are women being under-represented in trade union leadership? According to a research conducted by the ILO-ICFTU (2002), one of the biggest barriers for women to participate in trade unions is the lack of knowledge about the function of unions, due to the low educational factor. In addition, female workers are also afraid of losing their jobs. Women's gender roles to

be responsible for care work in the families, have also resulted in women’s lack of time to join trade unions/labor unions. The lack of sensitivity from TU/LU on the special needs and difficulties faced by female workers also serves as factor that hinder women’s participation in unions.

Trade unions/labor unions could actually promote gender equality’s strategies through their programs and activities. ILO-ICFTU (2002) mentioned several strategies to promote gender equality in trade unions. First, *encouraging the recruitment of women to be trade unions’ members*. Second, *increasing women’s participation in trade union leadership positions*. Third, *encouraging internal structures that promote gender equality*. Fourth, *promoting the agenda of gender equality and solidarity in trade union’s activities*. These three strategies will be explored in this article.

In Indonesia, the existence and the role of TU/LU is regulated by the Law No. 21 of 2000 concerning Trade

Unions/Labor Unions, the Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower, as well as the Law No. 11 of 2020 concerning Job Creation (*Cipta Kerja*). According to the Manpower Law, article 1 paragraph 17, the definition of trade unions/labor unions is:

“an organization that is formed from, by and for workers/ laborers both within and outside the company, which is free, open, independent, democratic and responsible that aim to fight, to defend and to protect the rights and the interests of workers/laborers and to improve the welfare of workers/laborers and their families”

Based on the Law on Trade Unions/Labor Unions, the organizational levels of trade unions/labor unions are divided into trade unions/labor unions, federations, and confederations, based on the administration levels, namely: district/city, provincial, and national levels. The requirements for the formation of TU/LU in each level can be seen in Table 1 below.

Tabel 1. Organizational Levels of Trade Unions/Labor Unions

Levels of Trade Union/Labor Union	Requirements
Trade Union/Labor Union	Formed by at least 10 (ten) workers/ laborers.
Trade Union/Labor Union Federation	Formed by at least 5 (five) trade unions/labor unions.
Trade Union/Labor Union Confederation	Formed by at least 3 (three) trade union federations/labor unions.

Source: The Law No. 21 of 2000 concerning Trade Union/Labor Union

According to the Law on Trade Unions/Labor Unions No. 21 of 2000, the TU/LU could represent the interests of workers in matters such as of wages, disputes, and in advocating for workers’ rights. For example, TU/LU can represent workers as one of the elements in a tripartite forum (forum of communication, consultation and deliberation on labor issues between workers, employers, and the government – the Law No. 13 of 2003 on Manpower). TU/LU can also influence the drafting process of laws and regulations or policies, such as taking part in a tripartite forum in the discussion process of the draft law on Job Creation (*Cipta Kerja*), which was formed by the Ministry of Manpower (Kompas.com 2020), and the discussion of the draft law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU PKS) (ksbsi.org 2021). These legislation processes generally involve the confederation of TU/LU.

Unfortunately, the TU/LU Law does not have any specific rules regarding women’s participation or gender equality. The TU/LU Law tends to view unions as a homogeneous social unit, and ignores that female workers/laborers have to face gender-based issues. The issues that although still in a limited scope, have been

recognized by the Manpower Law, in the regulation about menstruation, pregnancy, and others.

The trade unions/labor unions’ overlook towards women’s issues or gender-based issues stem from the masculine work culture. Ledwith (2012) explained the view of Paul Willis that masculinity in the world of work reflects the perceived world of work as masculine strength and courage (Ledwith 2012).

Furthermore, Joan Acker explains that trade unions/labor unions’ culture has been shaped by the traditional male-centric union model (Ledwith 2012). This is why gender issues tend to be missing from the work process or decision-making in TU/LU, which are often considered to have nothing to do with gender issues (Ledwith 2012). This also explains why trade unions/labor unions tend to ignore female workers’ issues, or tend to be gender neutral.

This article is formulated based on interviews with 5 (five) TU/LU confederations from a number of confederations existing in Indonesia. The five confederations are: *Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Nasional*

(KSPN), *Konfederasi Serikat Buruh Muslimin Indonesia* (KSarbumusi), *Konfederasi Serikat Buruh Seluruh Indonesia* (KSBSI), *Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Indonesia* (KSPI), and *Konfederasi Kongres Aliansi Serikat Buruh Indonesia* (KKASBI).

This research seeks to explore the efforts made by the TU/LU confederation in advancing the agenda for the prevention and elimination of sexual violence. The author realizes that the limited scope of this research could not describe all the probable efforts made by TU/LU at the confederation, federation, and also at company and sectoral levels throughout Indonesia.

This article was formulated based on a qualitative research approach, with data collection methods using interviews and literature studies. Data collection process through interviews were carried out between April 12 to April 24, 2021 through remote interviews using video call application, and additional interviews via email and telephone.

Power Relation and Sexual Violence in the World of Work

As national level organizations, that are based in Jakarta, the TU/LU confederations seldom handle the sexual violence's cases occurred in the world of work directly. Nevertheless, the research's informants acknowledged the issue of sexual violence as a serious problem that occurs in the world of work, and that it is still difficult to disclose and to deal with.

One of the factors that causes the TU/LU confederation to rarely handle sexual violence cases directly is its position as an umbrella organization at the national level. It is because many of the sexual violence' cases occurred at the factory or company level, then the handling of cases was mostly carried out by the TU/LU at federations or company levels. However, Elly Silaban – President of KSBSI, also admitted that cases of sexual violence in the workplace are seldom being revealed. The following is Elly Silaban's explanation:

We are a confederation that consist of 10 federations. So, if there are cases of sexual violence experienced by garment workers, I cannot directly handle it and go down there, because there would be a confederation [sic: federation] that takes care of it there. Usually there is the organizer [of TU/LU] at the company level, if it is not resolved, then it will be brought to the branch body, if it is not successful, then it will be brought to the central/national body(federation). So, we could solve the advocacy. But there is an order of procedure, yes. They have to be empowered to handle issues there. (Elly Silaban – KSBSI 2021, interview, 26 April)

According to Elly Silaban (KSBSI), a confederation works at the political arena to push for policy reform, and she admitted that many of the sexual violence cases at work have not yet been revealed.

Sexual violence is not only about sexual problems, but the impact of the norms and structure that continue to reproduce gender inequality (UN Women 2019). This research finds one of the difficulties to disclose and to handle sexual violence at work is the unequal power relation between the perpetrators and the victims – particularly when the perpetrators are the work supervisors of the victims. When it involved supervisors' level as the perpetrators, usually the sexual violence cases will be resolved outside legal procedure, or through friendly process, such as explained by Ristadi – President of KSPN as quoted from an interview in the following:

We were established in 2014, we have never received any reports of any of our members experiencing this incident that reached the central body. There are findings but only up to the factory level and it was handled by them. And again, the settlement went through friendly process, so it did not reach the criminal arena, because after digging into the problem, the criminal procedure would bring consequences that our female members are not ready to deal with, because it turned out that the one who did the sexual harassment was her supervisors. (Ristadi–President of KSPN 2021, interview, 23 April)

The feeling of embarrassment to reveal their cases have made the victim to be reluctant to further proceed with the case. This was mentioned by Ristadi, President of KSN, in the following interview:

They were afraid that this will later become a wider discussion, those who did not want to proceed was the victims, our members, then he [said], "it's okay, no need to further proceed it", that is. That's an obstacle, it's a fact, yes. Then our colleagues did not document the incident as any report. Especially not as a report to us. There are a lot of facts, you know, especially done by supervisors. The majority of our members come from the labor-intensive sector, the garment sector. Many of our members are women, they experience a lot of harassment both verbally and also physically, but then it is not reported, nor processed, because what I mentioned earlier, the reason is due to the feeling of shame or "yes never mind, as long as is not very fatal". (Ristadi–President of KSPN 2021, interview, 23 April)

The unclear procedure for handling cases of sexual violence in the workplace has also caused victims unable to make report or formally file a case, either to the company or to legal authorities, or state authorities. Elly Silaban, President of KSBSI explained as follows:

We are confused about the evidence when cases of sexual violence in the workplace occurred, about the witnesses and where to file complaints. Is it to the management, to the union, or to the police? We have handled several cases. For example, there are some of the female workers who don't want to work overtime and then they are told to go to the management room to relax and they were being told "it's nice here because it uses AC". Then oral abused against women. There were also cases done by the male supervisors who pretend to check the machines, then dropping their pens, and asked the female workers who wore low-chested clothes to pick them up. Sometimes their male bosses block them in the hallway of the workplace and [their bodies] were touched. (Elly Silaban – KSBSI 2021, interview, 26 April)

