

Social Norms and Women's Economic Participation in Indonesia



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Executive Summary

Women's labour force participation has remained stagnant at around 50% over the past two decades despite dramatic changes in Indonesian economy and closing of the gender gap in education attainment. Family responsibilities and structural factors continue to be the major constraints affecting women's labour market participation. At the heart of these lie gender discriminatory social norms that restrict women's economic opportunities and the gender stereotypes about women's capabilities. Gender norms matter because they influence behaviour and perpetuate inequalities.

Norms can shift and change. A study by Cameron *et al.* (2019) shows that education and structural transformation help to negotiate gender restrictions and increase the likelihood of labour force participation among young educated women. The evidence from Investing in Women's SNAPS (Social Norms Attitudes and Practices Survey) in 2020 shows that although most young adults in Indonesia are still clustered towards more traditional social norms than their counterparts in other countries, there is a shift towards positive gender attitude and practice, particularly around women and work as well as unpaid care work and job segregation. Growing labour market participation among younger women and the prevailing traditional social norms on gender role at home and work raise a question on how the social norms affect women's labour force participation and choice of employment, particularly among the younger generation in Indonesia.

Investing in Women, PROSPERA and Lembaga Demografi Universitas Indonesia (LD UI) conducted a study on the attitudes, behaviour, and practice related to social norms at home and at work on women's and men's labour market participation of young adults aged 18-40 years, including those who are typically categorized as Millennials, living in urban areas of Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya. The study also explores whether COVID-19 crisis changed the way the young adults negotiate the gender norms since emerging evidence shows that the increase in women's unpaid care work during the pandemic may have a negative impact on women's labour force participation.

The study uses a two-pronged approach: quantitative-descriptive analysis using 2009, 2019, and 2020 National Labour Force Survey (SAKERNAS) and 2019 National Socioeconomic Survey (SUSENAS); and qualitative analysis based on data collected using in-depth interviews and FGDs with 40 male and female 'millennials' in Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya. The quantitative analysis explores the questions on the effect of social norms on the young adults' labour force participation and employment. The result of quantitative analysis provides a context to the qualitative analysis which explores how the social norms affect women's employment during the COVID-19 and examines whether the norms are changing or are being negotiated.

Employment trajectory of Young Adults in Indonesia, Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya, before and during COVID-19 Pandemic

Young adults, or population aged 18-40 years old, in Indonesia experience similar gender gap in Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) as the overall working-age population, people 15-64 years old. Female LFPR in this group grew from 54% to 56% between 2009 and 2019. Surabaya had a higher levels and higher growth of female LFPR between 2009 and 2019, compared to Jakarta or Indonesia as a whole.

The gender gap is associated with family responsibilities that continue to constrain women's participation in the economy. Family responsibilities become the main reason for women to quit work or had a job termination. In 2019, 1.9 million female and 2.5 million male urban young adults quit work/job termination. Out of those, 88% of men and only 56% of women re-entered the labour market. A large proportion of female young adults cited pregnancy and domestic duty, while males cited work-related reasons, such as ending a contract or being unsatisfied with salary, as their reason to quit work or had a job termination.

Young adult workers are concentrated in service sectors (trade, transports, finance, and community/personal services). Female workers are concentrated in hospitality and service sectors, while the majority of male workers occupy transportation, communication, and warehouse sectors. Percentage of female young adults working as wage workers grew from 35% to 52%, while the share of self-employed and unpaid workers declined between 2009 and 2019. The share of female wage workers is larger in the two metropolitan cities, with Jakarta having a more significant share of this category than Surabaya.

However, the analysis of COVID-19 crisis suggests that the trend is reversed. The share of wage workers declined, while the shares of self-employed and unpaid workers increased between 2019 and 2020, both at the national level in Indonesia and in the two metropolitan cities. The crisis had stronger impact on female wage workers than on the males: the share of wage workers declined more both nationally and in the two cities. Both cities experienced a decline in female wage workers' share by 7.9% and 7.3%, while male workers declined by 4.7% and 3.9% between 2019 and 2020.

There is an apparent gender gap in work hours and pay among young adults in Indonesia - male workers seem to work longer hours. At the national level, the average number of work hours for the young adults was 37, with male working for up to 40 hours and women for up to 35 hours per week. The median salary shows a wide gap between men and women. Those who live in Surabaya had a wider gendered wage gap than their counterparts in Jakarta. While all workers experienced a salary decline in 2020, it was larger for women than for men.

Attitudes towards and Behaviour caused by the Social Norms among Urban Millennials: Results from the Qualitative Study in Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya

The dichotomy of norms at home that evolve around the perception that women are care takers of the family, while men are breadwinners, is shared by most young adults who participated in this study. Most respondents refer to *kodrat* when defining women's role as the one who looks after their children and husband. An ideal woman is one who can keep the family balance and take care of the house, despite possibly having roles outside the house.

Most respondents agree that if a woman works, it must be to improve the economic condition of the family and to support their husband's productive role. Many respondents deemed working women as positive - because they support the family economy. Although men accept that women could earn a higher income, the social value of *kodrat* continue to push women towards jobs that do not interfere with their role in the house, thus leading to lower income. As a result, gender relations in the households seem to persist.

Our study shows that the norms at work revolves around the norms at home that idealize women's care taking role and preserve gender stereotypes. Male and female respondents shared the view of an ideal job for women: jobs with sufficient flexibility which would allow women to take care of children. There is a slightly different aspiration towards ideal jobs across economic classes: Among women with lower economic backgrounds thought a job that allows them to bring children or jobs with shorter working hours and do not require heavy lifting is ideal.

Some middle class married women who have resigned from their previous jobs aspired towards office work with lighter workload which would help them balance the dual responsibilities at home and at work. Gender stereotypes also affect some respondent's view of preferred employment for women. Positions such as sales agents, administration or finance officers, which are seen as more organized and neater, are consider better suited for women. Work on servicing machines or one that requires heavy lifting, is seen as more masculine and suitable for male workers. The gendered task at work creates a perception that it is ideal for men to have a higher salary than women because they perform relatively more difficult and heavier tasks than women.

Our study also explores opinions on women's leadership at work. We found that the respondent's perception of female leaders is also affected by gender stereotypes. For example, women manufacturing workers regard their female supervisors as more caring, organized and offering flexibility in setting working hours, while women service workers see female leaders as "fussy".

Both male and female respondents lean towards male leaders at work because they are deemed more logical and able to control their emotions better than women leaders. On the one hand, there is a preference to work with leaders of the same-sex because it is arguably easier to relate to them, but on the other hand, there is also less preference towards female leaders.

Children and family care are major factors that could shape women's and men's views of work. Social value of women's *kodrat* perpetuates the picture of ideal woman as a care-taker rather than an income earner. This shapes a view in the society that women should have a flexible job or one that can be performed from/at home, to allow them to care for the children. Working outside of home with inflexible working arrangements was not appealing to majority of female respondents.

A good working culture was reported as making women workers enjoy their work more and refrain from quitting their jobs. Some female factory workers stated that friendship among co-workers and some degree of freedom (to relax or talk with co-workers) at work during night shifts are among the reasons to continue doing factory jobs. Only a few workers explicitly mentioned workplace policy as a factor affecting their employment decision. Female workers seem to accept any terms provided by their employers.

The pandemic has shown that the acceptance towards women working on jobs outside the house is higher during financially difficult times. The changes that occur due to the pandemic affect family income and work arrangements at work and at home. Some respondents experienced furloughs and layoffs and resorted to opening small-scale online businesses to cover the loss of income.

Negotiations of the norms allow some creative work choice and positive attitude towards the pandemic. While both men and women tried to find alternative jobs and sources of income in response to the pandemic, women still preferred jobs that allowed them to be around the family. In some cases, women became breadwinners because their husbands lost jobs during the pandemic. The 'role swap' was particularly acceptable to highly educated women.

Although the pandemic has given a different nuance for household dynamics, there are only a few changes towards the gendered roles at home. Family and children remain women's responsibility, although men have started to provide some assistance, such as playing with children. Domestic tasks are fluidly arranged between men and women, however the major division remains clear: women are the care takers of children; men are the breadwinners. With the school closures, women shoulder additional burden, as assisting with children schoolwork is considered "women's responsibility". Our study found some exceptions: in a few cases household work was shared equally, for example when a man, who worked as an educator, had short working hour. However, although he performed housework and childcare in the pandemic, such task has been done since long before the pandemic started, so his caring role was not a result of the pandemic.

Conclusion

Gender norms in the society exist and evolve from domestic space (at the homes) to non-domestic ones (at the workplace), and vice versa. The gendered roles within a household shape women's and men's perception about their work outside the house. This research found that the gendered child caring role is the main factor that determines women's decision to work and their preferences towards work.

Social norms on gender roles at home may have evolved, but the attitudes towards women being employed did not necessarily change. The view of women as 'better carers' is internalised among both women and men, and child rearing remains the main reason that women aspire to work from home. The view of men as 'breadwinners' positions men to keep playing only a supportive domestic role in the household.

The study shows that for male and female population aged 18-40 in Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya, these internalized gender norms affect the women's decision to work. The gender norms at home are shaped and shapes the gender value in the society, and in some cases reflected in the workplace (e.g. gendered job segregation and wage gap). Nonetheless, both male and female respondents in this study agree that women's work outside the house is secondary and must be flexible enough to allow women to perform their primary role at home.

The COVID 19 pandemic has shed some light on women's vulnerability and resilience at the same time. Economic pressures present as a force for women and men, pushing both of them to negotiate gendered roles at home. Women find creative ways for generating income during the economic crisis. However, women bear the brunt of the unpaid care work during the pandemic given that both men and women continue to believe that child rearing and domestic work are mainly women's responsibilities.

Insights for policy discussions

In this study it is understood that social and gender norms persist, even though during pandemic period a slight norm shift has occurred. At some point, women negotiate the gender norms, particularly their caring role in the family, in order to join workforce and earn income for the family. This negotiation varies across individuals, being a function of their social and economic condition and age.

We draw several recommendations for policy direction towards promoting equal work in the household between men and women, as it would affect family's decisions on income earning work: who can join it and in what capacity. These policies could expand the options for women making deliberate employment-related choices and the ways to reduce the burden of women's unpaid care work at home. There are caveats with respect to these policies, given that women's and men's attitudes and behaviours vary based on class, employment sector, and geography.

- Women aspire to keep their role as carers for the family and the economic difficulties in the pandemic push some women to resign from work and open small businesses. Policies that promote flexibility to balance work and family could support those who are aspiring to continue to work and provide care. **Employers should consider the possibility of flexible working arrangements for their employees who have care responsibility.** However, given the unequal access to such flexible-work policy, the flexible work arrangement may be applicable to specific groups of women.

- In the post pandemic period, **promoting the return of students to school is deemed to be able to reduce work-home care tension among parents.** The reopening of schools should be done gradually with a good COVID-19 mitigation, and it should be done subject to parents' approval.
- **Developing childcare support and services for working parents could help reduce the work-home tension.** Besides childcare services, such as day care centres, the government and private sectors could initiate other types of support, such as childcare subsidy or access to free or subsidised childcare centres at work or in the community. The fundamental question would be whose care standard to follow (government/companies/parents) and who would monitor it in the long run.
- **Providing information about and access to alternative financial opportunities for women** would help them enhance their newly initiated businesses. Our qualitative study shows that many respondents who have lost their jobs during the pandemic have started their own small businesses, and most of them are women. They mostly run their businesses through online system. In this context, we found that using social media could improve the family economy during the pandemic. Therefore, supporting women's business could be done by providing information about job or financial opportunities through the media (mainly social media or other forms). Simultaneously, **the government or private sectors would play an important role in providing such information.**
- **Creating a regulatory framework favourable for women-owned businesses is also** important to help the currently increasing number of self-employed women grow their businesses beyond mere survival. It is noted that the challenges faced by women when starting small businesses, particularly related to capital, ownership, and government services, are caused by the male-dominated regulatory framework. Although the respondents in this study did not express the gender-biases in the regulations related to women's entrepreneurship, it is important to have a gender-sensitive regulation, so women have full rights in managing business results.
- **Promoting equal roles in the household and the workplace through media campaign, particularly through the social media.** Messages about fathers taking up childcaring roles, women's participation at work, equal wage between men and women, and women's leadership at work are among the issues to be campaigned. The media campaign messages should be tailored to the context and the perceptions of women and men of different classes and in different regions.

