



Patriarchy Driven Invisible Exploitation Among Putting Out System Women Workers in Moslem Democracy Country

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<http://dx.doi.org/10.47814/ijssrr.v7i11.2417>

Abstract

Most workers in the Putting-out System (POS) are dominated by women who come from poor families, are married and have children, have low education and do not have skills who work because of family economic pressures. This homework is informal work that is vulnerable to exploitation by not getting decent wages, long working hours, and not getting social protection such as work accident insurance and insecure job status. The Indonesian Home Workers Network (Jaringan Pekerja Rumahan Indonesia/JPRI) is an organization that accommodates homeworkers to carry out social movements to obtain decent work. However, the involvement of female homeworkers in this movement is still very low. This study aims to describe how female workers are increasingly exploited because they are not considered worthy of their rights as workers and how the patriarchal system perpetuates this exploitation by placing women in the domestic sphere and examines JPRI efforts to raise this issue by utilizing social movements. This study is a descriptive study with a qualitative feminist approach. The selection of informants was carried out by snowballing method to members of JPRI and the Trade Union Rights Center (TURC) as an NGO accompanying JPRI. The results of the study show that female homeworkers' choice of jobs reflects invisible exploitation based on gender discrimination and this is reinforced by the dominance of men over women through a patriarchal system that is perpetuated through the institutions of family, economic and nation. The study recommends that at the macro level, the government needs to recognize the existence of home workers by making regulations related to home workers so that their problems are exposed. Meanwhile, at the micro level, JPRI needs to continuously build awareness among female home workers that they are also real workers by taking individual and group approaches.

Keywords: *Exploitation; Gender; Home Workers; Patriarchy; Putting-Out System; Women*

Introduction

The implementation of economic liberalization and free trade has resulted in companies having to carry out production cost efficiency in order to maintain their sustainability. One strategy used by

companies to carry out efficiency is by using the Putting-Out System (POS) scheme, namely a commodity production scheme that delegates the production process to home-scale industries because it is easier to enlarge or minimize the scale of production according to market demand.

In the POS scheme, the company will provide some parts of the work that are considered unimportant or do not require special skills or that cannot be mechanized through a production scheme in the factory to home workers (Carr, Chen, Tate, 2000; Wahid et al, 2017). By implementing this system, companies can reduce production costs related to workers' wages, provision of workplaces, electricity, water, work equipment and social security for workers. This POS scheme is not only applied by large-scale companies but also medium-scale and small-scale companies including home industries.

The POS scheme used by the manufacturing industry has risen the number of home workers (put out piece rate workers/subcontracted dependent homeworkers), namely workers who only work on certain parts based on their skills and receive unit wages based on the number of items that can be finished, and the working activity is done at home (Agrawala, 2014; ILO Convention No. 177).

In line with the development of industry in various sectors, the number of home workers has increased. The ILO predicts that in 2019 there were 260 million homeworkers in the world representing 7%-9% of the entire workforce (ILO in Nilsson, Mazumdar & Neusinger, 2022). The results of the 2020 WIEGO (Women in Informal Employment Globalizing and Organizing) study showed that more than half of the items of the modern industry is done at home and the estimated number of homeworkers in the clothing and textile industry reached 37.5 million. The latest data from WIEGO (2021) also shows that 86% of homeworkers are in developing countries, namely in Asia and Africa. Indonesia also does not have definitive data, but from research conducted by the ILO in 2015 (in Tamyis, R & Warda, N, 2019) it is estimated that the number of homeworkers reaches 15,000 people. In 2017, the Central Statistics Agency added a variable of homeworkers through questions about workplace and payment systems in conducting the National Labor Force Survey. The data shows that there were 61,053,427 casual workers and 464,497 people (0.76%) were home workers, and among them 308,522 people were estimated to be home workers. Meanwhile, Central Bureau of Statistics data in 2023 showed that there were 83.34 million (60.12%) of the population working in the informal sector and 64.25% of them were women and of them were estimated to be women homeworkers. There is no definite data on the number of home workers because this work is informal that is generally done by women at home while doing housework so that it is invisible and not recorded and when the data collection was carried out, they also stated that they were housewives. Homework is mostly done by women, especially those from poor families, low education, married and have children to earn additional income to support the family economy (Hassan & Azman, 2014,). Although women's work as homeworkers is the main source of family income.