In one of the cases told by Elly Silaban, the victims chose to resign from work in order to avoid shame. Herewith as told by Elly Silaban:

There is another case. There was a female worker who had an LDR (long distance relationship) with her partner. Then the man asked for a nude photo of the woman. When the relationship was good the photo was kept private, but when they broke up, the photo was sent to all workers in the factory. The management instead asked the woman to resign. When we handled it, the woman had already signed her resignation letter. We have experienced things like this in advocating for the victims of sexual violence. (Elly Silaban – KSBSI 2021, interview, 26 April)

Not only because of shame, victims of sexual violence also face the threat of losing their jobs when their cases of sexual violence are being exposed or handled, especially if the perpetrator is the victim's supervisor. According to Elly Silaban, the lack of support from both colleagues and the companies, have made the victims of sexual violence in the workplace felt threatened of losing their jobs if they disclose their cases. Here is how Elly Silaban describe it:

In fact, there are many cases of sexual violence in the workplace, but many women do not have the courage to talk about it, because there is bullying from their own fellow workers. Many cases were not going through legal proceeding. Or for example, when the sexual violence was committed by the management, then the victims were afraid to report it, because they were afraid to lose their jobs. (Elly Silaban–KSBSI 2021, interview, 26 April)

The difficulty of settling and/or handling cases of sexual violence in the world of work that are revealed in this study is in line with global trends. Komnas Perempuan (2021) mentioned two general patterns of sexual violence that occur globally: first is the *quid pro quo*, in which the victims (especially workers), must tolerate sexual violence that they experienced in order to maintain their jobs or to obtain other compensation; second is the existence of a hostile work environment, which tolerates

intimidating, abusive, and hostile behavior and actions that are associated with sexual behavior, that interfere with work comfort.

The combination of power relations between the superiors and the subordinates, with the relation between men and women, have made it difficult to disclose the cases of sexual violence in the world of work. The victims of sexual violence in the world of work tend to be shy and/or afraid to disclose and resolve their cases, due to the fear towards their superiors/perpetrators and at the same time the feeling of shame to disclose their experience to public. The disclosure and handling of sexual violence cases becomes more difficult due to inadequate, and also the absence of handling and protection procedures of sexual violence in the world of work.

Encouraging Recruitment of Women as Members of Trade Unions/Labor Unions

The survey conducted by the ILO-ICFTU (2002) in several countries in Africa, Asia Pacific, Middle East, Europe and America - in approximately 70 countries, explains that the increasing number of women in the world of work and the higher level of women's education are some factors that encourage the increase in the number of female workers who become members of TU/LU. Only a small proportion of the respondents mentioned the issue of exploitation by employers and the issue of sexual harassment as factors that encourage women to become union members. However, the survey also revealed that the increase in the number of women joining trade unions/labor unions in several countries happened because of the special efforts made to organize women, by paying attention to the problems of the female workers, and including them in the management's structure.

The informants of the TU/LU confederation in this study realized the need for special efforts to recruit female members. This special effort is needed because female workers face various gender-based barriers to join and become active members of TU/LU. Women's gender role in the family to do care work, such as taking care of children, cooking for the family, taking care of husbands, is one of the factors that hinders female workers from being active members of TU/LU. This was acknowledged by some of the research informants, including by Ristadi-President of KSPN:

There are many female cadres who we saw to have good potential, then we got them involved in several times education programs, then at a certain point she no longer participated and disappeared from the circle, apparently,

she was asked by her husband to focus more on taking care of children, essentially taking care of the family. (Ristadi – President of KSPN 2021, interview, 23 April)

The data of the number members of the union confederation along with the gender data disaggregation were difficult to find. Compiled from various sources, Table 2 below gives some description of the number of

TU/LU members in Indonesia with very limited gender data disaggregation. The gap on gender data and gender analysis of TU/LU in various countries was also a concern of the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI). This discrepancy in gender data and analysis of TU/LU also occurred in European Union countries that already have gender mainstreaming agreements (Ledwith 2012).

Table 2. The Number of Women Membership in the Confederation of Trade Unions/Labor Unions

Nama KSP/ KSB	2002		2003		2019		2020	
	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women	Total	Women
KSPN					^{a)} 235.235	^{a)} 149.513	-	-
KSBSI	^{b)} 1.700.000	^{b)} 40-50%	-	-	^{c)} 386.295	n.a	-	-
KSPI			^{b)} 2.948.454	n.a	^{c)} 397.226 (**))	n.a	-	-
KSarbumusi	-	-	-	-	^{c)} 207.835	n.a	-	-
KKASBI	-	-	-	-	-	-	^{d)} 138.975	^{d)} 60%

Source: ^{a)}Ristadi (23 July 2021); ^{b)}ILO, 2006; ^{c)}kspi.or.id, 2019; ^{d)}Nining Elitos (23 July 2021)

Similar to other countries, female workers in Indonesia also face various challenges to be active in TU/LU. One of the challenges is the family factor. Research by Michele Ford (2007) in 2006 explained that female workers in Indonesia tend to be reluctant to engage in TU/LU activities because of their commitment to their families. When involved in the TU/LU, the female workers tend to take on marginal roles.

Elly Silaban, President of KSBSI, also expressed the burden of women’s domestic roles that hindered female workers from being active in the TU/LU as follows:

However, the problem with membership in this labor union is that when female members were still single [unmarried/unmarried], their enthusiasm and commitment were enormous. However, later when they already got married, their (participation) become dim. The problem lies in the challenge for women to be active in the unions. (Elly Silaban – KSBSI 2021, interview, 23 April)

Nining Elitos, Chair of KKASBI, explained that women’s life cycle at one point would require women to marry and/or to start a family. When a female worker started a family, especially when she already has children, her burden would generally increase. Therefore, according to Nining Elitos, the TU/LU need to create an atmosphere of the organizational activities that are open to children and families of the female workers. Here is Nining Elitos’s explanation:

Women in the women organizational structure can take a role in action, for example being an orator, etc. But it is

not easy to give birth to [a union member] like that, single women are given space, but when they got married they got stuck. Until now, the singles or families can bring their families and children, and this is a form of education and understanding about the uneasy task of women laborers. (Nining Elitos – KASBI 2021, interview, 27 April)

According to Sylvia Walby (1997) the social and institutional patriarchal constructions would limit women’s choices in balancing domestic work with paid work. Walby’s argument explains the problems faced by women members of the TU/LU to actively participate in the TU/LU’ organizational activities in this research. Borrowing Walby’s explanation, the coexistence between the domestic gender regime and the public (work) regime has created opportunities for women to work, but it has also created additional burdens for women, especially when women are still required to take full responsibility for domestic work. It is the burden of the gender regime that need and has been realized by the TU/LU in order to understand the difficulties faced by female workers to become union members, and to find possible the efforts that can be done to overcome those difficulties.

Increasing Women’s Participation in Trade Union/Labor Union Leadership Positions

The lack of women’s leadership in trade unions/labor unions has become global problem that faced by various trade unions/labor unions. ILO data from 1999 stated that women hold less than a third of the highest leadership positions in trade unions/labor unions worldwide

(Ledwith 2012). The masculine character of the trade unions/labor unions is one of the obstacles to women’s participation in the union leadership. For example, women who become organizer of trade unions/labor unions must display a ‘hard and cruel’ attitude, or *vice versa* hide themselves as leaders even though they play a role as a leader in the union (Ledwith 2012).

In Indonesia, the leaders and administrators of confederations are based in the capital city, namely Jakarta. Consequently, every member, including female members, who would become union leaders, must work from the headquarter. Therefore, in order to achieve leader position at the confederation level is not easy for women, especially for union members who work or

live outside Jakarta. This issue was expressed by Ristadi (KSPN):

...we intensely come to factories in the regions to recruit cadres, advocacy, and education to female members, then we observe carefully who among them would have the potential, and we give wider opportunities to perform better. Then we bring them to the national level, but this is not easy because of the aforementioned obstacles. (Ristadi – President of KSPN 2021, interview, 23 April)

This study also explores the form of women’s representation in the leadership of the TU/LU confederation that are being interviewed. Table 3 shows the situation of women’s representation found in the study, as follow:

Table 3. Women Representation in the Leadership of Trade Unions/Labor Unions Confederations

Name of Confederation	Women Representation in the Leadership of the Confederation
KSPN	Out of 15 of the headquarter’s leaderships, 5 of them are women
KSBSI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The president of the confederation is a woman. - The statute and the bylaws of the confederation have included quota for women in the structure of the organization.
KKASBI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The chair of the confederation is a woman. - Woman exist in each of the department. - Some of the federations are chaired by women.
KSarbumusi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Out of the 14 confederation administrators, 2 are women (1 head of the division, 1 treasurer) - Woman sit as secretary and treasurer in all of the federations.
KSPI	Several positions at the National Executive Council are held by women, namely: vice president, deputy secretary general, and treasurer (koranperdjoangan.com, 2017)

Source: compiled from interviews and other sources.