Background

Women's labour force participation rate has remained stagnant over the past two decades. Even though the Indonesian economy has undergone dramatic changes and gaps in educational participation and learning outcomes between women and men have narrowed, the female labour force participation rate (LFPR) stands at around 50%. Between 2019 and 2020, the female LFPR increased from 51.9% to 53%. This means that there are 53 out of 100 females at working age population are employed and/or looking for work in 2020.

Studies on women and work in Indonesia show that family responsibility is the main driver of low women's economic participation (Widarti, 1998; Feridhanusetyawan and Aswicahyono, 2001; Schaner and Das, 2016; Cameron, Suarez and Rowell, 2019). Women tend to exit the labour market when they enter marriage and childbearing years, with some returning to work during later childbearing years (Setyonaluri, 2013). This M-shaped pattern of women's labour force participation rate across different stages of their life is more pronounced in urban than in rural areas.

The Pre-COVID-19 body of work suggests that there are several factors that hinder women's labour market participation. These include family responsibilities that constrain women from taking up salaried jobs (Gallaway and Bernasek, 2002; Comola and de Mello, 2013); and structural factors, such as traffic jam, that exacerbate the opportunity cost to work for women in Greater Jakarta (Setyonaluri and Utomo, 2016). At the heart of these lie gender discriminatory social norms that restrict women's economic opportunities and their experiences with work (Ford 2018; (Kercheval *et al.*, 2013), and gender stereotypes about women's capabilities (Boudet *et al.*, 2012). In this respect, gender norms matter because they influence behaviour and perpetuate inequalities.

Norms can also shift and change. Younger, more educated women tend to participate more in the labour force than their older counterparts, thus implying that education and structural transformation may help negotiate gender restrictions (Cameron *et al.*, 2019; Schaner & Das, 2016). During the COVID-19 pandemic, there have been reports of greater redistribution of unpaid work in the household (Investing in Women, 2020a; Komnas Perempuan, 2020; UN Women, 2020).

Emerging evidence points out that women's participation in both formal and informal employment, women's unpaid work, and women's economic security are negatively impacted by the economic and health crisis ensuing the COVID-19 pandemic (Investing in Women, 2020a; PROSPERA, 2020; Purnamasari and Sjahrir, 2020). Gains made in girls and women's accumulation of human capital, economic empowerment, and voice and agency are further getting de-railed (The World Bank, 2020). Therefore, supporting women's economic participation is not only integral part of gender equality but also important for the long-term economic recovery post-COVID-19 (UN Women, 2020).

Problem Statement

A recent study by Cameron *et al.* (2019) argues that norms have shifted as younger women are participating in the labour market more than the older counterparts. The study argues that education transition, growing urbanicity, and sectoral shift in economic structure help shift the gender norms that restrict their economic participation.

However, other studies show that the gendered social norms are upheld by most Indonesians, even the young urban population. According to UNDP's Gender Social Norms Index (GSNI) in 2020, 96% of women and 98% of men in Indonesia have at least one clear bias against gender equality in politics, economics, education, women's reproductive rights (UNDP, 2020). While women show less biases towards equality, surveys have shown that younger men may be even less committed to equality than their elders (Pepin and Cotter, 2017). Findings from SNAPS (Social Norms Attitudes and Practices Survey) conducted by the Investing in Women in 2020 resonates with the UNDP's GSNI findings. The survey (YouGov and Investing in Women, 2020) finds that most young adults in Indonesia, as represented by urban Millennials aged 18-40 in 2020, are still supporting more traditional social norms than the young adults in other countries.

Growing labour market participation among younger women and the prevailing traditional social norms on gender role at home and work raise further questions on how the social norms influence women's economic participation, particularly among the younger generation in Indonesia: What are the attitudes towards social norms and whether the norms affect the behaviour of young adults in Indonesia? To what extent do the social norms constraint or support women's economic participation? How are the norms negotiated among women and men? Does the COVID-19's crisis shift the norms, or does the crisis change the way urban Millennials negotiate the norms?

Objective and scope of the study

This study explores the role of the key social norms in influencing women's economic participation in Indonesia. The study focuses on examining attitudes, behaviour, and practices towards the key social norms affecting women's economic participation among young adults aged 18-40 in urban areas. We focus on this segment of population because of their increasingly important role in economic development and shifting gender norms.

It should be noted that we use the term Young Adults and Millennials interchangeably. In the quantitative analysis section, we use the term "Young Adults" as we aim to capture the decadal change of the population aged 18-40 across three points of time of observation. In the qualitative analysis, we use the term 'Millennials' and it is reflecting the wide spectrum of people aged 18-40 years in the society. We elaborate the detailed definition of Millennials adopted in this study and the importance of studying this group in the next sub-sections.

Defining Millennials

The generational analysis has been used by academics, market research, and popular media to examine the differences in attitudes and behaviour across demographic and political groups, in which some are based on anecdotes and stereotypes (Wyn and Woodman, 2006). The term ‘millennials’ appeared in the generational analysis since they represent the ‘next generation’ after the popular discussion about the ‘Baby Boomers’ in the literatures and media. Millennials become the centre of the discourse on generational analysis because they live in the era of technological revolution and behave differently from their baby boomers’ parents.

There are different definitions of ‘Millennials’ across literatures. Pew Research Center or PRC (2015) defines generation based on age cohorts and birth year, which typically cover populations born within 15-20 years age brackets. The grouping of generations is usually informed by demographic, political, and attitudinal characteristics. Table 1 presents the ages and birth cohorts of Millennials, used by different institutions. PRC (2015) defines Millennials using the birth year cut off rather than age. They define Millennials as those born between 1981 and 1996 (Dimmock, 2019). Statistics Indonesia or BPS adopts the PRC’s definition to include those who were born between 1981 and 1996, or those aged 24-39 in 2020 as millennials (BPS, 2020a). Other institutions also define millennials based on birth-cohort but covering different cohorts. Indonesian based marketing research used a slightly younger birth cohorts compared to the conventional definition to include those who were born between 1984 and 1999.

Table 1. Millennial’s definition used by different institutions

Author/Institution	Age range (years)	Birth year range	Reference year
PEW Research Center	18 - 34	1981-1996	2015
PEW Research Center	23 – 38	1981 - 1996	2019
The Center for Generational Kinetics		1977 - 1995	2020
Delloite Indonesia	18 - 37	1981 - 2000	2019
IDN Research Center	21 - 36	1984 - 1999	2020
Statistic Indonesia (BPS)	24 - 39	1981 - 1996	2020

We recognize that different time span is used by academia, research institutions, and popular media when defining Millennials. Our study defines this generation similarly to the above-mentioned institutions. We link the definition of the young adults or Millennials with their attitudes, social expectations, and behaviour across key gender norms identified in the Investing in Women’s SNAP Survey in 2020. As previously stated, in this study we adopt the age bracket of 18-40 years at the year of analysis as this study is a follow-up to Investing in Women's SNAPS Survey, which focused on the same age group.

In the quantitative analysis section, we compare the employment trajectory of the population aged 18-40 years in three different years: 2009, 2019, and 2020. In this section, we refer to the population aged 18-

40 as “young adults” rather than “Millennials” to avoid the misunderstanding with the well-known terminology of Millennials used in most generational analyses. It should be noted that there is a generational mix in this group across the three time points. For example, using the BPS generational definition, people aged 18-19 years in 2020 would be classified as Gen-Z, and likewise, those aged 35 in 2020 and older would be included as Gen-X. Our aim in comparing labour force participation of the population aged 18-40 across three different years is to highlight the decadal change of age-specific patterns of participations and gain insights to the potential effects of the COVID-19 pandemics on such patterns. In our qualitative study, we focus on population aged 18-40 in 2021 or those born between 1981 and 2003 and we refer to them as “*Millennials*” in this section.

We acknowledge that the definition of Millennials in this study covers larger and younger age groups than those defined by other institutions. However, covering broader and younger age groups is important in this study given that it seeks to find how the gender norms are perceived in a different stage of the lifecycle. SNAPS survey (YouGov and Investing in Women, 2020) found that younger and unmarried population expects to have more egalitarian gender roles possibly because they have not received 'pressure' from the society, not having entered family life. Given that Indonesia's median age at first marriage of 20.8 year¹, is relatively low our focus of study analyses young adults aged 18-24 and 25-40 years old separately, to capture the difference in attitudes and behaviour between the younger and older, as well as married and unmarried.

Why focus on Millennials?

Although our definition of ‘Millennials’ differs from the conventional generational classification presented earlier, it is still worthwhile to draw on existing literature regarding the significance of observing this generation.

Millennials have been argued to play an important role as ‘a engine of growth’ for Indonesian economy during the period of demographic dividend (IDN Research Institute, 2020). Indonesia's 2020 Population Census reported that nearly three-quarters of Indonesia's population is at a productive age of 15-64 years, with around 25.9% Millennials (age 24-39) and 27.9% gen Z (age 8-23) (BPS, 2020).

As Indonesia has urbanized, the young adult population is expected to be concentrated in urban areas. BPS and UNFPA (2018) projected that more than 56% of the population would be urban dwellers in 2020 and the number will continue to increase to reach two-thirds of the population by 2035. The young population also has a greater preference for urban living. In 2010, the youth population aged 15-29 living

¹ Median age at first marriage among women aged 25-49 estimated based on the Indonesia Demographic and Health Survey (IDHS) 2017. (BPS *et al.*, 2017)

in urban areas had already outnumbered the rural youth population (28% and 24% respectively) (Adioetomo, Mujahid and Posselt, 2014).

The millennial generation – conventionally defined as individuals born between the mid-80s and early 2000s (Tait, 2019) - is often perceived as having more progressive outlook compared to earlier generations. Millennials are "tech-savvy," and the growing digitalization shapes their mindsets, values, and behaviours (Alvara Research Center, 2016). They have unique traits of being creative, evidenced by the start-up industry's growth, connected – good at socializing in communities, social media and internet, and confident – having bold expression and no hesitation towards generating argument in public, particularly on the internet (IDN Research Institute, 2020).

Investing in Women has also noted that urban Millennials, defined as population aged 18-40 who live in urban cities, become early adopters of progressive gender norms as more of them adopt a non-traditional division of roles at home and at work. The result of the 2020 SNAP survey shows a shift towards positive gender attitude and practice among women and men, particularly around paid and unpaid work, a job segregation (Patria, 2020).

We acknowledge that the decision and choice related to employment and economic participation are strongly related to education level, family responsibilities, entrenched in norms on gender roles and structural factors. The intersectionality of social class, defined by education and family income, and gender becomes important as it determines the 'opportunity cost' to work or not work, for women This cost can be translated as mother's time away from her child or forgone earnings when opting out from the labour market to be with the children. Women's decisions to work or not work depend on their resources for childcare, such as the financial resources, support from family, and workplace policies.

The study selects two geographical areas: Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya. Given that our study investigates why the female labour force participation rate is persistently low, focusing on urban cities will provide a clear understanding of the dynamics of gender norms in influencing decisions on being in or out of the labour market. Although the influence of social norms might be more potent in shaping the characteristics of women's work in rural areas (Blackwood, 2008), women in rural areas have no option but to work continuously over their life cycle with higher prevalence of poverty compared to women in urban areas. Urban women have a more distinctive M-shaped participation than the women in rural areas since rural labour market is dominated by informality that allows women to combine work and care across their lifecycle. Therefore, the scope of this study is limited to the urban population given that we explore the role of norms in affecting different labour force participation over the life cycle experienced by urban

women. Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya have also been the hotspot of the COVID-19 pandemic and have large share of employment from the six hardest hit sectors² (Rahman, Kusuma and Arfyanto, 2020).