Homeworkers in Indonesia do various jobs such as sewing (sewing clothes, removing threads, packaging), gluing (footwear, food boxes, paper bags, envelopes), weaving (rattan for household equipment, wire for fish grills, bamboo for handicrafts), batik, and others. They get the job from intermediaries such as their relatives or neighbors whose houses are nearby. Intermediaries get work directly from factories or from employers, and they generally also work as homeworkers.

These women's homeworkers have the characteristics of being invisible, isolated, vulnerable and having an economically and socially insecure work status (Carr, Chen, Tate, 2000). These characteristics have caused them to experience vulnerability due to inadequate working conditions such as not being aware that they are workers, low wages (below the minimum wage) because they are determined unilaterally by the employer, long working hours, namely between 8-12 hours, poor health conditions (back pain, dizziness, asthma, decreased vision, toxic effects of chemicals and dyes used), no social protection in the form of occupational health and safety and no work agreement (Handayani and Taufiq, 2020 & Yentriyani, Saleh, Ulya, 2022).

The vulnerability experienced by female homeworkers cannot be separated from the concept of gender (Gurstein, P, 2017; Mies, 1998). Gender means that there are differences in roles between men and women that are not based on biological aspects but are based on the socio-cultural dimensions that exist in a society. Thus, the concept of gender is a concept that explains the differences between men and women that are constructed socio-culturally at different times and places (Shiratarrant, 2006, Kabeer, N, 2003). This concept of gender requires everyone in carrying out their roles and behaviors in everyday life to be adjusted to their gender so that they are not considered deviant by society.

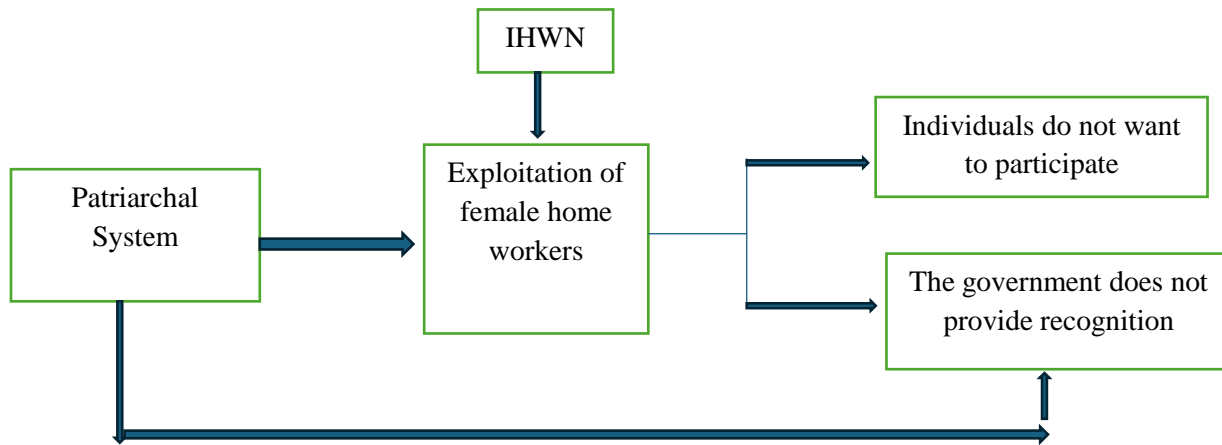
The study of gender analysis in social sciences is associated with gender relations which show unequal relations between men and women in various fields such as social, cultural, economic, legal, political and so on (Shiratarrant, 2006). This rises to gender inequality and gender injustice because of the weak position of women, and this is reinforced by the implementation of the patriarchal system. According to Walby (1990), to understand gender injustice it is also necessary to understand the patriarchal system because the two are interrelated. The patriarchal system is a structured social system and practice those places men as the holders of authority over women, children and property. In the patriarchal system, women are the subject of economic dependence, violence, domestication and are ignored in decision making and also determine the type of work as men's work and women's work (Custer, P, 2012). Men's aspect in the patriarchal system is in the realm of production and is responsible for supporting the family, while women's part is in the realm of reproduction, namely being responsible for doing household chores such as cleaning the house, cooking, washing and caring for children (Walby, 1990; Gurstein, 2017). Sultana (2011) states that the patriarchal system is the main obstacle for women to develop.