In general, women are already present in the leadership or in the organizers of the confederations (Table 3). However, compared to men the composition of women in the leadership is still relatively low, and tends to occupy positions that are considered feminine, such as treasurer and secretary, or in specific sections in charge of the issue of female workers and children. Out of the five confederations interviewed, there are two confederations, namely KSBSI and KKASBI, which are chaired by women.

The leadership of the confederation is also determined by the type of industrial sector of the union. Some of the industrial sectors that are predominantly men would be led by men. On the other hand, the industrial sector which are predominantly women are not automatically led by women leader. For example, in a federation of

garment sector which is 70 percent up to 80 percent are predominantly female workers, but women in the leadership does not reach 30 percent (Sumiyati – KSPI 2021, interview, 4 May).

Female workers have the ability to play active role in the TU/LU. Elly Silaban (KSBSI) expressed her optimism about women members of TU/LU’s ability, as follows:

During the congress, national meeting, national congress and other important meetings. As currently KSBSI prioritizes social dialogue both with ministries and stakeholders, so we encourage women to be involved there. But based on my observations, without being gender biased, women can be encouraged to participate more and are more responsive in discussions. They are one step ahead of the men. I asked these female members to represent me to discuss the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence, ILO Conventions and others. Their roles are very big. (Elly Silaban–KSBSI 2021, interview, 23 April)

The problem of being active in union's activities is that women must face gender bias that exists in the society. For example, the negative dominant view towards women who are active in TU/LU. This negative view arises due to the patriarchal cultural, such as: inappropriate for women to come home at night, or the assumption that those who become activists will neglect their responsibilities in the family. Nining Elitos (KKASBI) revealed the difficulties faced by women who become leaders in labor unions as follows:

Yes... it is not easy to be a labor union leader at factory level, there would be a threat of terror, the challenge towards women who enter the factory world is also not easy. Where usually, apart from work, I come home late at night, organizational activities too, there is a bad image seeing women as factory workers, coming home at midnight. Uncertain. But I don't care about that. (Nining Elitos – KKASBI 2021, interview, 27 April)

One of the ways to increase the female workers' participation in union leadership is through affirmative policies to involve women in the leadership structure of the TU/LU. One of the affirmative policies for women's participation, for example, is carried out by KSBSI by including written rules in the Statutes/Bylaws regarding quotas for women. The following is Elly Silaban's explanation:

In our Statutes/Bylaws, we have written a provision of the number of women in the structure as of 30 percent. Looks like there was some changes yesterday whether it has become 40 percent. Then, we also have a stipulation that women participation in training program must be carefully considered. (Elly Silaban – KSBSI 2021, interview, 23 April)

The existence of rules regarding women's participation in the union leadership structure could increase women's representation in organizational leadership, this is the experience of KSBSI as described by Elly Silaban below:

In the headquarter, we make sure that there would be men and women at the decision maker level. In our Confederation there are 5 members of the National Executive Council (DEN KSBSI). President, vice president for programs, vice president for consolidation, secretary general, and treasurer. For example, like myself - the president is a woman, then the secretary general is a man. For example, in the tourism [federation] the chairperson is commonly a woman, the secretary general is a man, as well as in agriculture. The majority of the composition in the federation has been balanced, but about twenty percent are still dominated by men. (Elly Silaban – KSBSI 2021, interview, 26 April)

In general, women's participation has not significantly shaped the leadership of the trade union/labor unions confederations in this research. A more gender-just representation of union leadership would require policy and affirmative action to provide special space for women's participation. This affirmation policy can be done, for example, by making rules of quota for women. But that would not be enough, the unions must also create a conducive environment for women's participation, considering that in the society women also face obstacles such as stigma against activists. In the end, the affirmative policies for women's participation in unions cannot only serve as tokenism, merely as an administrative or superficial requirement, for example in positions that are considered less strategic or gender biased.

Promoting Internal Structure to Promote Gender Equality

One of the strategies used by the female workers movement to influence the agenda of trade unions/labor unions is the application of *autonomous organizing* and *separate organizing* strategies. According to Linda Briskin, autonomous organizing is a strategy of the women's movement to form a women's only union. Meanwhile, separate organizing is the strategy of the women's movement to form a structure for women within trade unions/labor unions (Broadbent & Ford 2007).

Separate organizing has been widely used by female workers' movement in trade unions/labor unions in Indonesia to promote women's issues and gender equality. The separate organizing strategy that is commonly used in Indonesia is not by establishing trade unions/labor unions for women membership only, but by establishing a special structure within the union that is dedicated to women and/or women's issues (Ford 2007).

In varying degrees and forms, the interviewed confederations have developed internal structures and functions within the unions, that are dedicated to address and to support the female workers' issues. KSPN, for example, already has department of women and children. The task of this department is to organize, to advocate, and to educate about the rights and protection of female workers and children (Ristadi–President of KSPN 2021, interview, 23 April). Meanwhile KSBSI has formed the National Equality Committee/*Komisi Kestaraan Nasional* (K2N) to push the agenda for gender equality (Elly Silaban–KSBSI 2021, interview, 23 April). According to Elly Silaban (KSBSI), K2N does not only conduct

campaigns and education, but also has the voting right during congress. K2N which is based at the national level, also has task to develop K2N in each province.

Table 4 below shows the various efforts to build internal structures within the confederation that aim to promote gender equality.

Table 4. Internal Structures within the Confederation of Trade Unions/Labor Unions for Promotion of Gender Equality

Confederations	Sector/ Division/ Department on Gender Equality
KSPN	Department of Women
KSBSI	The National Equality Committee/Komite Kesetaraan Nasional (K2N)
KKASBI	- Department of Women Laborers Movement - Rules of procedures in election of leaders have included gender justice's requirements, such as: no polygamy, no sexual violence.
KSarbumusi	- Division on Women Laborers and Children - Sarbumusi Women's Caucus, women's special body under KSarbumusi.
KSPI	- Gender Based Violence (GBV) focal point - Planning to establish GBV post from national level to federation and companies' levels.

Source: interviews

To increase understanding and concern towards female workers' issues, Eka Fitri Rohmawati—Chair of the division of women empowerment and children of KSarbumusi, also established Sarbumusi Women's Caucus. This caucus is an internal body under the structure of KSarbumusi, which stands on a par with other institutions such as the Sarbumusi Legal Aid Institute (LBH) and KSarbumusi Economic Institute. The Sarbumusi Women's Caucus seeks to involve young cadres from the other NU (Nahdlatul Ulama) organizations, such as PMII and IPPNU, to also be involved in labor issues. As explained below:

...I'm the head of the women's forum. I have created a women's forum for about 2-3 years, where the women's forum is specifically advocating, analyzing, and reviewing matters and also regulations concerning women, or women's rights. It doesn't have to be a woman, even a man is also welcome if he wants to work as an organizer, the important thing is to have concern towards women's issues, policies related to women. (Eka Fitri Rohmawati – KSarbumusi 2021, interview, 26 April)

Meanwhile, KSPI tries to strengthen gender equality in the internal body of the confederation by designing a Gender-Based Violence Unit (GBV Unit). It hopes to establish such unit from the confederation level to the federation level, to encourage policies concerning violence in the world of work, as well as to handle cases of violence and harassment in the world of work. The following is Sumiyati's (KSPI) explanation about the plan to establish the GBV Unit:

To the most of my knowledge about the women's program, as a focal point, because of the involvement in the Convention (ILO) 190, then the focus of its work is on the Convention 190. Among others is the way to prevent and to deal with cases of violence and harassment in the world of work. Then, recently KSPI has focused on establishing a unit, by mobilizing activities from all federations affiliated with KSPI. (Sumiyati–KSPI 2021, interview, May 4)

This separate organizing strategy has developed within the confederations interviewed in this study. Through those specific division and function concerning women's issues, the women could raise and push the issue of gender equality into the confederation's agenda, particularly to encourage issue of sexual violence in the world of work, which will be discussed in the following section.

Advancing Gender Equality and Solidarity's Agendas in Trade Union/Labor Union's Activities

The research found at least two forms of activities carried out in order to advance gender equality's agenda, namely training and education, as well as policy advocacy concerning sexual violence in the world of work.

Training and Education

Specific areas concerning women within the confederation are those divisions that deal with training and education on gender equality and women's rights. Each confederation uses a different name for these

divisions, but their functions for training and education on gender equality are assigned to them.