The study provides a support for Investing in Women's agenda to positively shift gender norms that inhibit women's economic participation as employees and as entrepreneurs, particularly normalizing women's role in the economy and promoting men's role at home.

The research will also serve as a background for exploring strategies in PROSPERA's breakthrough area: Expanding the market and creating jobs by addressing gender and inclusion barriers in women's economic participation.

Research Questions

We formulate two groups of research questions to guide our research: 1) the attitudes, behaviour, and experiences of urban population aged 18-40, with respect to the key social norms influencing women's economic participation and 2) the impact of COVID-19 in changing roles at home and at work as well as in shifting gender norms around them.

Our research was guided by 2 main questions: 1) What is the role of the key social norms in influencing women's labour force participation; and 2) What is the impact of COVID-19 on the shift in gender roles at home and at work. We further formulate more specific questions in these 2 areas.

1. Role of the key social norms in influencing women's labour force participation

- What are the gender dimensions of labour force participation and the trajectories among population aged 18-40 in Indonesia? How do they intersect with social and economic class and geography?
- What are the attitudes towards key social norms identified by the SNAPS survey and how do the norms affect the behaviour of urban *Millennials*³?
- How do the norms support or constrain women's labour force participation among urban *Millennials*?
- How do these social norms interact with formal workplace policies (such as work arrangement, promotion, merit system) and informal structural factors (such as work culture and leadership style)?

2. Impact of COVID-19 on the shift in attitudes towards norms at home and at work between men and women:

² SMERU Institute (2020) predicted that six economic sectors would have negative growth rate of the GDP. These six sectors are: Manufacturing, Construction, Trade, Transportation and Storage, Accommodation and Food Service, and Other Service Activities.

³ Millennials are defined as population aged 18-40 in 2021.

- What workplace and home changes have been brought about by the pandemic and experienced by the urban *Millennials*?
- To what degree have these changes served to shift the norms guiding work and household behaviours?
- What challenges or opportunities are being faced by women and men in this regard?

Our report starts with the literature review of the social norms that shape gender roles and how the gender roles affect women's employment decisions. In this section, we highlight the key themes that guided the development of the quantitative analysis plan and the qualitative instruments.

The methodology section defines our approach to answering the research questions. We use two-pronged approach: a quantitative analysis using SAKERNAS and SUSENAS datasets, to explore the gender dimensions of trends and trajectories of labour force participation among population aged 18-40 years in Indonesia as a whole, Greater Jakarta, and Greater Surabaya; and a qualitative analysis, to examine the attitudes towards and behaviour with respect to the key social norms among urban Millennials in Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya in 2021.

The findings are divided into two sections: the results from the quantitative and the qualitative analysis, respectively.

The report is concluded with insights gained from the research to inform current policy discussion that aim to improve women's economic participation in Indonesia.

Literature Review: Gender Norms at Home and at Work, and the Negotiations between the Two

This section discusses the literature that guides the research in answering the research questions around how norms shape the society and how those norms are internalized and practiced through women's participation at work. We discuss the general literature on social norms, then we focus on the literatures on women's work participation in Indonesia and the related social aspects, specifically the social norms, e.g., gender and religious norms, as well as the intersectionality between class and gender.

Literature defines social norms as “shared beliefs about what other people do and approve of” (Cislaghi and Heise, 2020). The beliefs govern behaviour of social groups, which is built from social interdependence and produced by the rule for the behaviour and shared knowledge about that rule (Gauri, Rahman and Sen, 2019). Social norms are internalized in formal and informal institutions and they are socially reproduced (Marcus, 2018). They are deeply entrenched in society and can create a negative collective behaviour pattern if the society is trapped within the norms (Gauri, Rahman and Sen, 2019). Bicchieri (2017) suggests that social norms have two functions: to warrant that individuals behave “sufficiently” similar to each other, and to show what is socially approved. The informal rules in social norms are based on beliefs about what others do and what others, especially the reference groups, think (Singh, Butt and Canep, 2018). Nonconformity to these beliefs will have a consequence of negative social sanctions, ranging from gossips, intimidation, and violence (Mackie *et al.*, 2015).

The term *gender norms* refer to social norms related to the gender roles and expectation in society. Cislaghi and Heise (2020) define gender norms as “social norms defining acceptable and appropriate actions for women and men in a given group or society. They are embedded in formal and informal institutions, nested in mind, and produced and reproduced through social interaction. They play a role in shaping women and men's access to resources and freedom, thus affecting voice, power, and sense of self.” Gender norms contribute to the reproduction of gender power relations and gender inequality in economics, social interactions, and politics within a society (Marcus, 2018).

Studies show that social norms affect women's labour market decisions (Bertrand *et al.*, 2016; Codazzi, Pero and Albuquerque Sant'Anna, 2018; Gauri, Rahman and Sen, 2019). The norms that define women's role as providing childcare and performing domestic tasks and men's as earning income constrain women's participation in the labour force. Gender norms also defines different access to resources, human capital accumulation, time use, and employment opportunities between men and women (Marcus, 2018). According to Singh *et al.* (2018), deeply entrenched social norms could imply in negative sanctions to those who do not conform, and it could offset the monetary incentive for economic decision-making. He further alludes that social norm shape the value of work based on extrinsic factors and not just production costs. Social norms also contribute to the gendered occupational segregation that defines good jobs for women and men, leading to a pay gap, as women are concentrated in low-paid jobs.

In this study we use Mackie's framework (Mackie *et al.*, 2015) to identify social norms and how they affect value of work and women's participation in the labour force. Mackie provides a simplified guidance to identify social norms by framing the measurements to capture three main questions: who are the reference groups, what is typical in a group, and what is approved in a group. We use these questions in the data collection.

Perceived Social Norms on Gender Roles in Indonesia

The Social Norms, Attitude and Practices (SNAP) 2018 and 2020 Survey done by Investing in Women and YouGov on 6000 young millennials in Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam, found that gender norms cover several aspects: (i) childcare and housework, (ii) breadwinning and family income, (iii) job segregation, and (iv) leadership. The survey in 2018 found that women conform to the social norms that oblige them to handle household responsibilities, such as cleaning, shopping for groceries, cooking, childcare, and caring for adults. The follow-up survey in 2020 showed that men and women believed that women are better at care-taking roles than men, primarily for taking care of children and, in some cases, of dependent adults. On the other hand, men's perceived role is as the primary income earner or provider for the family. Men do face pressure to be the breadwinner of the family more than women do. Men have higher responsibility in paying for household bills and maintenance, their share being around 62% (YouGov and Investing in Women, 2020)

The SNAP Surveys show that social norms continue to assume that women's roles are structured around marriage and family. The social norms that consider males as breadwinners and women as homemakers affect the division of labour in the household and women's employment decisions in Indonesia (Nguyen and Harrison, 2020). Findings from quantitative studies show the negative association between marriage and childbearing, and female labour force participation, despite the fact that Indonesia experienced a structural change in development, including the convergence of education gender gap (Widarti, 1998; Setyonaluri, 2013; AIPEG, 2017). These studies see the lower likelihood of married women with young children participating in the labour force as deeply rooted in the pervasive social norms that continue to put care responsibility on women's shoulders.

It is noted that women in Indonesia represent a non-homogenous group as they differ in terms of social and economic status and class. These different contexts determine women's work or choice of work. Thus, understanding women's work is comparing their jobs against men as well as considering the context in which they are living and working. In this study we distinguish respondents based on not only their gender, but also their social class and economic situation (or social and economic resources) to capture different views of social norms towards women and employment.

Women's experience and reality of work relate to their resources, and resources are not equally accessible for different groups in a community, households, and families. Understanding women must be done by considering their multiple positions as individuals: mothers, wives, daughters, workers and so on.

Consistently, working woman is not a concept that represents an individual economic decision but is also linked to the societal and cultural expectations that expects women to be good mothers, wives, daughters and workers at the same time. Their work (including productive work outside the house) is relative to the other family member's situation, as society demand them to play caring roles for their husband, children, and parents (Ford and Parker, 2008)

Gender norms at home and in the society

In Indonesia, women's role in the family has been differentiated socially by the ideology of *kodrat* (biological/natural trait) that was introduced during the New Order regime. In this ideology, the state positions women as child-bearers responsible for the family and children (Robinson, 2009). The notion that was popular under the term of '*state ibuism*' propaganda continued to be internalized in the norms of society even after the end of the New Order regime (Ford and Parker, 2008). The propaganda emphasized women's dual role, or '*peran ganda wanita*', that allows women to work outside home, but at the same time be 'subservient, obedient, and pleasing' to their husband and family' (Utomo, 1997).

The concept of *kodrat* has also been emphasized in most religious teachings in Indonesia. In Islam, for example, women and men's role in marriage is defined based on their reproductive nature. Women's obligation is to be a good mother and wife while men is perceived as the protector or leader of the family (Utomo, 2008). The religious approach is used by the state in the 1974 Indonesian Marriage Law that positions a man as the head of family and a woman as the supporter of the husband. Such approach arguably 'frees' women from the responsibility to earn the livelihood and leaves the breadwinner obligation to men (Nugroho, 2007). A recent study by *Rumah Kitab* (Nurdinawati, Sirimorok and Putri, 2020) shows that religious beliefs shape women's perception of their ideal role and influence power relations in negotiating gender roles. While most of the respondents in that study agreed that women could work as long as they can perform their primary role - to care for the husband and children, some respondents mentioned that a woman should accept the husband's decision, should he ask her not to work based on religious teachings.

Literature shows that social norms on gender roles and expectations stem from the concept of *kodrat* and are negotiated across class, geographical context, and lifecycle.

The *kodrat* has been manifested in daily life and caused women to prioritize their role as wives and mothers rather than workers. (Ford and Parker, 2008). Such decision is affected by lack of distinction between women's productive and reproductive role, given that women are supposed to earn income and do household work simultaneously. Women consider themselves as "*ibu rumah tangga*", or homemaker, even when they do income earning activities (Singarimbun, 1999). As an example, women rice farmers in Minangkabau perceive themselves as not working because they use the harvest for their own household needs (Blackwood, 2008); women small business owners in *Kota* Bandung consider their work as 'just helping husband' because they could serve customers while tending to their children (Indraswari, 2006).

Among the middle-class women, the ideation of women's main role at home affects them in a way to perceive themselves as 'secondary earners' (Utomo, 2012). These women have the option to continue working with a motivation to pursue career, but have to juggle their time to balance family and work (Brooks and Devasahayam, 2011). Women from high-income families can opt out from work because they can afford not to earn income (Sitepu, 2000). Apart from sufficient income, highly educated women opt out of work due to desire to fulfill their child caring role. Standing (1976) suggests that high-educated women tend to have higher expectations for children's development and would be willing to have employment interruption to perform care responsibility by themselves.

Despite different employment behaviour outcomes, the literature indicates that women in Indonesia continue to conform to the gender norms that put the caring role as women's primary responsibility and earning role as men's. The following section examines the social norms on gender roles at work, which are affected by the social norms on gender roles at home.

Gender Norms at work: Gendered Discrimination and Job Segregation

Gamburd (2000) stated that gender 'marks and creates segmentation in the labour force'. DeGraff and Anker (1999) found that job characteristics seem to extend gender stereotypes in the society, where women are positioned lower relative to men. Women often occupy the lower-paying jobs that feature the tasks performed by women at home.

Gendered divisions in the labour market are based on the traditional domestic division of labour, increasing the chance of women working in low-skilled and low-paid jobs (Kercheval *et al.*, 2013). In Indonesia, women are overrepresented in low-paying jobs or in the informal sector (Utomo, 2012). This gendered division created female-dominated industries, such as service, production, and trade (AIPEG, 2017).