The vulnerability faced by female homeworkers due to inadequate working conditions has led to the birth of the *Maju Perempuan Indonesia untuk Penanggulangan Kemiskinan (MAMPU - Let's Move Forward Indonesian Women for Poverty Alleviation)* program in 2014. This program is a collaboration between the Australian and Indonesian governments that aims to increase poor women's access to basic services and government programs in order to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment that can support the achievement of the targets of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), especially targets number 5 (Gender Equality) and number 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth). This program also facilitates the formation of the JPRI, which is a coalition of homeworkers who carry out social movements to obtain decent work. The results of the initial study showed that the participation of female homeworkers in JPRI is still very low because there is no awareness from these homeworkers that they are workers and need to get rights and social protection like workers in the formal sector.

The study of homeworkers is a subject that needs to be studied more deeply considering that homeworkers are jobs that continue to create gender inequality and injustice in the form of work that has led to exploitation and oppression of women. There are a number of previous studies that discuss women who experience oppression due to the patriarchal and capitalist systems using a feminist theoretical framework (Ghina, A; Destiani, A; Carrisa V; Nabila V, 2022; Haezy, MA; Hapsari, M, 2020; Kholifah, S, 2006; Saleh, D; Swastika, N; Fatikhah, RA, 2023). Meanwhile, those that specifically discuss homeworkers include the socio-economic picture of female home workers and the problems faced by female home workers (Solechan, 2018; Floro & Pichetpongsa, 2010; Hunga, 2013). The research from Hassan & Azman (2014), Dadheech & Sharma (2022), Prasetyo, D.D (2017) examine the factors that influence women as homeworkers and the factors that hinder the participation of home workers in activities in their home environment. Meanwhile, research that discuss the social movement of homeworkers to obtain decent work are related to group organization, empowerment, social movement strategies and the sustainability of social movements (Bonner, 2022; Delaney, Burchielli, Connor, 2015; Jannah, M, 2017; Pattenden, 2022; Bhatt, 1989; Sinha, 2013; Hughes, K, 2016). Meanwhile, research that examines the obstacles for homeworkers to participate in social movements is still limited. For example, Delaney, Burchielli, Marshall and Tate (2019) only explain that due to economic difficulties they accept

poor working conditions and low unit wages due to economic pressures. Thus, this research aims to (1) describe how female workers working in POS are increasingly exploited because they are not considered worthy of their rights as workers and (2) how the patriarchal system perpetuates this exploitation by placing women in the domestic sphere and (3) how JPRI attempts to raise this issue by utilizing social movements.

In this study, the patriarchal system can be seen from the power relations between men and women reflected in the patriarchal structure, namely the patriarchal mode of production and patriarchal relations in wage work (Walby, 1990). While exploitation can be seen based on wages, working hours, health insurance and work accidents, work contracts, and provision of work equipment. Based on the description above, the theoretical framework in this study is as follows:



Women homeworkers in POS experience exploitation related to low wages, long working hours, unsafe work, no work contracts, no social protection especially related to health and work accidents. This condition is the impact of the patriarchal system inherent in family, economic, educational, political, legal and other institutions, thus limiting the participation of women homeworkers in the social movement carried out by JPRI to obtain decent work and eliminate exploitation. In addition, the government itself has not given recognition to homeworkers so that the social movement carried out by JPRI has not obtained results.