In KSPN, the women's department has an educational role on women's rights in the world of work (Ristadi 2021, interview, 23 April), as explained below:

Then the women's department provides education on how to protect women's rights in the workplace, also what can be done when experiencing acts of "violation against women's rights", this what has been done by the fellows from the women's department in KSPN. (Ristadi-President of KSPN 2021, interview, 23 April)

Meanwhile in KSBSI, the K2N plays roles in providing training, socializing labor-related regulations, and discussing problems or issues faced by female workers. Elly Silaban explained as follow:

They [K2N] do the training. Socializing the ILO Convention 190, pushing for RUU PKS [draft law on the elimination of sexual violence], they discussed about female workers' rights, women's leadership, women situation in the family and others. Together we always follow labor issues at the global level and we bring it to the members. KSBSI exists in 24 provinces, but there are 20 active ones. (Elly Silaban-KSBSI 2021, interview, 26 April)

Through Sarbumusi Women's Caucus, KSarbumusi also raises issues concerning sexual violence and also the draft law on the elimination of sexual violence (RUU PKS) in informal discussions of the caucus (Eka Fitri Rohmawati-KSarbumusi 2021, interview, 26 April).

However, those various trainings developed by the confederations in this research, have not been consistently carried out. Training and education activities related to these issues are carried out sporadically, or serve as individual initiatives, and temporary.

Barriers to carrying out and developing these training activities were mainly caused by the limited resources, both financial and skills that are required for the training (Sumiyati-KSPI 2021, interview, May 4). For example, the skill in receiving reports and dealing with victims of sexual violence.

Policy Advocacy

Several case studies emphasize the importance of laws and regulations in providing legitimacy and door for trade unions/labor unions to negotiate agreements on the prevention of violence and harassment in the workplace (ILO 2017). Until 2014, UN Women recorded 125 countries that had passed laws on sexual harassment in the workplace (ILO 2017).

Meanwhile in Indonesia, currently there is not any legislation that specifically regulates the issue of sexual violence in the world of work. The Law No. 21 of 2000 concerning Trade Unions/Labor Unions, does not regulate any gender dimension at all. Meanwhile, the Law No. 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower only regulates the rights of female workers in terms of: menstrual leave, maternity leave, and working hours for female workers; but has not regulated the issue of sexual violence in the workplace.

The limited regulations about sexual violence in the workplace within the existing laws is acknowledged by Ristadi (KSPN) as follow:

So, in general, we have observed that the laws. Especially under the Law on Manpower, there is no specific regulation, whether it is a ministerial regulation, or a specific government regulation, that regulates matters concerning prevention of harassment and sexual violence in the workplace, it does not exist. What has been regulated are issues concerning women's rights, the right to menstruation leave, maternity leave, and then breastfeeding. Although not specific, those matters exist under the Law 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower. Indeed, these are our problem, as I told you earlier, we want to attach it to the General Crime Act, as it is regulated in the Criminal Code. To the most of my knowledge there is no specific [regulation], so this is also a factor when violence or sexual harassment occurred, as I mentioned earlier, then it cannot take further measure. (Ristadi-President of KSPN 2021, interview, 23 April)

Similar argument is also shared by Eka Fitri Rohmawati (KSarbumusi) as follow:

... in my opinion it is not yet sufficient, it is evidence that there are many cases of sexual violence that have been reported but they are just gone. Why did it happen? Because there is no existing clear legal umbrella. So far, it just uses the Criminal Code, yes, while it regulates very general, and many could not be resolved. It is because sexual violence requires a specific legal umbrella, and the ratification of this bill [on the elimination of sexual violence] is one of the ways. Therefore, there would be clarity for women who experience sexual violence, including those occurred in the workplace. (Eka Fitri Rohmawati-KSarbumusi 2021, interview, 26 April)

The TU/LU Confederations in this study have also been involved in policy advocacy concerning gender equality and sexual violence such as: the draft law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU PKS), ILO Convention No.190 concerning Violence and Harassment, and the draft law on the Protection of Domestic Workers (RUU PPRT). However, advocacy regarding the draft law on protection of domestic workers did not much discussed during the interviews. This research found at least two policy advocacy focuses of the confederation, those are on RUU PKS and the ILO Convention No.190.

Advocacy on the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU PKS)

Policy advocacy on draft law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence (RUU PKS) is carried out through lobbying and campaigns. Lobbying was carried out through the legislative and executive bodies, such as DPR/the parliament (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/Peoples Representative Assembly*) and several ministries such as the ministry of manpower and the ministry of women's empowerment and child protection. Collaboration among the tripartite forum members, namely the TU/LU, government, and employers; were also carried out to support the discussion of RUU PKS (KSBSI 2021).

Efforts to approach the parliament, and the tripartite forum, in encouraging the discussion over RUU PKS were explained by Ristadi-the President of KSPN as follows:

Hearings with the parliament (DPR), lobbying with faction leaders, were carried out by representatives from the women's department, and we also lobbied the government. Lastly, my colleagues and I also encouraged the seriousness of the government through the Minister of Manpower to work together, of course together with APINDO (*Asosiasi Pengusaha Indonesia/Indonesian Employers Association*), the employers' association, to make a joint commitment to urge for immediate enactment of RUU PKS by the DPR (parliament) and this has reached the highest level and later on April 30, we, the presidents of the confederations [along with] the Minister of Manpower, will meet with the leaders of DPR to agree upon and sign the commitment, to encourage and to urge DPR to ratify RUU PKS. (Ristadi-President of KSPN 2021, interview, 23 April)

Aside from approaching the government, KSarbumusi and the women across the confederations also seek to approach the employers through APINDO, to also participate in supporting the policy advocacy on the prevention of sexual violence in the world of work. The following is an explanation by Eka Fitri Rohmawati:

Some of us [women from across the confederations] met with Pak Hariadi Sukamdani, chairperson of APINDO, and informed them, that (the sexual violence issues) are closely related to employers, the employers are members of APINDO. Sexual violence often occurs because of power relations, even if the case occurred between those with equal positions, the employer's intervention would be also needed, so that workers would be more protected. So, we conveyed to Pak Hariadi the urgency of this law to be passed, especially since we in the trade unions specifically target [the cases] at the workplace. (Eka Fitri Rohmawati-KSarbumusi 2021, interview, 26 April)

The TU/LU Confederations interviewed were aware of the contradictions arose in the deliberation process of RUU PKS. Especially when the process run concurrently

with the deliberation of the draft of Omnibus Law that was full of controversy among the TU/LU. Ely Silaban explain it as follow:

We see that there were many who opposed RUU PKS and there were those who do not want to have it adopted. Many men as decision makers do not support this. Currently, several confederations along with other activists are involved in the team. We lead there to make an agreement with APINDO and the Ministry of Manpower to push for the adoption of RUU PKS immediately. I was present at the signing of support for RUU PKS. In the struggle to support RUU PKS, there were also different views, some groups wanted that the urge for RUU PKS to be done together with the Omnibus Law, which in my opinion would make it difficult for RUU PKS. (Ely Silaban-KSBSI 2021, interview, 26 April)

In addition to lobbying, the TU/LU confederation also cooperates with other unions to build support and to disseminate the recent discourse on RUU PKS to public. Eka Fitri Rohmawati (KSarbumusi) explained about the cross-union alliances to support the advocacy for RUU PKS and also RUU PPRT, although the debates around RUU PPRT seemed to be more complicated than RUU PKS. The following is Eka Fitri Rohmawati's explanation:

But RUU PPRT has been even tougher. Yes, we advocate for both but the biggest portion go to RUU PKS because it is necessary to immediately coming with a legal umbrella due to the violence and harassment that occurred everywhere. (Eka Fitri Rohmawati-KSarbumusi 2021, interview, 26 April)

Advocacy on the Ratification of the ILO Convention No. 190

Another policy advocacy agenda carried out by the confederations regarding the issue of sexual violence in the world of work is the advocacy towards the ratification of the ILO Convention No.190 on Violence and Harassment. This was explained by Sumiyati, the Gender-Based Violence focal point of KSPI. According to her, the ILO Convention No.190 provides a wider scope of definition on violence in the world of work, not just sexual violence. The following is Sumiyati's explanation:

The Academic Paper for the Convention 190, which we have made together with the alliance. It is because when we worked with on RUU PKS, we had worked together with Komnas Perempuan, with the ministry, and had a meeting with the minister regarding RUU PKS, the Convention 190, national tripartite meetings after the ILO Convention, and to ensure ratification. At that time, we want it all. It is because the Convention 190 already include protection against sexual violence in the world of work. So, we see it to be more urgent. (Sumiyati - KSPI 2021, interview, May 4)

Efforts to sensitize the ILO Convention No.190 was carried out through workshops for KSPI affiliated federations. In the workshops, KSPI also sensitized and supported their plan to establish GBV focal point in all KSPI affiliated unions. Sumiyati explained as follows:

...we also sensitized the Convention 190. We held workshops to achieve joint commitments on prevention and treatment, and lastly, we consolidated with several federations to get their commitments to set up the GBV focal points. Because not all the affiliated federations are ready for it. (Sumiyati-KSPI 2021, interview, May 4)

KSBSI also includes the agenda for the ratification of ILO Convention No.190 as one of their advocacy targets, although it is still on a limited scale. As explained by Elly Silaban:

In my own confederation, we still partially explain it, for example in national meetings. In half an hour we explained it but it has not become any action plan. Our work plan on the ILO Convention 190 calls for its ratification. While RUU PKS is still at the level of discussion among teams. (Elly Silaban-KSBSI 2021, interview, 26 April)

As the umbrella organization for unions at the national level, this research finds the strategic role of the TU/LU confederation in influencing and encouraging policy-making process. When the issue of sexual violence became the internal agenda of the union, the confederation would also make the issue of sexual violence as part of policy advocacy agenda. Especially when the policy receives public attention, such as in the advocacy towards RUU PKS and the ILO Convention No.190.