Socio-cultural norms that reinforce gender roles and perpetuate discrimination against girls and women prevent females from fully participating in the labour market (Nguyen and Harrison, 2020). The notion of *kodrat* is widely accepted in Indonesian society, and their role in the family largely determines women's high status. 'Working women' (industrial labourers, domestic workers, and traders) were seen as having low-status (Ford and Parker, 2008) and implicitly irresponsible, as they carry out duties outside of family responsibilities. The prevailing gendered roles shape women's belief that they are less deserving of a steady career than men, and limits women to jobs with low levels of productivity and seniority, or professions that are considered suitable for women (Singh *et al.*, 2018). It leads to the normalization of a higher wage for men than for women. Most women find it normal for men to get a higher wage since they tend to have higher educational attainment and specialize in career-oriented fields (Taniguchi and Tuwo, 2014). In addition, most working women have difficulties traveling from home to the workplace. Women from poor economic backgrounds have a limited access to private vehicles (motorcycles), and they tend to prioritize the husband utilizing it which causes them to use public transportation (Witoelar *et al.*, 2017). Moreover, public transportation is not safe, particularly at night. These socio-cultural factors drive women

to have shorter work experience than men because their family and childcare considerations push them to enter and exit the labour market (Taniguchi and Rosenfeld, 2002).

With regards to leadership, attitude towards *kodrat* leads to a perception that women are better in supportive roles, while men are better leaders. Businesses, workplaces, and even civil society organizations often do not involve women in the partnership or leadership because of the bias generated from the gendered roles at home and at work (Unilever, 2017). Many women face the glass ceiling, where they are blocked from advancing in their careers to management and executive positions (IBCWE, Global Compact Network Indonesia and UN Women, 2018). Women are less able/willing to take on leadership roles because their superiors are predominantly men.

Negotiating Women's Roles at Home and at Work

Women's decisions and negotiations to participate in the labour force are subject to their resources, depending on their status/social class. Decision and choice related to employment and economic participation are strongly associated with the level of education, family responsibilities, and entrenched in norms related to gender roles and structural factors. The interplay between the social class, defined by education and family income, and gender becomes important as it determines the 'opportunity cost' of employment for women, whether the time away from children when they decide to work, or forgone earnings when they decide to opt out from labour market to be with the children. Woman's decision to work or not depends on the resources for childcare, such as the financial resources, support from family, and workplace policies

Women's dual roles at home and work are also negotiated over the life cycle as women exercise their agency during their lifetime. According to Utomo (2012), among female university students in Jakarta and Makassar, becoming the secondary earner instead of the primary one is a way to negotiate woman's role outside and inside the household by balancing the career paths and the primary role as a wife and a mother. By doing so, these young women try to position themselves as supporters of their husbands and conform to the social belief that men are the primary income earners. Women themselves find comfort in their secondary-earning role and the supplementary role of the money they earn; they see them as a way to accommodate "gender-role-compatible" participation in the formal labour market (Utomo, 2008). Another example of how women negotiated their dual role over the life cycle was depicted by Grijns et al., (1994). This study found that single women tend to work with fewer family considerations than the married ones. In the context of rural women in West Java, single women tend to have fewer familial constraints with respect to work, and are not selective with the kind of jobs they would participate in. Typically, they become formal wage workers (Grijns, Smyth and Velsen, 1994).

Furthermore, according to Grijns et al. (1994), young women (between 10 and 14 years) in rural Java were mostly engaged in unpaid labour work for the family. They tended to be engaged in jobs out of financial

need and in sectors related to family work, performing domestic tasks. This means that women perform care work before they have their own families.

Young women also aspire to work productively outside the house. Based on the research with female university students, Utomo (2012) found that young middle-class women aspired to work in their dream job when they were single, while once they got married, they aspire to continue working only as a secondary earner. They would seek jobs that allow them to perform their duty as wives and mothers consistently. On the other hand, young men are under pressure to earn a stable income as they are commonly expected to become the breadwinners of their families.

Upon getting married and having children, women are at the crossroad of opting in or out of the labour force. Once married, men play the role of the primary income earners, while women are the secondary ones. The society will "chastise" men if they are seen as relying on their wife's income. According to Nilan and Utari (2008), the middle-class women who work as permanent employees are expected to continue to work after marriage and childbearing. When women are married and have young children, they prefer to postpone the labour enrolment due to childbearing and domestic duties. The rural women in West Java reassume work that is closer to home and suited to their domestic schedules (Grijns *et al.*, 1994).

At childbearing stage, women negotiate their childbearing roles and career by relying on parents or hired nannies and domestic workers (Nilan and Utari, 2008). Unfortunately, despite the negotiation that women have done, married women face challenges and discrimination upon returning to work. Many of them find it challenging to find a type of employment aligned with ages and stages in their lives (UN Global Pulse, 2014).

A study using longitudinal data of the Indonesian Family Life Survey (IFLS) found that class, determined by education and type of employment, differentiates employment trajectory over women's lifecycle (Setyonaluri, 2013). Women with tertiary education had the lower likelihood of employment exit compared to those with lower education. Women who worked in the secured, higher-level occupations, such as professionals, managers and clerics in the government sectors, also had lower likelihood of quitting their job following marriage and childbearing than those who worked in sales and service occupations in private sectors. The study also found that education helps women return to work. Higher educated women tend to join the formal sector and women with lower education the informal sector. Meanwhile, women in the informal sector tend to experience a continuous pattern of employment over their life cycle compared to women in the formal sector. Uninterrupted employment among women informal workers reflects marginalization towards women in terms of low wages, productivity, and the burden of combining paid work and childcare (Setyonaluri, 2013).

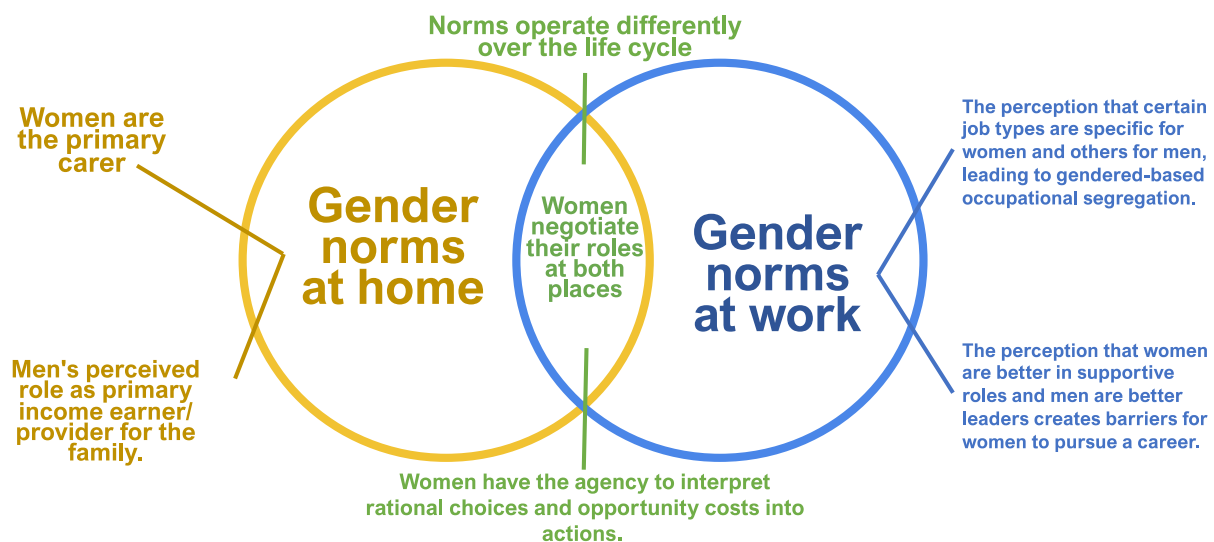
The above-mentioned findings can be interpreted as follows: the formal and secure employment, like the one in the public sector, may facilitate keeping the job while at the same time performing their caring role. However, a qualitative study that examines women's work-family conflict in Greater Jakarta by Setyonaluri and Utomo (2016) found that the internal work and caring responsibilities dominate women's

narratives across different types of occupation and economic statuses in Greater Jakarta. Trusted childcare, particularly one provided by the family, reduces the work-care conflict, but is difficult to find. Thus, some women, even among professionals/managers, have no option but to leave their jobs. Although indirectly, some narratives mention that the lack of workplace support, such as the absence of good quality childcare, short maternity leave, lack of flexibility, and intense workloads, affects women's decision to quit their jobs, particularly among the middle-class women. These narratives indicate that conforming to social norms inflicts the internal work-care conflict, affecting women's employment decisions. The conflict is exacerbated by the absence of support for women to perform their caring role, either from family or the workplace.

The way gender norms are internalized and practiced at home affects women's participation at work as illustrated Figure 1 below. The left circle explains how the gender norms at home, that position women as the primary carers, influence women to feel responsible and obligated to be 'good wives and mothers'. Women conform to the norms and normalize their position as the ones with household duties and family nurture responsibilities, which position them to be socially known as 'the best primary carer' for their husbands, children, and parents.

Women also have a responsibility outside the household, that of a secondary breadwinner. Men are perceived to be the primary income earner. This primary versus secondary breadwinning role seemingly has created a demarcation between women and men's social space, where men's space is more often outside the household, while women's is inside the household.

Figure 1 Gender Norms at Home, at Work and the Negotiations of Both



The right circle illustrates the gender norms at work, which are the extension of the gender norms at home. Some people believe that specific jobs such as carers, domestic or administrative workers, are more suitable for women than for men. Women in Indonesia dominate informal, manufacturing, service,

and trading sectors (Brusentsev, Newhouse and Vroman, 2012; AIPEG, 2017; Bhattacharya, 2017; PROSPERA, 2020), which require low-skilled and low-educated labour. On the other hand, men are overrepresented in transportation and mining, which require higher skills and employ fewer women (Peters *et al.*, 2019). This gendered job segregation reflects the social perception of women as being the supporters of men, at home as well as at work, and therefore better suited to supportive rather than leadership roles. This is also a reason why it is difficult for women to become leaders; discrimination and lack of job promotion persists for most women.

Women's dual role requires negotiation that is often overseen in society. This negotiation is represented in the intertwining part of the two circles, where women – depending on their situation – perform their agency and calculate their opportunity and costs to work inside or outside their house, which takes place over the durations of the life cycle. For example, as discussed earlier, single women have fewer family considerations when choosing to work outside the house than the married ones. Married women, on the other hand, have option to return to work depending on the family resources. Meanwhile, some older women take up the role of caring for their grandchildren when they reach retirement age.

Our research focuses mainly on this framework. We further use it to examine how the COVID-19 pandemic may (or may not) affect the norms to shift or operate differently.

Shifting social norms

While the social and gender norms persist in the domestic and public domain in Indonesia, it is believed that norms could shift due to various factors.

Mackie *et al.* (2015) argue that mutual beliefs of the people within a reference group affect how social norms are entrenched in society. A reference group, such as family, confidant, or a group of people in a community, is those whose expectations are important in influencing an individual's attitudes and behaviour. The reciprocity between the reference group's expectations and actions maintains the persistence of social norms, even among those who resist the norms. Reference group provides approval or disapproval towards a social norm, and such attitudes affect the attitudes and behaviour of an individual over such norms. For example, parents who ask their daughters and sons to share household duties are commonly more flexible towards change (Marcus, 2018).

Education is another factor that may encourage norm shift. The increase in women's educational attainment supports more gender-equal norms in households and society (Bertrand *et al.*, 2016). Like family and peer groups, progressive views obtained through education can influence an individual since they create social circles that favour ambition and economic independence. However, it is notable that the access to education is unequal, and some women work out of necessity due to their limited educational attainment.

Financial pressure can push women to work out of economic necessity; thus, social norm shifts depending on actual economic condition. Financial pressure can be a reason for people to break through social norms in society (Investing in Women, 2020a).

The media campaign is a form of intervention that may enable norm shifts. It is believed that the media can promote gender equity and educate young women to change their values and views on work and marriage toward global trends (Utomo, 2012). For example, as argued by Burjorjee et al. (2017), the media promotes positive attitudes and beliefs about women as entrepreneurs, small business owners, and bank clients, which can encourage female labour force participation.

A study by Gauri *et al.* (2019) shows that interpersonal expectations within the household and husband's personal beliefs, rather than the generalized social norms, are strongly correlated with female labour force participation in Jordan. Their findings suggest that social-norm campaigns can benefit from understanding the contextual knowledge about individuals' attitudes and beliefs and as a result tailor the message better to reach the appropriate targets.