Methods

This research is a descriptive study with a qualitative approach. This approach is used because it can obtain meaning from female homeworkers related to how they experience exploitation and the patriarchal system that restrains them from participating in social movements. In addition, because the focus of this research is women, this research is included in the feminist approach because it seeks to gain understanding from a woman's perspective considering that women's voices are often ignored (Newman, 2014). Thus, this study seeks to understand that women's subjective experiences are different from men's, and women will see the social world as an interconnected network in human relations. Furthermore, Newman (2014) also explains that feminist research has characteristics that researchers must create empathetic relationships with informants, be sensitive to how gender relations and power affect all social life, include the researcher's personal feelings and experiences in the research process and be flexible in choosing research techniques. Thus, in this study, the researchers first approached and built relationships with informants and when a comfortable relationship had been established and the informant trusts the researcher, an in-depth interview was conducted with the informant.

The selection of informants was carried out using the snowball technique (Bryman, 2012). This technique was used by first contacting the Trade Union Right Center (TURC) as a companion NGO considering the invisible conditions of home workers and the absence of definite data on the number of homeworkers including the distribution of their work areas. TURC connected the researcher with the Head of JPRI in the Jakarta area. The Head of JPRI Jakarta then provided recommendations for female homeworkers working in the footwear, envelope, and sewing and cable assembly sectors as well as gluing fried chicken wrappers, and they were willing to be interviewed. Data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews and observations of 6 JPRI members in the Jakarta area and 1 person in charge of the homemaker program from TURC. Data analysis was carried out through open coding, axial coding and selective coding by categorizing data based on research objectives. Before conducting open coding, all data obtained through in-depth interviews were grouped through taxonomy so that patterns were found that were in accordance with the research objectives. At the axial coding stage, the researcher reviewed the results of the open coding and when a new theme was found, a new coding was created. At the selective coding stage, researchers see the connectedness in axial coding and conduct analysis by connecting it with the concepts of gender and patriarchy that are used as references in the research.

Findings and Discussion

A. Patriarchal System

1. Patriarchal Mode of Production

The results of the study showed that before marriage, female homeworkers had worked as factory workers, traders, shopkeepers, domestic assistants and some had not worked before. After getting married and having children, they decided to become housewives because there was no one to take care of the children. However, limited income earned by their husbands who work as drivers, motorcycle taxi drivers, factory workers, odd jobs, construction workers and some even do not work has encouraged them to work to meet the economic needs of the family. The choice of women to become homeworkers is because they assume that homework is a casual job and easy to do and can be done in between their busy schedules when carrying out their obligations as housewives but getting additional wages to meet the needs of their children and themselves as it is expressed by MH:

"Home workers consider the job they do as a hobby and until now they also call themselves housewives not homeworkers.... but the fact is that the job cannot be done while doing other jobs, so the house is messy and sacrifices everything. For example, some of us still glue footwear while attending meetings. However, if there is no job, they are also confused about what to do in the morning but if there is job, thank God, every Saturday we always get our wage" (Homeworker, January 2023)

Women's decision to become homeworkers is also based on their values, namely that when women are married and have children, their main responsibilities are as wives and housewives, as expressed by DR:

"The job can be done at home while cooking, while taking care of the household. If I work in a factory, the salary is indeed bigger, but I can't take care of the house"(TURC, March 2022).

This value is also held by husbands who allow their wives to take the job as long as it is done at home, and they do not neglect their obligations to take care of the household, including raising children, as YL said:

" I've been working as a gluer for a long time, my husband doesn't stop me because I do it at home while I'm carrying the child, but when I complain that I'm tired, he asked me to just quit [the job]."
" (Homeworkers, February 2022).