Conclusion

The unions' masculine character and the constraint between the domestic gender regime and the world of work regime are some of the factors that often hinder women's participation in trade unions/labor unions. Women have to adapt to the structure and activities of the TU/LU while balancing themselves with their domestic's responsibilities. This has resulted in the lack of representation of female workers in the leadership of TU/LU. Borrowing Acker's explanation, the low participation and representation of female workers in TU/LU has hidden the gender inequality issues, such as sexual violence in the world of work.

However, the TU/LU confederations in this research have realized that the issue of sexual violence in the world of work has not been widely disclosed, let alone to

be handled through legal measure. The confederations in this study realize the limited regulations concerning sexual violence in the world of work. This research also found that the five confederations have had developed structures and programs that give attention to issues of gender equality, including the issue of sexual violence in the world of work.

The promotion of the agenda on the elimination of sexual violence by the TU/LU confederation would be possible through several strategies. First, the TU/LU confederations in this research realized and made efforts to increase female workers' participation in unions, as well as to promote women's leadership in unions. These affirmative efforts need to be done because female workers have to face domestic work regime and world work regime that limit women's choices and opportunities to be active in the public sphere while at the same carrying out women's responsibilities to domestic work within the family. In order to strengthen women's participation in unions' leadership, some of the confederations have started to formally apply affirmative policies in the form of quotas for women within the leadership structure of the confederations.

Second, the efforts to strengthen gender equality's agenda were undertaken through the separate organizing strategies. This strategy is implemented by establishing departments within the unions, which function to raise and to strengthen gender equality issues. These special sections carry out various activities such as training on gender equality issues, building networks with other confederations, as well as other actors and institutions such as employers, government, and civil society organizations.

This research realizes that disaggregated data on women's membership in TU/LU as well as data on women's representation in the TU/LU leadership are needed to assess women's representation in TU/LU. However, this research also considers that the representation of female workers in the TU/LU also needs to be seen from the gender equality agendas that are included in the confederation's agenda. Therefore, this research then tries to trace the inclusion of issue concerning the elimination and prevention of sexual violence in the world of work into the agenda of TU/LU confederations.

The role of the TU/LU confederations in advancing the agenda for prevention and elimination of sexual violence is particularly prominent in policy advocacy. The important role of confederations can be seen from the involvement of all of the confederations in advocating

RUU PKS and the ratification of ILO Convention No.190 on Violence and Harassment. In advocating this policy, the confederations have strategic position to negotiate and influence various parties, both the legislative body (DPR), the government (ministry), and the business sectors.

As umbrella organizations at the national level, the confederations' space for action fall mainly in the areas of policy and campaigns. Meanwhile, the actual sexual violences are being handled directly by the TU/LU at the federation or company levels. Therefore, the agenda for the elimination and prevention of sexual violence could not only be carried out at the confederation level. In the end, the role of the TU/LU confederations to promote laws and regulations on sexual violence in the world of work, can be used as a basis for developing procedures for handling sexual violence needed by workers/laborers and also need to be understood and carried out by TU/LU at the federation and company levels.

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Ida Fauziyah: The Importance of Intensified Curative, Protective, and Non-Discriminatory Policy to Boost Women's Participation in the Labour Market

Abby Gina

Jurnal Perempuan

Dr. Hj. Ida Fauziyah, M.Si. serves as Indonesia's Minister of Manpower in the *Indonesia Maju* (Indonesia Onward) Cabinet Joko Widodo - Ma'ruf Amin for the 2019-2024 period. Prior to holding the highest position in the Ministry of Manpower, Ida was one of the senior female politicians of the National Awakening Party (*Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa/PKB*). Her work in the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia for 20 years (1999-2018) was a testament to the reputation of her brilliant political career. In Parliament (*DPR-RI*) she has served as Deputy Chair of the Legislation Body, Deputy Chair of Commission II, Chair of Commission VIII, and several times was appointed as Chair of the PKB Fraction. Ida has also participated in the 2018 Central Java's gubernatorial election.

One of the agendas that Ida has always been carrying on throughout her political career is the agenda of women's empowerment and gender justice. She was one of the key figures behind the birth of the Parliamentary Women's Caucus (*Kaukus Perempuan Parlemen/KPP*). Apart from being the initiator, she also served as the Chair of KPP Presidium. In an interview with *Jurnal Perempuan* at the end of March 2021, Ida shared that the establishment of KPP was a strategy to address the persisting issue of low women's political representation in parliament. Through KPP she hopes women can substantively participate, contribute, and take a role in the political dynamics and development processes in Indonesia through the parliament.

Ida's Figure as a Manifestation of Women's Leadership

Organisations and politics have been the way of life for this woman, who was born in Mojokerto in 1969. She said that she inherited her interest in organisational activities and politics from her father, H.M Sya'roni. Growing up, Ida always watched her father being involved in various organisational, campaigns, and political activities. Being raised in an Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*) environment has shaped her resilience, independence,

and organisational and social skills. Since her time as a *pesantren* student (*santri*), in college, until today, she has always been active in various organisations. For examples, *IPPNU* (Nahdlatul Ulama Women's Student Association), *PMII* (Indonesian Islamic Student Movement), *Fatayat NU*, and *PBNU* (Nahdlatul Ulama Executive Board).

To Ida, women's participation in organisations and politics is crucial because education can be obtained not only at school or university, but also through social life in organisations. Taking part in organisational activities has helped develop both her hard and soft skills. Together with *Fatayat NU*, Ida advocated for women's empowerment and the fight against discrimination. To her, establishing a dedicated department within an organisation that deals with women's empowerment issue is imperative. The goal is for women's empowerment agendas to strive and not being co-opted by other agendas.

Her active involvement in social and organisational work has led her to the world of practical politics. Since the age of 18, Ida has been active in *IPPNU*. In 1998, she became the Chair of the Executive Board of *IPPNU* in East Java. In the same year, *PKB* was formed. Ida was elected as the representative of women and youth to be nominated as a member of *DPR-RI*. In 1999, at the age of 29, Ida became the youngest female member of *DPR-RI*.

When she became a member of *DPR-RI*, Ida was concerned about the lack of women's participation in politics. Of 500 members of parliament (MPs), only 45 (9%) were women. Since then, she felt the need to advocate for women's representation in politics and development. One way to maximise women's representation at that time was to hold a forum that brought together the visions, missions, and interests of women regardless of their political party background. When talking about women's interests, we had to disassociate ourselves from political party background or interest. This way, women's representation in politics could be maximised. From there, the idea of establishing a Parliamentary Women's Caucus (*KPP*) was initiated.

Through *KPP*, Ida is optimistic that although the number of women in *DPR-RI* is low, but with the shared mission, the ideals of women's representation in development can be achieved. *KPP* seeks to realise the role of women in every stage of national development process, from planning to implementation. *KPP* has three internal functions, namely strengthening gender mainstreaming in the legislative, budgetary, and supervisory functions. Meanwhile, the external function of *KPP* is to enhance cooperation with organisations outside the parliament, such as the government and NGOs.

Her 20-year political career in *DPR-RI* has been an important asset for this mother of two in carrying out her work as the Minister of Manpower. As a Minister, Ida understands that she has to work harder. There are many labour issues in relation to women's empowerment and gender equality in Indonesia that need to be addressed. The lack of women's participation in the labour market is one of the challenges. The solution lies in various initiatives that offer protective, curative, and non-discriminatory policies.