The COVID-19 pandemic is a contemporary factor that is believed to cause social and gender norm shifts. Reports show that COVID-19 has changed the division of labour in the household (Komnas Perempuan, 2020; UN Women, 2020; UNDP *et al.*, 2021). On the one hand, the unpaid care work for both men and women increased with the school closures and social restriction. On the other hand, more women enter the labour market as a result of husband's declining income or unemployment.

The experiences related to the woman's ability to continue working during the COVID-19 pandemic, vary based on the type of employment. Those who hold formal employment are able to continue to work with the Work-From-Home arrangement, while those with informal employment are at high risk of losing their livelihoods as their businesses are impacted by the restricted mobility.

Despite that COVID-19 brought a change in the household dynamics, their attitudes towards social norms on gender roles seems to remain the same compared to before the pandemic. SNAPS 2020 Study found that the majority of the Indonesian male respondents still experience resistance when conducting household chores during the COVID-19 pandemic, while the urban women are increasingly feeling the pressure to earn income (Investing in Women, 2020b). The study also found evidence of 'positive deviants', defined as more progressive views compared to the generally accepted perception in the population. Compared to the previous SNAPS study conducted in 2018, the 2020 study shows that men increasingly believe in the need to share domestic responsibilities due to the pandemic, while the women reveal their aspiration towards shared caregiving arrangements. As evidence of gender-norm shift, the study found that during the COVID-19 pandemic, childcare started to be shared equally between men and women (47%). (Investing in Women, 2020a).

Research Method

We use a two-pronged approach: The quantitative analysis provides an overview of gender dimensions of labour force participation and trajectories among population aged 18-40 years in Indonesia and how they intersect with class and geography. The quantitative analysis provides a context for the qualitative analysis, which explores the bigger questions on the effect of social norms on the young adults' labour market outcomes, in particular, how the social norms affect women's employment during the COVID-19 and whether the norms are changing.

Quantitative analysis

This study uses the National Labour Force Survey or SAKERNAS 2009, 2019, and 2020 and the National Socioeconomic Survey or SUSENAS 2019. The study uses the 2009 and 2019 datasets to compare the current to the pre-COVID situation. We analyse SAKERNAS 2009 and 2019 to compare the pattern and trajectories of labour force participation of different cohorts of the population aged 18-40 and overall working population aged 15-64 years. The year 2019 is selected to represent the situation before COVID-19 while 2009 is selected as the comparison to represent a decadal change of Labour Force participation. Meanwhile, the 2020's survey is used to examine the labour force participation during COVID-19, particularly how COVID-19 may change the Millennials' labour market attachment. The analysis is not a causal analysis of the impact of COVID-19 on Millennials' labour force participation, given that at this point only cross-sectional data are available and the datasets are not designed to capture the impact of the crisis.

SAKERNAS is a population-based survey, specifically designed to capture the labour force and employment indicators. SAKERNAS collects in-depth information about employment characteristics: sectors, occupation, work status, monthly wage, working hours, workers' participation in social security, as well as information about last employment interruption (quit or move jobs). SAKERNAS is a nationally representative survey that enables disaggregation up to the sub-district (*kabupaten/kota*) level. As it is conducted annually, SAKERNAS provides the most up to date description of the labour force situation as well as enables the research team to compare the current to the pre-COVID-19 situation.

Given that SAKERNAS does not probe for detailed demographic characteristics that are important determinants of labour market participation, we perform extended analysis using SUSENAS 2019. SUSENAS is a nationally representative household survey that collects wide-array information about social and economic condition of the households and individuals, i.e., household composition/living arrangement, education attainment, children characteristics, economic activity, household expenditures, and household's assets. However, SUSENAS is not designed to capture the labour force and employment indicators. The labour force is defined very broadly to include those who worked and those who had a job

or business but temporarily did not work a week before the survey⁴. Despite the discrepancy in the rate of labour force participation calculated from SAKERNAS and SUSENAS, the SUSENAS could provide a useful description of the differences of labour market attachment across demographic characteristics. Unfortunately, our analysis from SUSENAS is limited to 2019 since the 2020's dataset had not yet been released for public use up until this report was written.

The current analysis outlines the segmentation of the urban population aged 18-40 years based on their labour force and employment trajectories, and it compares population with and without (or, with a lesser degree of) caring responsibilities. The analysis is based on the cross-tabulations of employment characteristics (sectors and statuses), the gender wage gap, and the reason for exiting the market but not looking for jobs, across demographic and socio-economic characteristics (age, education, marital status, and presence of children). The indicators are presented at the national level, and for two provinces, Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya.

Qualitative Approach

In studies about social norms, qualitative research is used to understand the reasons for people's beliefs and actions (Mackie et al., 2014) and examine the patterns of beliefs that fit the interpretation of social norms (Berg 2001). This study combines in-depth interviews (IDIs) and Focus Group Discussion (FGDs) to examine the reasons for people's beliefs towards the gender norms and how these beliefs affect their attitudes and behaviour concerning the prevailing women's labour force participation and employment drawn from the quantitative analysis. IDIs are helpful to capture individual attitudes and experiences, particularly how women and men exercise "agency" in making decisions about who participates in the labour market. Meanwhile, FGD is useful to obtain beliefs towards social norms shared by group members and capture the conversations around the norms that influence their attitude and behaviour around women's labour force participation and employment.

The qualitative approach is helpful to obtain the detailed story of employment trends among the urban millennial women and men and to understand the complexities of social norms that exist at home and work by uncovering the intersectional aspects of individual decision to start or quit work.

Due to the pandemic, we conducted the IDIs and FGDs using online communication platforms, such as *Zoom*, *Whatsapp call*, and *Whatsapp conference call*. The In-depth Interviews (IDIs) lasted, on average, 1 hour, while the average duration of the FGDs was 1.5 hour. We conducted an online pre-interview mini-survey to obtain initial demographic characteristics of the respondents, including age, highest education

⁴ In SAKERNAS, the labour force participation is defined to include those who worked at least one hour a week before the survey, establishing a new business, currently not working but waiting for future job arranged, and those who looked for work.

level, duration of work, family composition, and whether or not the respondent or their spouses perform care and domestic work.

In total, we conducted 8 FGDs each in Jakarta and Surabaya, with around five people each, for a total of 80 participants. We conducted IDIs with 20 female participants and 20 male participants in each city. We conducted the FGDs for male and female participants separately. We assigned a male researcher to lead the discussion with male participants to anticipate their reluctance to answer questions related to gender norms posed by a female interviewer.

The participants in our qualitative study were women and men aged 18-40 years old living in Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya. Our study took a sample that provided enough diversity in attitudes towards women and men's social norms and labour supply behaviour. We recruited participants with different socio-economic status (income or education), marital status (currently unmarried and married), employment sector (manufacturing and services)⁵, and employment history. These characteristics are used to identify the intersectionality between gender, social class, employment sector in influencing the attitudes towards the social norms on gender roles and women's economic participation.

Regarding employment history, our study recruited respondents with various employment experience during the COVID-19: i.e. those who were working on the same job before the pandemic, that is, people who did not experience furlough or loss of job due to pandemic; those who were not working due to being laid off or furloughed from the job temporarily or permanently; and the 'new job entrants, who were previously out of labour force, but recently entered the labour market because of the pandemic.

Annex 1 provides the detailed criteria for selecting participants for IDI and FGD.

To elicit an understanding of the urban millennials' attitudes towards social norms and how the norms are negotiated to support or constrain women's labour force participation and employment choice, we used instruments that consist of key statements about norms at home and at work derived from the literature. We examined the participants' beliefs and attitudes towards the key statements. We asked their perception about the statements, the reference groups that affect participant's beliefs and attitudes over the statements, and how their beliefs shape their attitudes and behaviour regarding the statements related to women doing paid work outside the house. The key statements ranged from the norms about the ideal image of women/men/family, job division at home, perception towards norms at home and at work, acceptable jobs for women and men, and attitudes towards women's leadership at work. We further examined whether COVID-19 changed participants' attitudes towards their beliefs about gender role and the changes in household and employment dynamics brought about by the pandemic. We identified

⁵ The study uses the definition of industry and service sectors provided by the Statistics Office and ISIC Classification. Industry includes manufacturing, construction, and Mining/Quarrying, Electricity, Gas and Water Supply. Services includes market services (trade, transportation, accommodation and food, and business and administrative services), and non-market services (public administration, community, social and other services and activities).

the challenges and opportunities at home and at work that the participants have experienced during the COVID-19.

Annex 2 and Annex 3 provide the key questions and statements derived from literature review. We translated the instruments into Bahasa Indonesia.

All of the IDIs and FGDs were audiotaped, transcribed and anonymised. We translated the transcripts from Bahasa Indonesia into English. We then coded the data and identified the emerging themes of interest for this study. We developed open coding schemes by attributing codes or concepts to fragment of the transcripts. We further connected the identified codes and concepts to develop a storyline and interpret the data.

We acknowledge that some of our qualitative research approaches may create a bias in the data gathered and our interpretation of the data.

Firstly, we used the snowballing sampling technique since we recruited participants with pre-determined characteristics. We used this technique as we encountered difficulties finding unmarried respondents who were or are working in the manufacturing sector in Greater Surabaya. The use of snowballing technique means that a participant might recommend a person they know well and might have similar traits and may affect data saturation and bias in interpretation.

Secondly, online interviews and discussions limited our observation of participants' facial expressions since most of our participants preferred audio rather than video calls to save their internet quota. Mackie et al. (2014) suggest that approval or disapproval over social norms can be identified simply from facial expressions. We also faced some technical problems that limit the respondents to participate fully in the discussions. Therefore, the research team could only identify the participants' agreement/disagreement from the intonations captured during the interviews and discussions and their statements.

Gender Dimension of Labour Force Participation among Young Adults in Indonesia: Results from SAKERNAS and SUSENAS analysis

This section aims to analyse the labour force participation and employment experience of the population aged 18-40 years in three years: 2009, 2019, and 2020. We use the term “Young Adults” to refer to the population aged 18-40 throughout this section. The analysis aims to shed light on the decadal changes of labour market attachment of this age group and the potential impact of COVID-19 on their labour force participation patterns. The results provide the context for understanding gender dimensions of labour force participation and trajectories among the Young Adults in Indonesia; and explain how they intersect with class and geographical areas.

Trends in labour force participation in Indonesia

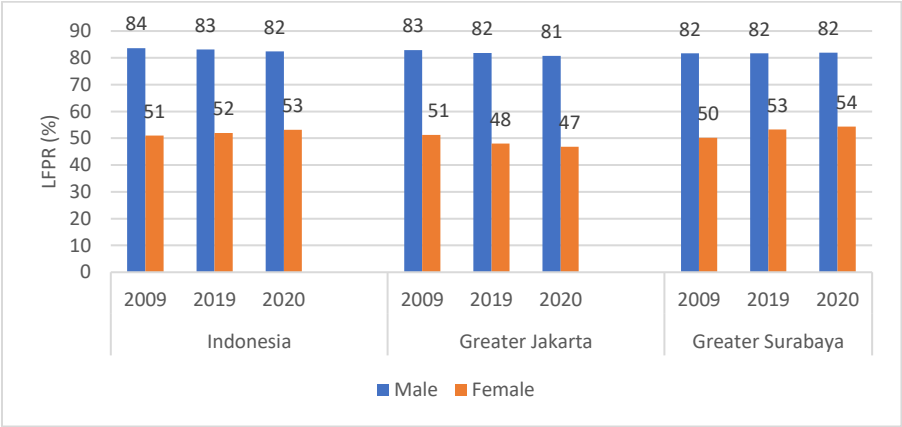
Indonesia has exhibited a persistent gender gap in economic participation for the last two decades. Female Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) is stagnant, at around 50%, while the LFPR for males surpassed 80% during the period 2009-2019. Our analysis from SAKERNAS 2009, 2019, and 2020 shows that the gender gap in LFPR is consistently wide at the national level, and at the provincial level for Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya. Greater Jakarta had a broader gender gap in participation than Greater Surabaya throughout the 10-year period, and it increased slightly while that of Surabaya was reduced (Figure 2). Greater Jakarta had a more pronounced M-pattern of declining female participation during the childbearing period than Greater Surabaya, indicating a greater interruption associated with entering marriage and childbearing (Annex 4).