Meanwhile, MM explained as follows:

" If I work in a factory, there is a minimum education limit of high school and age limit and no one to look after children. If in a factory, the working hours are also from 8 am to 4 pm, and when we get home, we are tired, and the housework is not handled. My husband also said... you can work to help me, but the home should be tidy and don't complain about being tired" (Chairman JPRI Jakarta, January 2023).

In addition, according to MM, her husband is not willing to help the wives' work, for example helping to glue and others, nor to help do chores because he is tired to work all day except for certain jobs such as mopping the floor and washing dishes. These women homeworkers also face obstacles in participating in activities in their home environment because the time they allocate is only for doing household chores and work as homeworkers. In addition, from the statement of DR (TURC, March 2022) it is known that it is difficult to invite women, especially mothers, to gather because their husbands do not allow it for various reasons, for example because they must look after children.

2. Patriarchal Relations in the Job with Putting-Out System

The results of the study show that the power relations between employers and female home workers are not balanced. This is from the results of the study that employers generally employ women because they have the view that the work done by women is work to earn additional income in the family because the one responsible for earning a living is the husband..."women's work is only as the supplement of the family's needs, so it's okay for women to get low salaries... employers also think that they can help the surrounding community." (DR, TURC, Januari, 2022).

The low wages of female homeworkers are because they accept any wages given, and they also do not demand their rights as workers such as wage increases, work accident insurance because they work at home so they are isolated and only interact with intermediaries or employers and do not know what the standard wages they should receive when compared to workers who do the same work including those who work in factories. In addition, employers also employ female home workers because they are seen as more careful and neater in doing work such as gluing footwear, gluing paper bags and gluing food and fried chicken wrappers. This is explained by DR " In general, female homeworkers are neater and more careful and they never ask for a pay rise because they are afraid that their work will be given to someone else" (TURC, Maret, 2022).

B. Forms of Exploitation of Female Homeworkers

The results of field research show that female homeworkers experience unconscious exploitation which can be seen in several dimensions, namely:

1. Low Wages

These female homeworkers earn low wages, and it depends on the type of work done, for example sewing polo shirts can earn IDR 33,000/dozen, folding fried chicken wrappers IDR 30/sheet,, gluing footwear IDR 275-500/pair and gluing envelopes for children's toys IDR 30/sheet and assembling cables for refrigerators IDR 20,000/100 pieces. The intermediaries earn between IDR 5 - 100 /sheet, and it is used for the cost of picking up and returning the work. The wages are given by intermediaries at the weekend after the work is submitted to the employers and for that the intermediaries will record based on

the number of units done by each homeworker. These female homeworkers and also the intermediaries who are also homeworkers do not have the courage to ask for a wage increase to the employers, and some have not experienced a wage increase for up to 10 years, and if there is a wage increase it is also not significant, for example gluing paper bags has increased from the previous IDR 150 to IDR 180/sheet. However, home-based women workers are still grateful for any wages they receive because they can increase their family income.

2. Long Working Hours

Women homeworkers do their work at home, so they have to allocate their time in such a way that household chores are not neglected. As DW said:

" I have to wake up early...do the chores like cooking, washing, cleaning up...after all done...I bought vegetables in the afternoon, so I usually aim to get 50 pairs (before doing that activity), sometimes I go shopping first...cooking and then work again... the thing is, there's no time limit... if we're tired, take a break. Sometimes other people do this all night long]" (January 2023).

For home-based women who have toddlers, they will start to work when the child has not woken up, usually starting from 6 am and then when the child wakes up at 8 am they will start taking care of the child starting from bathing, feeding the child and cooking. When the child takes a nap, the job will be continued again until before the maghrib prayer.