Responding to Gender Inequality in the Labour Force Participation Rate in Indonesia

One of the challenges faced by Ida as the Minister of Manpower is to address gender inequality in the Labour Force Participation Rate (*Tingkat Partisipasi Angkatan Kerja/TPAK*) in Indonesia. Based on the data of the Central Bureau of Statistics (*Badan Pusat Statistik/BPS*), in the last three decades, the trend in the female labour force participation rate has been stagnant at around 51%, and in 2020, it has increased to 53%. The low participation of women in the labour market has been one of the reasons for the high gender inequality index in Indonesia. This low rate is influenced by various factors such as: gender stereotypes, stigma against women workers, lack of representation, and lack of career opportunities for women.

Strong patriarchal culture has consequences on the role of women's socio-economic life. While the percentage of the female population aged 15 years and over who have a college diploma is higher than that of men, both in urban and rural areas (Susenas, 2019), women are still positioned to take on domestic roles (taking care of the household). There are women who have the opportunity to play a role in the public sphere, however, they are still saddled with double burden of work, namely the responsibility for working and caring for the household.

This reality is prone to conflict between family and work. Women are often forced to choose to quit their jobs.

Women continue to face stigma in the world of work. Companies tend to stigmatise women as less productive workers because women need maternity leave, menstrual leave, and child care leave. The representation of women workers' voices in decision making is still minimal. As a result, the rights of women workers are ignored. In addition, women in the world of work also face other barriers such as the lack of career opportunities, protection, social security, wage discrimination, violence, and harassment.

To reduce inequality in the female labour force participation rate, the government has enacted Law Number 13 of 2003 concerning Manpower which, according to Ida, is sufficient to protect the rights of women workers. This Law clearly regulates working hours and facilities for women workers, and stipulates criminal sanctions and fines for violators. However, the challenge is the imbalance between labour inspectors and the number of companies being monitored. Many companies violate the Law. This has contributed to the ongoing discrimination in the workplace.

The Ministry of Manpower has made serious efforts to increase the number of Labour Inspectors (*Pegawai Pengawas*) by conducting training every year. However, budget constraints have resulted in an insignificant increase in the number of labour inspectors. Currently, there are 1.550 labour inspectors around Indonesia. However, efforts to realise the protection and fulfilment of the rights of women workers cannot be carried out only by the government. Commitments and concrete efforts from all relevant parties, from workers and trade unions, employers, to the wider community, are also needed.

Minister Ida added that gender inequality in the female labour force participation rate affects the Gender Inequality Index in Indonesia, and this hinders the attainment of the sustainable development goals. For this reason, the Ministry of Manpower has made a number of efforts to address inequality in the female labour force participation rate by carrying out the mandate of Gender Mainstreaming. Several efforts have been made by the Ministry, such as: employment arrangement services without discrimination carried out by Employment Intermediaries (*Pengantar Kerja*). The Ministry also instructed Employment Intermediaries to provide labour market information that accommodates vacancies for women workers. It also launched an entrepreneurship

programme for women workers who are not absorbed in the world of work, or who still want to work while taking care of their families.

Women's empowerment in the entrepreneurial sector is very important. This sector has a high absorption rate. By involving women in the entrepreneurial sector, the female labour force participation rate can be increased. Women will become economically more empowered. Women's empowerment programmes of the Ministry of Manpower to foster women's independent entrepreneurship are carried out, among others, through training, mentoring, and providing business capital.

The Ministry of Manpower also promotes the enhancement of women's competence through non-discriminatory job training. For example, by ensuring vocational training that embraces women, including in fields that have been dominated by men, such as electrical.

According to Ida, the Gender Mainstreaming commitment has also been realised in response to the Covid-19 pandemic situation. In 2020, the Ministry of Manpower launched the Independent Labour Programme targeting women's groups and communities. The Programme is part of the Ministry's efforts to lower the unemployment rate due to the Covid-19 pandemic, as well as a form of government's support to women workers.

The Interlinkages between Feminisation of Poverty and Labour Issues

In an interview with *Jurnal Perempuan*, Ida confirmed that the problem of feminisation of poverty is closely linked to labour issues in Indonesia. Based on available data, the average wage for women workers for all levels of education is still far below that of men workers. Although the trend shows that unemployment rate of women is consistently slightly lower than that of men, the percentage of women who work as part-time workers is much higher than that of men. The inclination of women to become part-time workers and in the informal sector, has negative impacts on wage and social protection for women when compared to full-time workers.

Ida added that the level of education also affects the chance of women being included in the labour market. Based on BPS data, 39.75% of the female workforce have an elementary education and below. This has driven many women to work in the informal sector. Low level of education has an effect on workers' lack of awareness of their rights. Economic pressure and the need for jobs

have also forced workers to accept poor and unfair working conditions. In this regard, the Minister has made a number of efforts to empower women workers through education and competency development. Similar programmes are carried out so that women workers have better bargaining power. The Ministry has training programmes for workers as well as an unemployment benefit scheme through *Jaminan Kehilangan Pekerjaan/ JKP* programme, and employment empowerment programmes for women migrant workers and MSMEs (Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises).

The Importance of Promoting Decent and Safe Work for Women

Another important issue is on decent and safe work for women. The Ministry is committed to achieving SDG 8 by promoting inclusive and sustainable economic growth, productive and comprehensive employment opportunities, and decent and safe work for all. Ida is well aware that women face a number of challenges to be involved in the labour market. The dominant patriarchal culture remains a concern for her because women's reproductive functions continue to be used as an excuse to exclude them from being considered to work in the public sphere. According to Ida, gender stereotypes that are deeply rooted in the society have led to women's intellectual capacity being perceived to be lower than that of men. As a result of these biased assumptions, women are considered incompetent and unable to become leaders.

Another discrimination facing women workers arises in strategic position opportunities in the labour market. Many workplaces tend to offer strategic position opportunities only to men. Meanwhile, women are given positions related to administrative work, finance, and public relations. Positions with operational technical characteristics are usually reserved for men and women are only hired for types of jobs that are not related to policy making.

In an effort to ensure an equal and inclusive world of work, as the Minister of Manpower, Ida has implemented three policy aspects. *First*, protective policies, namely providing protection to women workers in relation to their reproductive functions. *Second*, curative policies, namely prohibiting dismissal of women workers on the grounds of marriage, pregnancy, or childbirth. *Third*, non-discriminatory policies, namely providing protection to women workers against discriminatory practices and gender injustice in all aspects of the workplace.

Ida mentioned several policies that promote gender equality in the work environment, among others: Law No. 13 of 2003 on Manpower; Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 3 of 1989 on the Prohibition of Dismissal of Women Workers who are Married, Pregnant, or Giving Birth; Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 4 of 1989 on the Procedure to Employ Women Workers at Night; Instruction of the Minister of Manpower No. 2 of 1991 on Supporting Improved Opportunities for Nursing Workers to Breast Feed; Minister of Manpower Circular No. 4 of 1996 on the Prohibition of Gender Discrimination against Women Workers in Enterprise Regulations; and Joint Decree of the Ministry of Manpower and the Ministry of Health No. 22 of 1996 and No. 202 of 1996 on Addressing Nutrition Deficient among Women Workers.

In addition to encouraging an inclusive work environment, Ida also pays attention to the importance of decent and safe work. One of Ida's concerns about the world of work is the lack of legal guarantees for the rights of domestic workers. The Ministry of Manpower continues to support the discussion of the Domestic Workers Protection Bill because the law can provide protection not only to domestic workers but also to those working abroad.

Responding to the vulnerability facing domestic workers, the Ministry of Manpower has issued Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 2 of 2015 on the Protection of Domestic Workers. This regulation provides protection to domestic workers who are placed by intermediaries in the event of abuse of authority by the intermediaries. Types of violations include charging fees by intermediary agencies (*Lembaga Penyalur Pekerja Rumah Tangga/LPPRT*), and arbitrary treatment of prospective domestic workers.

One of the challenges in implementing safe and decent work for domestic workers according to Ida is the weak inspection system. The work of domestic workers is carried out in the domestic sphere, meaning that community-based inspection is needed to ensure that domestic workers attain their rights to safe and decent

work. Whereas community's awareness of the importance of inspection and of the rights of domestic workers is still low. For this reason, socialisation needs to be carried out continuously. Another challenge is that domestic work is based on individual and informal arrangements and not on legal contract. Domestic workers' work schemes are usually constructed on the principle of kinship and not on a contract basis. This has resulted in unclear work arrangement and wage. According to Ida, employment contract is key to protecting domestic workers from various practices of abuse of authority, harassment, and violence.