The trend shows that the gender gap in LFPR at the national level declines between 2009 and 2020, with the gap being smallest in 2020. The female LFPR increased from 51.9% in 2019 to 53.1% as per August 2020, while the male LFPR declined slightly from 83.1% to 82.4%.

The increase in labour force participation during the pandemic does not imply that employment opportunities are improving. Changes in labour force participation rates due to changing employment opportunities would affect the size of unemployment (Gustavsson and Österholm, 2010). Economic recession creates two effects on unemployment: discouraged workers effect or discouraging individuals in the labour force to look for work given the low opportunities in labour market and added-worker effect in which the crisis pushes those who were out of the labour force to become secondary workers (Congregado, Golpe and van Stel, 2011). Changes in female and males' unemployment rates in Indonesia suggests that the COVID-19 crisis may result in discourage workers effect for males and added workers effect for females. The unemployment rate increased more for males than for females between 2019 and 2020 (5.24% to 7.5% for males; 5.22% to 6.5% for females) (BPS, 2020b). One possible explanation to the increased female LFPR between 2019 and 2020 is that women are entering the labour market during the

crisis, likely in support of reduced income earned by the husbands during the crisis. An alternative explanation for the lower female unemployment rate compared to male was that the crisis hit sectors in which women are underrepresented, such as manufacturing and construction (Alon *et al.*, 2020).

Figure 2. Gender gap in LFPR among Population Aged 15-64 years



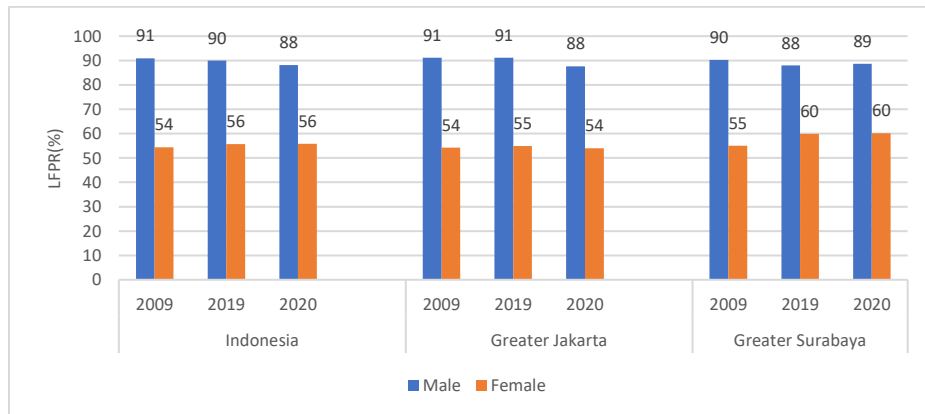
Source: SAKERNAS BPS 2009, 2019, 2020.

Labour force participation of Young Adults in Indonesia, Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya

Our analysis based on SAKERNAS data points out that population aged 18-40 years (

Figure 3) has a similar gender gap in LFPR compared to the overall working-age population, aged 15-64 years (Figure 2). Unlike a relatively stagnant figure at the national level, the LFPR among young adult women grew from 54% to 56% between 2009 and 2019. The LFPR of young adult women in Surabaya in 2019 and 2020 were noticeably higher than in Jakarta and Indonesia as a whole, showing an increase by 3% between 2009 and 2019; rates at the national level and in Jakarta stayed close to the value in 2009. Female's LFPR remains the same between 2019 and 2020, which shows that COVID-19 seems to have a lesser impact on females than male Young Adults' LFPR. There was a slight increase of 1% in male LFPR in Surabaya between 2019 and 2020.

Figure 3. Gender gap in LFPR among population aged 18-40 years in 2009, 2019, and 2020



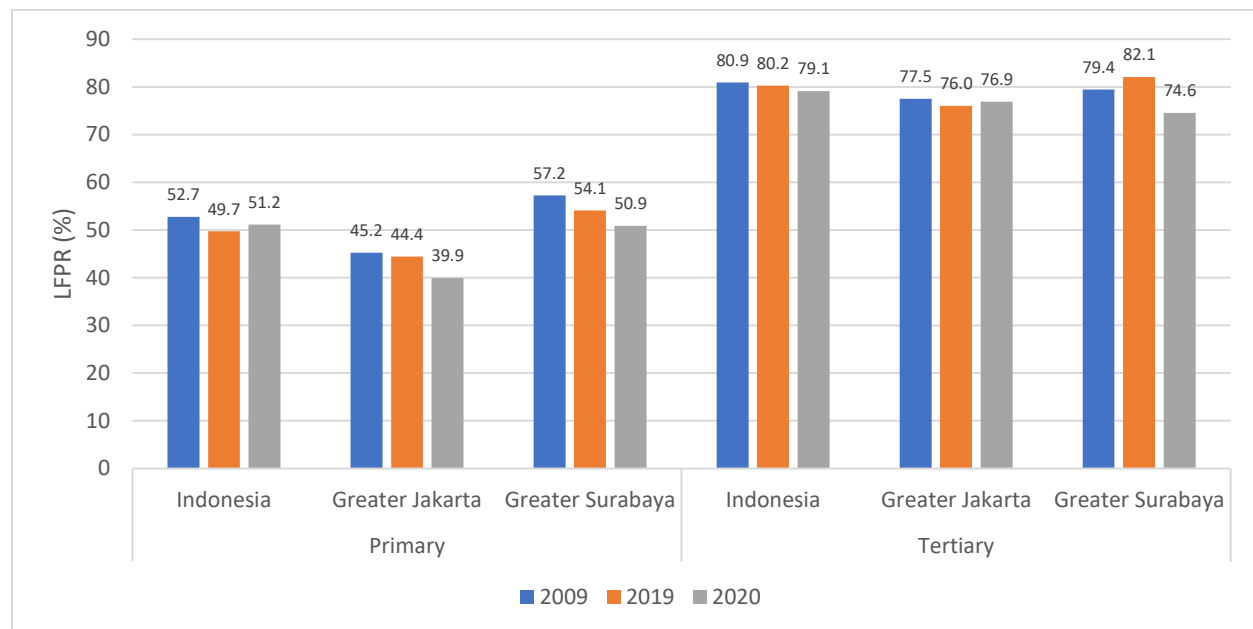
Source: SAKERNAS BPS 2009, 2019, 2020.

The rise in female young adult's LFPR is in line with the Cameron et al. (2019) finding on the increase in female LFPR among younger generations. According to the study, such an increase was associated with the increased educational attainment, although the rise of the younger cohort's female LFPR offset the decline in employment share in the agricultural sector due to structural transformation in the economy. This underscores the importance of examining the types of jobs among female population aged 18-40 years when interpreting results.

To see the changes in the labour force participation rates among younger cohort, we examined the age specific LFPR among the female Young Adults (Annex 5). Between 2009 and 2019, the increase in LFPR was experienced by all age groups of female Young Adults at the national level. The age specific LFPR also shows that female Young Adults had a stable participation across their life cycle, indicated by the relatively similar LFPR across age groups in 2009 and 2019. The cohort differences in female LFPR trends are more pronounced in Jakarta and Surabaya than on the national level Jakarta's younger cohort experienced decline in participation, but the rates increased for the older cohorts between 2009 and 2019.

The LFPR by education among female population aged 18-40 years shows an increasing trend at the national level, but the rates decline in Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya (Figure 4). While the participation at the national level declined between 2009 and 2019 for the women with primary education, it was relatively stagnant for the women with tertiary education. Surabaya was the only among the three as the LFPR increased among young women with tertiary education during the same period. Unlike those with primary education, tertiary-educated women LFPR declined slightly by 1% between 2019 and 2020, indicating that COVID-19 may have a lesser impact on higher educated women than on those with lower education. This may be related to the unequal impact of mobility restriction where highly educated are more likely able to continue to work from home compared to the low educated women.

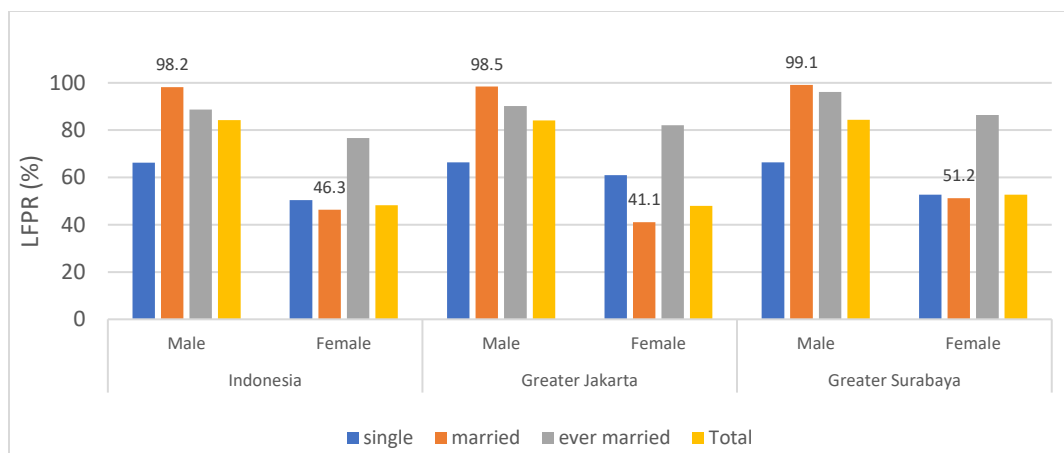
Figure 4. LFPR of female aged 18-40 with primary and tertiary education (%)



Source: SAKERNAS BPS 2009, 2019, 2020.

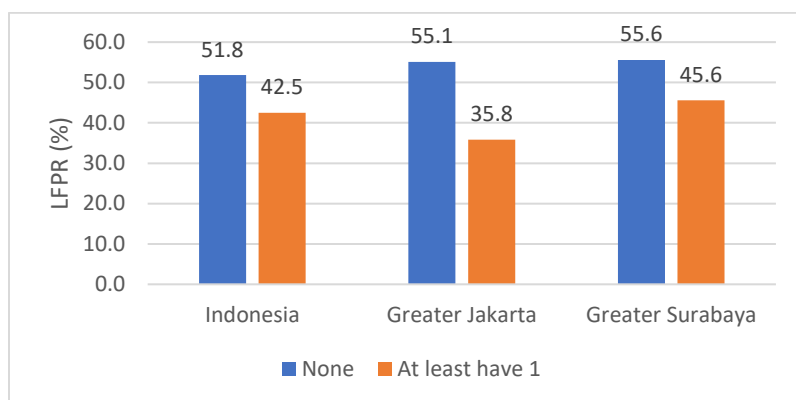
Our analysis of SUSENAS 2019 indicates the association between family status and the gender gap in labour market attachment. Despite the gender gap in LFPR persist among overall working population, the most significant gap occurred among married workforces (Figure 5). Nearly all married men worked while less than half of married women participated in the labour market. The gender gap was deeper in Jakarta than in Surabaya. Echoing the findings from previous studies, presence of young children negatively affects the LFPR (Figure 6). Formal sectors are less likely to provide flexibility for women with children to combine work and care responsibilities (Schaner and Das, 2016). The larger gap in Jakarta may be due to a higher share of Jakarta's formal employment.