Although women homeworkers try to balance their work as housewives and homeworkers, there is a lot of work that must be completed immediately because it must be submitted immediately to the intermediary because there is a deadline to complete it, then they will allocate more working time. Thus, they often have to work until 12.00 midnight and even until early morning when all family members are asleep, and they also often have to buy food because they do not have time to cook and clean up other household chores. Women homeworkers never stop doing work because there is a time limit in doing work, and they are worried that if they cannot fulfill it, they will lose their jobs which sometimes are the main source of income for the family. For example, to glue footwear, the target work is 1 week for approximately 700-800 sheets, sewing 10 dozen polo shirts with a processing time of 2-3 days, and stringing 100 cables/day.

3. Lack of Health Insurance and Work Accidents

Homeworkers do not get health care and work accident insurance. The work they do has a big impact on their health because they often experience fatigue and health problems such as impaired vision, respiratory problems and even miscarriage due to inhaling chemicals such as glue used to glue footwear; disorders in the back of the body because they must keep bending down when doing work. This is as expressed by MH below:

".... Those who glue, eventhough there is a fan, cannot get good air circulation because their houses are generally 2x2 or 2x3 and all activities are done in that room such as cooking, eating, sleeping, and rocking the children too. That's why there are dying children; they have miscarriages, lung diseases, and even it causes lung disease during pregnancy so, automatically they can't breastfeed their children even though they work for their children, but their salary is not much (for it), and children need milk and the price of milk is expensive. That's the circle of poverty" (MH, January 2023).

Female homeworkers generally live in densely populated areas so there is no air circulation, prone to fire and flooding. Even in the Kapuk Muara area, they occupy illegal land. In 2021, there was a fire that burned down residents' houses with a total burned area of 600 m² and affected 120 families of

homeworkers. Even though it is illegal land, they get electricity for water needs because it is a swampy area, they must buy it from neighbors who have drinking water company as their main water sources at a cost of IDR 20,000-IDR 30,000/head/week. Thus, the allocation of expenses for water alone is approximately IDR 320,000/4 heads/month.

Regarding work accidents, generally the work done by homeworkers, although it is work that tends to be less vulnerable, work accidents still occur, for example being pricked by a sewing needle. However, work accidents can occur when homeworkers who also act as intermediaries pick up and deliver work to employers. This is as expressed by EE below:

" Usually when taking goods or handing over...my child takes me on a motorbike and the goods are put in front and I also hold them...well that's why we need Security Employment Insurance because it's scary to bring work and it can't be claimed to the government and the employer doesn't want it...even if we get sick, we don't get help. We have National Health Insurance as National Assistance Recipient but there is no death benefit from that insurance" (January 2023)

4. No Employment Contract

Homeworkers generally get jobs from neighbors or relatives who are intermediaries but also home workers. The relationship between them is quite close and based on mutual trust so that there is no written contract between them. However, this also creates vulnerability because home workers cannot demand their rights as workers including wages because they are not directly related to the employers. This was revealed by the informant MH that female homeworkers do not have job security because they do not have a written work contract but only verbally so that work can be easily transferred to other workers, especially when they ask for a wage increase or ask for other benefits. While the intermediaries with the employers also do not have a contract because the intermediaries also get the job from friends, relatives, neighbors who work at the employer's company and there is only a travel letter when taking a job containing the amount of work given and will be checked again when the work is submitted.

5. No Working Equipment

These homeworkers do not receive work equipment to support their work from their employers such as needles, scissors, hammers, brushes and even glue to glue footwear. This is as expressed by DW who does footwear gluing work:

"I get 3,600 work every week and for that I need 3 cans of glue because 1 can be used for 1,200 pairs and if it's more than I have to pay extra. The glue comes from the factory, and I buy it myself with a system provided by the factory but when we get paid it's deducted. For example, if I get 3,600 works, that means 3 glues so if you multiply it by IDR 400,000, it will be IDR 1,200,000. For example, we get IDR 3,600,000 then IDR 1,200,000 is deducted, and the rest is IDR 2,400,000. Also, sometimes there is a charge every week of IDR 28,000, I don't know what it's for...they say it's for if damaged insurance" (January, 2023).