Meanwhile, with regard to violations of workers' rights, Ida continues to improve the quality of inspection, where labour inspection reform is one of the major programmes that will be a priority until 2024. In an effort to reduce gender inequality in employment, the cooperation of all relevant parties is needed.

Minister Ida is aware that there is substantial work to be done to ensure gender equality in the labour market in Indonesia. Serious efforts need to be made to identify and respond to the cultural challenges facing working women. A number of policies that include an agenda on women's empowerment in employment have been presented, but changes have yet to be seen. It takes time and hard work to achieve this goal. There is also a need for continuous cross-sectoral work between the government, educational institutions, community leaders, religious leaders, NGOs, and all elements of society.

According to Ida, protective, curative, and non-discriminatory policies have shown positive impacts and increased female labour force participation rate in recent years. Nevertheless, the policies need to be intensified. Although promoting gender equality in the labour market is not easy, Ida is optimistic that by 2024, gender inequality in the world of work will change significantly. It is hoped that women can play a more active role as agents of development in Indonesia. Together with the Ministry of Manpower, Ida is committed to reducing gender gap in the labour sector in Indonesia.

Joni Simpson: The Ratification of ILO Convention No. 190 on Violence and Harassment Provides Ground for Improvement to the World of Work for Everyone

Atnike Nova Sigiro

Jurnal Perempuan

Joni Simpson is a Senior Specialist on Gender equality and non-discrimination in the world of work at the International Labour Organization (ILO). She has been based in ILO office in Bangkok – Thailand for six years. She works with the technical team for the sub region East Asia, South East Asia and the Pacific, where she provides guidance, work shop, policy guidelines, report writing, seminars, and tool design. She had worked on Indonesia on issues such as on domestic workers and labor law on domestic workers. She is a Canadian with educational background on cultural anthropology, and studies on women entrepreneurship with immigrant women in Canada.

Jurnal Perempuan interviewed her about the importance of ILO Convention No. 190 year of 2019 and its ratification for promoting and protecting women at work.

What does the ILO Convention No. 190 year 2019 regulate? Could you please briefly explain the reason and historical process behind the adoption of this Convention?

The adoption of ILO Convention No. 190 provides a globally agreed and timely framework for addressing violence and harassment in the world of work, including gender-based violence. These instruments recognize the right of everyone to a world of work free from violence and harassment, providing a common framework to understand, prevent, address and redress violence and harassment, including gender-based violence and harassment.

It prescribes a common definition of violence and harassment as *“a range of unacceptable behaviors and practices, or threats thereof, whether a single occurrence or repeated, that aim at, result in, or are likely to result in physical, psychological, sexual or economic harm, and includes gender-based violence and harassment”*. It includes roles and responsibilities – and agreed minimal actions to take in order to prevent, protect and address violence and harassment in the world of work. It also defines gender-based violence as violence and

harassment directed at persons because of their sex or gender, or affecting persons of a particular sex or gender disproportionately, and includes sexual harassment.

The ILO Convention No. 190 talks about the ‘world of work’, recognizing that it can *“occur in the course of, linked with or arising out of work”* and seeks to identify where it occurs, such as: the workplace; public and private spaces, where they are a place of work; places where worker is paid, takes a rest break or a meal; sanitary, washing and changing facilities; work-related trips, travel, training, events or social activities; through work-related communications; employer-provided accommodation; and also commuting to and from work.

The Convention was adopted in June 2019 at the centenary year of the International Labour Conference (ILC). But the adoption was the culmination of work which began several years ahead. The official preparations for the new instruments, including: surveys, consultations, and preparatory reporting, can be found on the ILC starting in 2015. The topic of sexual harassment and workplace’s violence has been part of ILO’s work for decades, albeit under different standards, such as: The Convention No. 111 concerning Discrimination in Respect of Employment and Occupation reporting often integrated sexual harassment; the Convention No. 189 on Domestic Workers also brought in the issue of violence. The public outcry and the emergence of such movements as #METOO, among others, also helped the push to prioritize an issue that was there but that still didn’t have a clear framework in place for the world of work.

What is the importance of the ILO Convention No. 190 year 2019 for women?

The Convention establishes the right of everyone to work free of violence and harassment, regardless of their sex, gender, contract status, and other things. However, these instruments emerged from the recognition that women disproportionately featured as victims of violence and harassment, due to norms, power-relations, and so on. The Convention No. 190 places special emphasis

on violence and harassment against women because they are disproportionately affected, and calls for a gender-responsive, inclusive and integrated approach. It also recognizes that women workers and specific groups of workers may face higher risks to violence and harassment, such as women with disabilities, migrant workers, indigenous women, etc.

We know that gender-based violence is pervasive and goes highly unreported due to barriers such as: ineffective reporting systems, lack of trust, lack of access to support and services, and even norms such as shaming women who report. Often this can lead to women leaving violence and harassment unreported, and rather they may quit their job, or move to another department in order to avoid the perpetrator. However, this doesn't stop the problem and rather penalizes women, who then face income loss, potential blocking of their professional progress, health and stress factors, and the problem perpetuates and can impact other workers either the witness these acts of violence and harassment, or others who then become victims themselves.

The ILO Convention No. 190 has a strong foundation that recognize gender-based violence, and this is reflected in both the Convention and its recommendation. This Convention fills a gap with respect to recognizing gender-based violence in the world of work, and addressing it with a gender-responsive, inclusive and integrated framework, seeking to get to the "root causes". Furthermore, these instruments also recognize the importance of mitigating the impacts of domestic violence in the world of work, which disproportionately affects women; and lays out specific measures under the Recommendation No. 206.

What kind of conducts that are classified as violence and/or harassment according to the ILO Convention No. 190?

The ILO Convention No. 190 translate violence and harassment into the unacceptable behaviors and practices, that cause physical, psychological, sexual, and economic harm, including gender-based violence and harassment. Sexual harassment is one of the most widely reported form of harassment, and is considered a form of gender-based violence due to women being disproportionately affected.

Physical violence refers to the use of physical force against another person or group that results in physical, sexual or psychological harm. It includes physical attacks, beating, kicking, slapping, stabbing, shooting, pushing, biting. **Psychological violence and harassment** include

verbal abuse, harassment, bullying and mobbing, sexual harassment and threats, all of which can cause significant emotional injury to those targeted. It can include manipulating a person's reputation, isolating a person, withholding information, slandering and ridiculing, devaluating rights and opinions, giving impossible goals and deadlines, underutilization of talent, etc. **Bullying and mobbing** are two forms of psychological harassment that have become widely referenced over the last decade. In the world of work, bullying or mobbing is repeated offensive behavior through vindictive, cruel, or malicious attempts to humiliate or undermine an individual or a group of workers. **Cyberbullying** in the world of work can be understood as any form of aggressive behavior against an individual (group of) victim(s) through ICT means in the context of work.

Sexual harassment is a form of sexual violence that commonly occurs in the world of work, and it is frequently categorized in two ways: 'quid pro quo' or 'hostile working environment'. *Quid pro quo* sexual harassment takes place when a job benefit, such as: a pay rise, a promotion, or even continuing employment — is made dependent on the victim acceding to demands to engage in some form of sexual behavior. The second category, hostile working environment harassment, covers any conduct that creates a working environment that is unwelcome and offensive to the victim. It encompasses the range of sexually harassing behavior that does not implicate sexual blackmail, such as: sex-based comments, disparaging remarks about the sex of the target, innuendos, the display of sexually suggestive or explicit material, etc.

Who are being protected by the ILO Convention No. 190?

The ILO Convention No. 190 protects everyone. It recognizes the right of everyone to a world of work free from violence and harassment, including: worker, employer, intern, volunteer, informal economy operator. It also includes third party such as: clients, customers, service providers, patients, because they can be victims as well as perpetrators.

What is the connection between the Recommendation No. 206 with the ILO Convention No. 190? What are being regulated by the Recommendation No. 206?

The Convention is a binding international treaty, creating obligations for ratifying States. While the Recommendation provides guidance on implementing the Convention, with actions and examples of measures to take.

How does the ILO Convention No. 190 protect workers in informal sector? Could you please explain particularly on the domestic workers as a group who often experience harassment and violence?

The ILO Convention No. 190 protecting people in various sectors. It includes the formal and informal economy, and in urban or rural areas. The Convention calls upon country stakeholders to identify specific groups of workers who may face disproportionate risks of violence and harassment; regardless of their employment status, and also where home is the workplace; or whether they are migrant workers or nationals. They all should be protected.

When a criminal justice approach is taken to addressing violence and harassment for domestic workers, it does not cover the full range of behaviors of work-related violence and harassment. To avoid gaps in protection, a broader approach is necessary, offering protection and safe complaint mechanisms within labor, Occupational Safety and Health, and equality and non-discrimination laws.