Figure 5. LFPR of female and male aged 18-40 by marital status, 2019



Source: SUSENAS BPS 2019

Figure 6. Married female aged 18-40 LFPR by presence of children under age 5, 2019 (%)



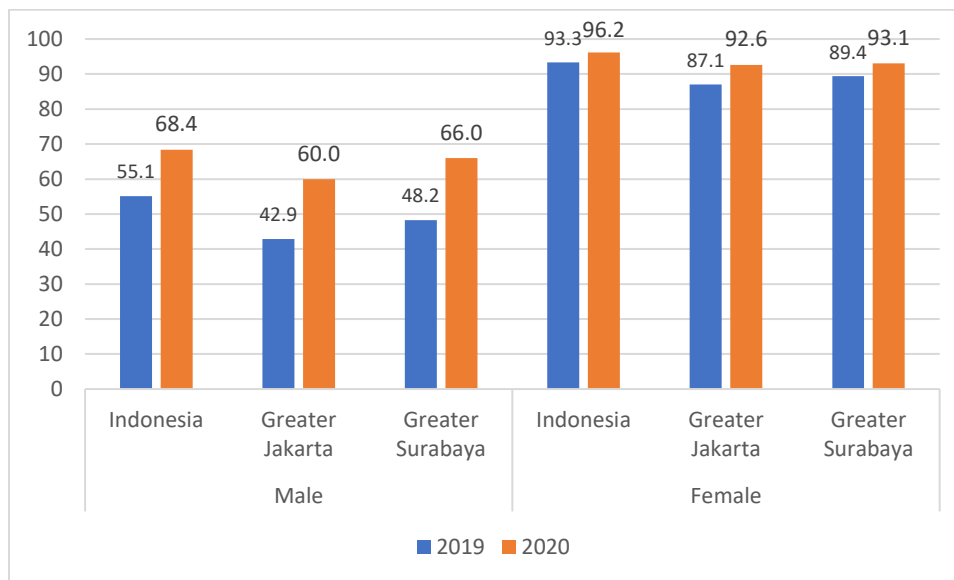
Source: SUSENAS (BPS 2019)

Although the gender gap in labour force participation persists, there is an indication that more men are involved in domestic work⁶. The analysis of SAKERNAS data showed that more than 55% of male Young Adults in Indonesia did domestic work in 2019; the number increased to 68.4% in 2020 (Figure 7). From the same figure, we see that the male Young Adults in Jakarta are less involved in domestic work than in Surabaya, or nationally. However, women continue to bear the brunt of the unpaid care work, with more than 90% of female Young Adults in Indonesia and in both Jakarta and Surabaya doing domestic work. This is in line with findings that unpaid care burden increased for both women and men although women still shoulder the lion share of the care work. However, the figure would need to be carefully interpreted based on a general question of whether or not an individual did domestic work (in Bahasa Indonesia: *mengurus rumah tangga*) a week before the survey. This means that an increase in males' proportion of

⁶ Domestic work is derived from the question in SAKERNAS on whether the respondent did domestic (mengurus rumah tangga) a week before the survey.

unpaid care work cannot directly be interpreted as increased sharing responsibilities for care and housework.

Figure 7. Share of male aged 18-40 doing domestic work (%)



Source: SAKERNAS BPS 2009, 2019, 2020.

Employment of the Urban Young Adults

Indonesia has undergone structural changes in economy, shifting from agricultural to service sectors and providing different employment opportunities for Young Adults in the last three decades. The concentration of young adult workers shifted from agriculture to service sectors, including trade, transports, finance, and community/personal services (

Annex 6). Between 2019 and 2020, young women workers were concentrated in the hospitality sector (i.e., Wholesale, Retail Trade, Restaurants and Hotels) and Community, Social and Personal service sectors, while male workers had a growing share of employment in transportation, communication, and storage sectors, associated with the expansion of ride-hailing applications such as *Gojek* and *Grab*.

Our analysis shows that the majority of Young Adults work as wage workers in Indonesia, Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya (The crisis impacted female wage workers more than the male. The decline in the share of the female wage workers was higher than for males, with the difference even more significant in Jakarta and Surabaya. Between 2019 and 2020, the shares of female wage workers declined by 7.9% and 7.3% for Jakarta and Surabaya, respectively; meanwhile, the shares of male wage workers declined by 4.7% and 3.9% for Jakarta and Surabaya.

Our evidence shows that Young Adults experience gender-based segregation in the employment sector. It reflects that woman choose jobs that provide flexibility and allow them to combine work and family even when they work.

Figure 8). The trend shows that both the share of Young Adults men and women worked as wage workers increased between 2009 and 2019. In 2019, the share of men's wage workers was higher compared to women at the national level. However, in Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya, the share of women worked as wage workers was higher compared to men.

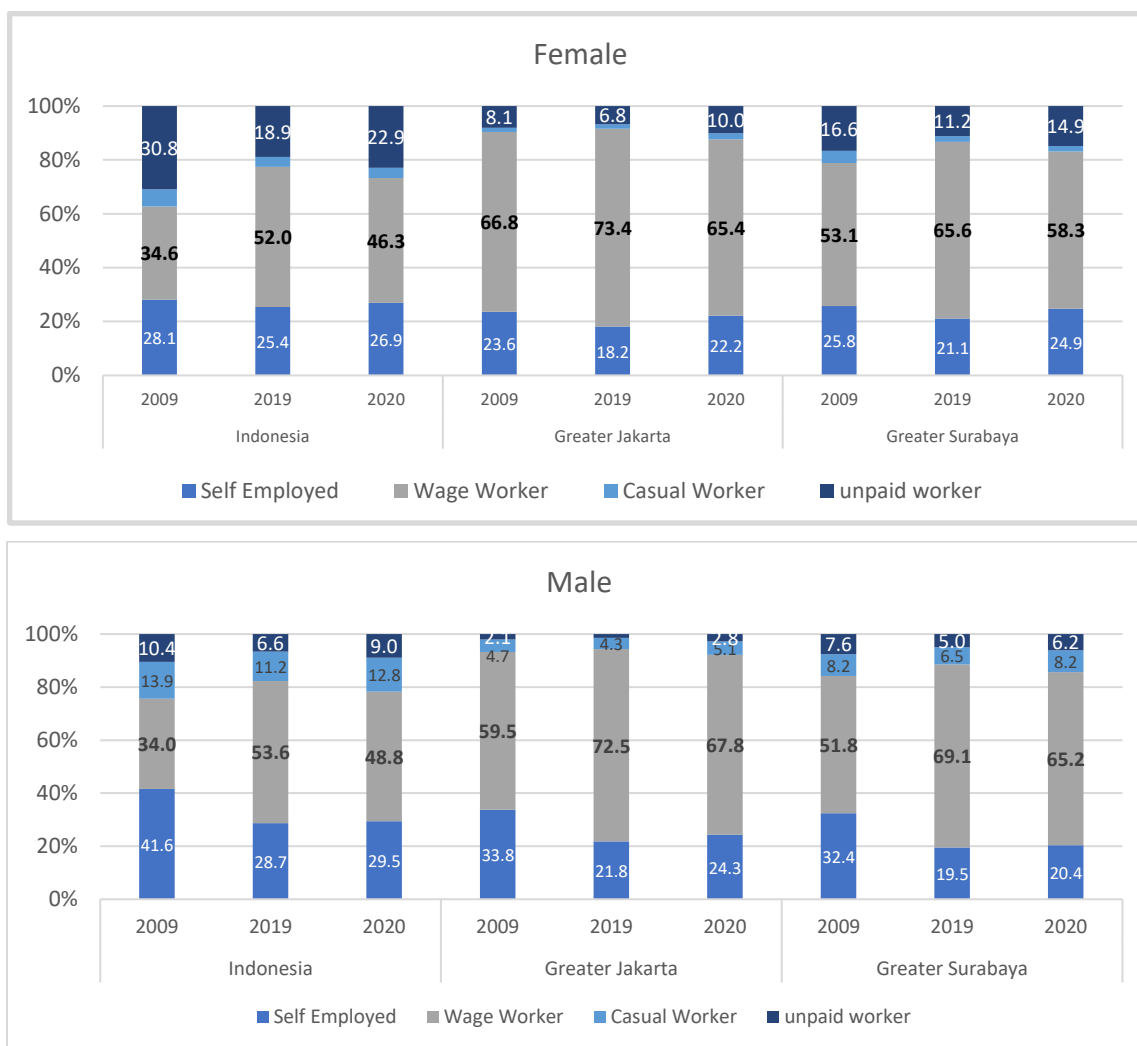
Between 2009 and 2019, the share of Young Adult women wage workers grew from 35% to 52%, while the shares of men grew from 34% to 54%. During the same period, the share of women worked as self-employed and the unpaid family workers declined. The share of female wage workers is larger in the two metropolitan cities than nationally, with Greater Jakarta having a higher share of wage workers than Greater Surabaya.

However, the trend seems to be flipped during the crisis. The shares of female wage workers declined while the share of self-employed and unpaid young female workers increased between 2019 and 2020, both in Indonesia and in two metropolitan cities.

The crisis impacted female wage workers more than the male. The decline in the share of the female wage workers was higher than for males, with the difference even more significant in Jakarta and Surabaya. Between 2019 and 2020, the shares of female wage workers declined by 7.9% and 7.3% for Jakarta and Surabaya, respectively; meanwhile, the shares of male wage workers declined by 4.7% and 3.9% for Jakarta and Surabaya.

Our evidence shows that Young Adults experience gender-based segregation in the employment sector. It reflects that woman choose jobs that provide flexibility and allow them to combine work and family even when they work.

Figure 8. Trends in type of work performed by female & male workers aged 18-40 in 2009, 2019, & 2020



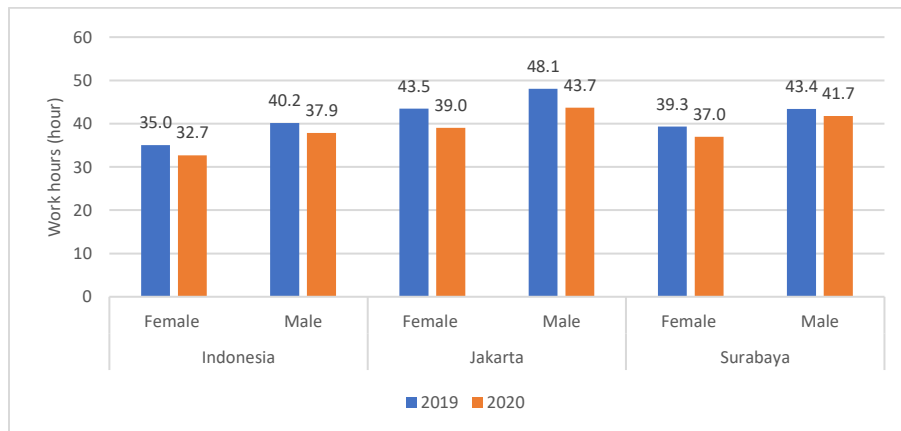
Note: The informal-formal sector is defined based on BPS informal sector 'simple' definition that uses the employment status as the basis of informality categorization.

Source: SAKERNAS BPS 2009, 2019, 2020.

Young Adults also have an apparent gender gap in work hours and pay between 2009-2020. At the national level, where the average is 37 hours per week, male Young Adults are working 40 hours and female - 35 hours per week in 2009 (Figure 9). Both men and women in Greater Jakarta put in more hours per week than their counterparts in Surabaya. COVID-19 seems to reduce the working hours of both Young Adults men and women at the national level and in both cities. Young Adult workers in Greater Surabaya seems to have a lesser reduced work hour compared to those in Greater Jakarta.

The median salary shows a wide gap between Young Adults men and women between 2019 and 2020 (Table 2). This gap is larger in Surabaya than in Jakarta. While all workers experienced a salary decline in 2020, women experienced a larger decrease in income than the men.

Figure 9. Average working hours of female and male workers aged 18-40 in 2019 and 2020



Source: SAKERNAS BPS 2019, 2020.