C. Social Movement by JPRI to Decent Work

JPRI as a homeworker organization, through assistance provided by TURC, has made various efforts to obtain decent work for homeworkers, including by submitting an academic paper to the Ministry of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia and submitting a judicial review of the Manpower Law No. 13 of 2003, especially related to Article 2 number 15 and Article 50 which regulates the definition of employment relations. This is as stated by MH below:

"Even though we together with NGOs have also submitted an academic paper to the Ministry of Manpower, there has been no improvement because there are always changes in officials in the ministry, so it is always raw again. We submitted it to the Constitutional Court and it was rejected, but we appealed by bringing in experts, witnesses, some of whom were from abroad, and finally the Constitutional Court made a recommendation that for each, it can be regulated through the regional regulations of each region because may be the needs are not the same, and for example in Jakarta we asked for a governor's regulation." (January 2023)

Furthermore, MH also explained that it is not easy to invite homeworkers to participate in activities held by JPRI because they generally do not have the awareness that they are workers. This can be seen from MH's statement below:

"JPRI of Jakarta has formed Occupational Health Efforts (OHE) in collaboration with the sub-district and district health centers to monitor occupational health every 3 months. The results of the examination will be followed up by the health center for treatment because there are friends who have health problems. OHE activities have been running twice, and this is already the third month. To attract home workers to come to OHE to check their health, they are given green beans and for the 3rd meeting it is planned to provide rice, for example 1 liter or instant noodles but it is drawn, and everyone can get it" (September 2024).

Discussion

The results of the study on female homeworkers showed that there was a division of labor based on gender where men did productive work while women did reproductive work. This division of labor based on gender is the result of social construction that stipulates that men/fathers have the responsibility to earn a living while women are responsible for taking care of the household and if they work it is only as a sided activity of free time to increase family income (Fakih,1996; Puspitawati,2012; Carranza, Das, Kotikula, 2023). This gender-based job separation is in fact not a rigid dichotomy because women's work is a continuum that on one side is reproductive work and on the other side is productive work or unpaid work with paid work. Women homeworkers choose to do both because of economic demands (Sangupta, 2019). Women homeworkers bear a greater burden than men because they must carry out their obligations as housewives who are responsible for caring the children, preparing food for all family members and other household tasks than being homeworkers (Laslett and Brenner, 1989, Delaney, Burchielli, Marshall and Tate, 2019). This condition shows the existence of injustice and inequality between men and women because women must bear a double burden and they are still required to be able to maintain a balance between work and home (Delaney, Burchielli, Marshall and Tate, 2019). Thus, working from home by women homeworkers is a decision chosen due to limited choices and also does not change gender roles, and the home remains an environment that separates the roles of men and women and there is still no division of labor (Gurstein, 1998).

The division of labor based on gender is rooted in the patriarchal system which is the result of a social construction that regulates the power relations between men and women which are unfair, oppressive and dominating (Walby, 1990). The patriarchal system is embedded not only in the family institution but also in economic, educational and political institutions, law and so on.

In the family institution, patriarchal cultural values are socialized from generation to generation through narratives that limit women's job choices (Dadheech & Sharma, 2022). For women homeworkers, this job choice is also a survival strategy because they come from poor families. Thus, women as social products are also actors who help perpetuate the patriarchal system because they do not want to leave cultural traditions (Hasan & Azlinda, 2014). This can be seen in women homeworkers who choose to work in the informal sector as homeworkers because they believe that the right job for women who are

married and have children is as homeworkers, and therefore they continue to refer to themselves as housewives and not as homeworkers. Men, namely husbands as social products, also try to maintain their dominance over women because they are worried about losing control of their relationships with women and provide limitations for their partners to work at home so that housework is not neglected and limit the interaction of female homeworkers including participating in JPRI. As a result, women homeworkers generally only interact with their families and with intermediaries and when they are going to leave the house, they must also get permission from their partners.