Domestic workers are not yet recognized under the labor law in Indonesia, therefore the ILO Convention No. 190 could provide protections and recognition in spite of this gap. It is essential for legislations to be fully comprehensive in order to avoid loopholes and breaches that could lead to impunity, limit access to justice and remedies for all victims.

While there is ILO Convention No. 189 that specifically speaks about domestic workers' rights, the ILO Convention No. 190 aim to protect those in sectors, occupations and work arrangements with more exposure to violence and harassment. Therefore, the Convention could help to identify those groups, in the context of Indonesia, which would be more at risk, such as domestic workers.

The Recommendation No. 206 provides clear examples of such groups that face more exposure to violence and harassment, including the domestic workers. The Recommendation provides that sectors, occupations and work arrangements with more exposure are those such as night work, work in isolation, health, hospitality, social services, emergency services, **domestic work**, transport, and education or entertainment.

How does the ILO Convention No. 190 protect the marginalized groups, for example person with disability?

Discrimination based on disability was identified in the run up to the adoption of the ILO Convention No.

190, as an important factor in violence and harassment. This Convention recognizes that persons with disabilities can experience these issues in ways that are different and therefore is often overlooked. It also considers that there are very different forms of disabilities that should be recognized and responses adapted to, and considers such specificities through prevention, protection, enforcement and remedial measures.

The Convention upholds the right to equality and non-discrimination in employment and occupation must be ensured, including to person with disability. The promotion of an inclusive workplace culture, including regarding the right to reasonable accommodation, is essential to ensure equality of opportunities and treatment, to protect against discrimination, and to prevent violence and harassment. In addition, the identification of hazards and assessment of risks of violence and harassment foreseen in the Convention can also constitute a channel to address concerns that may be specific to persons with disabilities.

How could the ILO Convention No. 190 promote human rights for everyone/ group and also promote non-discrimination at work?

Violence and harassment can constitute a human rights violation, therefore by preventing and addressing this, already these instruments can have an important role in protecting the rights of everyone to a world of work free from violence and harassment.

Violence and harassment can be recognized as a form of discrimination. Discrimination is linked to the underlying causes, including multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination, gender stereotypes and unequal gender-based power relations. A certain group of workers could also be more vulnerable to violence and harassment, such as those who do not conform to workplace norms or societal stereotypes, or those who may be in a minority on account of ethnicity, religion, disability, age, political views, sex, gender or sexual preference, HIV status, national or social origin, or association – or lack of it; for example, between union and non-union members.

Does Indonesia need to ratify the ILO Convention No. 190? What are the benefits of ratifying this Convention for Indonesia?

The ILO Convention No. 190 is open for ratification. Therefore, its open also to Indonesia, where the decision to ratify is with each country. Nevertheless, a

ratification would send a strong message that violence and harassment are not tolerated in Indonesia. A ratification would also highlight Indonesia's leadership and commitment to being a strong member of the international community working to address this important issue on the world of work. I understand that in Indonesia, there is a growing awareness towards the Convention and its Recommendation.

Since 2014 Indonesia has included the draft law on abolishing sexual violence in the parliament discussion. What can the ILO Convention No. 190 contribute to this draft law?

By aligning with the ILO Convention No. 190 in the world of work, Indonesia would then have strong coverage of all forms of violence, including sexual violence in the world of work. These instruments can provide some guidance on how to align with, and the government as well as workers and employers, can request technical support from the ILO office where relevant.

In several countries across the region, national evaluations have or are already taking place in order to understand how compliant/ or not each country is, and highlighting where changes can be made to further align. It should be understood however, that this is a "work in progress" for all countries. For example, the platform economy has opened up new forms of violence and harassment online – and therefore it is not a question of a "perfect score" in Indonesia, rather than a commitment to progress and improvement on preventing and addressing violence and harassment in the world of work, including gender-based violence and harassment.

How could the ILO Convention No. 190 contribute for improving labor laws and regulations in Indonesia?

Violence and harassment are unacceptable and incompatible with decent work. By aligning labor laws and regulations with the ILO Convention No. 190, Indonesia would already be improving its laws to prevent and address this pervasive issue. Indonesia would therefore act to make sure that everyone can work free from violence and harassment. These measures would have important direct and indirect impacts on productivity, gender equality, occupational safety and health, in the world of work.

What kind of initiatives have ILO taken to promote the ratification of ILO Convention No. 190?

To start with, ILO's governance system adopted the ILO's results framework with an outcome which has

clear deliverables on the Convention No. 190. ILO has been providing support to its constituents towards understanding these instruments and providing support towards its ratification; documenting violence and harassment; resources that provide 'good practices' for example through occupational safety and health; training, tools and guidance across various sectors; recommendations for specific groups of workers; the Covid-19 pandemic related guidance that aligns with C190; support to campaigns; and so on.

This year (2021) marks the 'entry into force' of the ILO Convention No. 190, and there will be a global campaign/ call to action for ratification of the Convention. ILO is also undertaking a broad study on violence and harassment in the world of work with Gallup poll, to be published in 2022. Currently, there is a major training program underway for ILO's constituents to understand these instruments and take that knowledge to their country contexts.

What do you foresee as the breakthrough of the adoption of the ILO Convention No. 190 as standard setting?

At the country level, one thing that we would see from the adoption of the ILO Convention No. 190 is a short term rise in reporting. If women and other groups are confident they can get justice, then we are likely going to see arise. Countries and work places should keep this in mind, because that is actually good in a sense that people are able to step up and report violence and harassment, because they feel confident, because the system are in place to be able to lodge those complaints and then follow through with them being addressed in a gender responsive way and gender justice. I think that in itself is one of the best things that would happen.

I think we will see women progressing in their careers. Violence and harassment keep women down, in all of its forms. So, for gender equality, I think this is a huge advance. It is not the only solution, but it is a very big part of the puzzles of the power dynamic that come into play that allow violence and harassment to arise in the world of work. If that is addressed then women would be able to stick to the rightful place and to progress in their work and do not have to drop out because of facing the shame of toxic work place and/ or their work environment. I see that it is very important on that level than enabling women to step up.

Men will benefit too. Men are also victims. There are men as allies there, and there are men who do not take up toxic masculinity, and who do not want to see the

violence and harassment. They are affected mentally by their presence in the work place. They also do not know what to do about it.

So, we are going to see a broader respectful work place, and a broader world of work with respect to workers, employers, and all of those engage in economy. Knowing that they have a right, I think it is good, and in terms of individual power, it is very strong. If a person knows that they are protected from such intolerable abuses, they are going to be performing better. They are

going to be able to achieve their full potential, there is so many benefits of the adoption of the ILO Convention No. 190.

At the international level, as more and more countries ratify Convention No. 190, we should see more and better legislature and responses in place, protecting the rights of all to a world of work free of violence and harassment, including gender-based violence. This would indeed be good for all – and in particular for the most marginalized workers – many of whom are women.

AUTHOR GUIDELINES

Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is a quarterly interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. JP invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships.

The journal encourages practical, theoretically sound, and (when relevant) empirically rigorous manuscripts that address real-world implications of the gender gap in Indonesian contexts. Topics related to feminism can include (but are not limited to): sexuality, queer, trafficking, ecology, public policy, sustainability and environment, human and labor rights/ issues, governance, accountability and transparency, globalization, as well as ethics, and specific issues related to gender study, such as diversity, poverty, and education.

JP welcomes contributions from researchers, academia, activists, and practitioners involved in gender advocacy in any of the areas mentioned above. Manuscripts should be written so that they are comprehensible to an intelligent reader, avoiding jargon, formulas and extensive methodological treatises wherever possible. They should use examples and illustrations to highlight the ideas, concepts and practical implications of the ideas being presented. Feminist theory is important and necessary; but theory — with the empirical research and conceptual work that supports theory — needs to be balanced by integration into practices to stand the tests of time and usefulness. We want the journal to be read as much by stakeholders as by academics seeking sound research and scholarship in women's study.

JP appears annually and the contents of each issue include: editorials, peer-reviewed papers by leading writers; reviews, short stories, and poetry. A key feature of the journal is appreciation of the value of literature, fiction, and the visual narrative (works of art, such as paintings and drawings) in the study of women's issues

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To discuss ideas for contributions, please contact the Chief Editor: Anita Dhewy via anitadhewy@jurnalperempuan.com. Research papers should be between 5000-10000 words. Please make sure to include in your submission pack an **abstract outlining the title, purpose, methodology and main findings**. It is worth considering that, as your paper will be located and read online, the quality of your abstract will determine whether readers go on to access your full paper. We recommend you place particular focus on the impact of your research on further research, practice or society. What does your paper contribute? In addition, please provide up to **six descriptive keywords**.

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