In economic institutions, it is seen that the capitalist group, namely employers, uses the patriarchal system as a strategy to increase capital accumulation by using the home as a place to perpetuate the division of labor based on gender and make women's work a job with lower wages compared to men (Izzati, 2016). This is also supported by the propaganda disseminated by the capitalist group that homework has flexible working hours, a comfortable working environment and can carry out various activities so that they can have free time (Hasan & Azlinda, 2014; Sue, 1997). In addition, there is also a discourse on work-family balance that places women as workers and housewives at the same time (Izzati, 2016). Thus, the capitalist group also considers that a home job is not valuable because it is seen as only to spend free time, and the wages of home workers are referred to as complementary money. However, in reality, due to economic pressures, women have to work as homeworkers and with the target of completing work, they have to allocate more time to do work compared to doing domestic work, but the wages are low. Thus, the capitalist group tries to get more value from women homeworkers by determining the target of completing the work so that they must extend the working hours and set low wages. This shows the invisible exploitation carried out by the employer and women homeworkers also exploit themselves to meet the work target without thinking about their health.

Based on the description above, it shows that the patriarchal system has prevented women homeworkers from participating in JPRI to carry out social movements to obtain decent work. This condition is the result of the layered exploitation experienced by women due to economic, ideological and cultural factors, but women home workers are not aware of it because of economic demands. Economically, it shows the existence of a capitalist structure that regulates the roles of production and reproduction, and finally women are trapped in domestic and reproductive roles and limit their access to productive roles. This can be seen from the low wages received by women homeworkers which are far from the minimum standard and the absence of social security for employment. Meanwhile, patriarchal ideology and cultural norms contribute to the oppression of women because they create additional layers that reinforce gender inequality. In addition, class exploitation also occurs because most women homeworkers come from poor (marginal) groups who are more vulnerable. The exploitation carried out against women homeworkers is to strengthen the subordinate position of women and give rise to the dependence of women homeworkers on employers (Gimenez, 2005, Kabeer, 1994 and Butler, 1999). The invisible exploitation of home workers is further strengthened by the state which pays more attention to capital owners by issuing profitable policies such as ease of obtaining permits, obtaining capital, regulations and building infrastructure to facilitate the production process. Current regulations only regulate formal workers while informal workers, especially home workers, do not have proper regulations, although JPRI has carried out a social movement to obtain social protection by submitting academic papers and judicial reviews of the Manpower Law No. 13 of 2013. This condition makes women homeworkers increasingly invisible and marginalized and vulnerable to exploitation.

The research findings indicate that the patriarchal system in Indonesia—a democratic country with a Muslim-majority population—remains deeply rooted and restricts women's agency, even though opportunities for women to voice their concerns are increasingly accessible. This is evident in women in POS, who experience hidden exploitation within the patriarchal system. These women are compelled to work due to poverty and feel responsible for maintaining their families' survival. This situation suppresses

women's voices, as they are occupied with work, and makes them willing to endure exploitation as long as their families' needs are met, which weakens the social movements led by women.

This study recommends that at the macro level, the government needs to recognize the existence of homeworkers by creating regulations related to homeworkers so that their problems are exposed. While at the micro level, JPRI needs to continuously build awareness of women home workers that they are workers by taking individual and group approaches.

Conclusion

Although women homeworkers have joined JPRI, they generally have limitations in participating in social movements to fight for decent work. The main factor that hinders women from conducting activities outside the home is the patriarchal system that has shackled women, especially those from poor families, low education and who have children. This patriarchal system is embedded in family, social, economic and state institutions which makes women homeworkers unaware that they are workers who have the right to get decent work. This shows that women homeworkers experience layered and invisible exploitation which makes them a vulnerable group that needs attention.

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