Table 2. Median Monthly Salary of Workers aged 18-40 in 2019 and 2020 (in thousand Rupiah)

	Indonesia		Greater Jakarta		Greater Surabaya	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
2019	1,440	2,000	3,000	3,500	2,000	2,900
2020	1,100	1,846	2,500	3,000	1,550	2,500

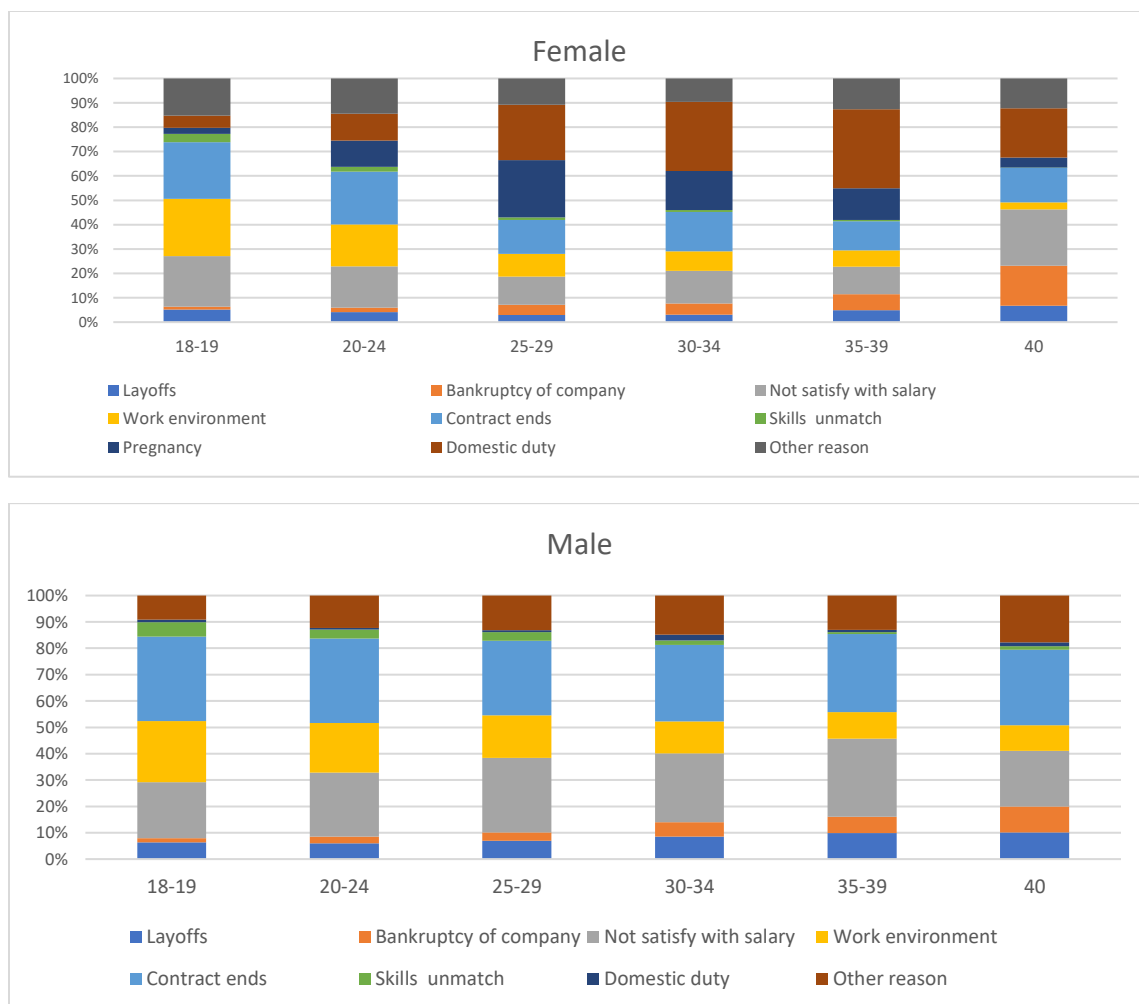
Source: SAKERNAS BPS 2019, 2020.

Reasons for quitting a job or job termination among Young Adults

Our analysis based on SAKERNAS 2019 shows a relative gender gap in the share of labour force who experienced loss of work in the previous year. Around 4.4 million women and 5.7 million men aged 15-64 experienced job termination in 2018, as seen in the 2019 data. More than 53.7 % of the 4.4 million women continued to be out of the labour force in 2019, while more than 83% of men returned to labour force. Meanwhile, the number of urban Young Adults who experienced job termination is lower. There were 1.9 million female and 2.5 million male urban Young Adults who experienced job termination in 2018. Out of those, 56% of women and 88% of men re-entered the labour market.

The reasons to quit work varies across age-groups and closely corresponds to stages in the lifecycle (Figure 10). A large proportion of female Young Adults cited pregnancy and domestic duty as their main reasons to quit work, particularly among those at the childbearing stages. Meanwhile, males expressed work-related reasons, such as reaching the end of contract or being unsatisfied with the salary as the reason to stop working.

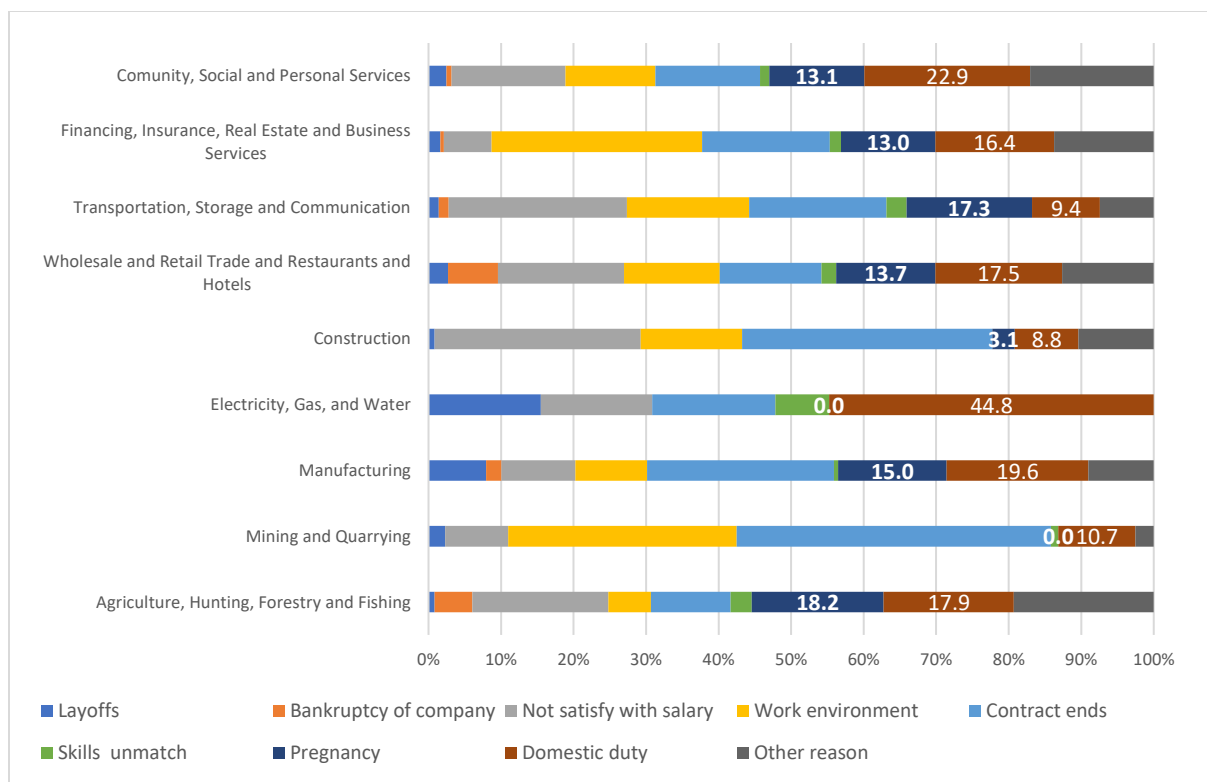
Figure 10. Reasons for quitting previous jobs across the life cycle, female & male population aged 18-40 in 2019



Source: SAKERNAS BPS 2019.

The reasons to quit work vary across employment sectors for the female Young Adults (Figure 11). Pregnancy and domestic duty combined were cited as the main reason to quit work by women in electricity/gas/water, agriculture, community/social/personal services, and manufacturing sector. Compared to other sectors, the share of those who cited pregnancy as a reason to quit was mentioned mainly by those who previously worked in agriculture, transportation/storage/communication, and manufacturing sectors. Dissatisfaction with the work environment was largely cited by women who worked in financing and mining/quarrying sectors. These findings identify sectors that are less likely to provide flexibility necessary to combine work and care responsibilities.

Figure 11. Reasons for quitting previous job by employment sectors among female aged 18-40, 2019



Source: SAKERNAS BPS 2009, 2019, 2020.

Conclusion

The quantitative analysis of SAKERNAS and SUSENAS data identifies a gender gap in labour force participation among population aged 18-40 in Indonesia, Greater Jakarta, and Greater Surabaya. The decadal trends show that the gap in LFPR was closing before 2019 and the COVID-19 pandemic seems to have further reduced it; however, there are some indications that women entered the labour force due to economic pressures and not because the employment opportunities improved as there are more of women worked more as self-employed and unpaid family workers in 2020 compared to 2019. Women with higher education tend to participate in paid jobs more than those with lower education and were impacted less by the COVID-19 crisis.

The gender gap in LFPR among the married labour force and the large share of women cited pregnancy and domestic duties as the main reason to quit jobs or having job termination. This finding shows that being married and having young children continue to become the barriers for women. We also found that more than half of Young Adult men doing domestic work and their share increased during the pandemic. These findings indicate that, while there is possibly an increased share of burden at home between women and men, women continue to participate in labour market less when they enter the family life stage. The drop in women's employment is higher in Jakarta and Surabaya than on the national level. The gender

segregation in employment also reflects that even when they work, women choose a type of work that fits the societal expectations - one that allows them to be the primary carer in the family. These findings support the hypothesis that the social norms on gender roles at home have evolved but did not change women and men's attitudes and women's behaviour with respect to employment decisions.

There is also a possibility that the norms have changed, but the employers are not adapting their workplace policy fast enough to accommodate the changed dynamics at home. However, given that the quantitative analysis is based on cross-sectional data, and neither SAKERNAS nor SUSENAS capture workers' attitudinal responses related to the gender, work, and family. Therefore, the quantitative analysis results can only indicate the association between social norms on gender roles and women's participation in the labour force and employment. Another caveat is that the quantitative analysis in this study captures only the labour supply perspective and does not consider the employer's view and labour market conditions that may impose structural barriers for women's economic participation. We recognize that there are other factors that affect the labour market behaviour which were not considered in our descriptive analysis. Thus, the results apply only to the scope of the current study.

Despite the limitations, the quantitative analysis provides a useful depiction of the labour market outcomes affected by the social norms Young Adults of both genders in Indonesia conform to.

We attempted to enrich the results described in this section by examining the problem in more detail using qualitative analysis. The following section presents the preliminary findings from the qualitative study. It provides an in-depth exploration of how social norms affect the gender roles and responsibilities at home as well as the women's employment decisions.

Attitudes towards and Behaviour caused by the Social Norms among Urban Millennials: Results from the Qualitative Study in Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya

Respondent's Demographic Information

The respondents of this research are men and women from different social and economic backgrounds, living in Jakarta and Surabaya. In total, we interviewed 112 respondents, consisting of 56 women and 56 men. Table 3 provides the summary of the respondents' characteristics.

Ages of the respondents range from 18 to 40 years old. Around 54% of them are married and 46% are single (not yet married or divorced). Most of the married respondents have one child (20 respondents); others have two (13 respondents), three (3 respondents), and more than three children (1 respondent).

In terms of employment, 51 respondents are unemployed, and 61 are employed, out of which 49 are in the service sector and 12 in manufacturing sector. There are more male respondents working in the service sector, while the two genders are equally represented in the manufacturing sector. This composition sheds light on the domination of the service sector in the employment sector.

Table 3. Summary of Respondents' Profile

	Jakarta			Surabaya		
	F	M	Total	F	M	Total
Sex	29	28	57	27	26	53
Age						
18 – 29	16	16	32	13	15	28
30 - 40	13	12	25	14	11	25
Marital Status						
Married	19	9	28	17	15	32
Not Married	9	21	30	10	11	22
Single Parent	1		1	3		3
Number of Children						
1	5	1	6	9	7	16
2	9		9	3	1	4
3	1		1	1	1	2
4+		1	1			
Employment status						
Not Working	13	14	27	13	11	24
SME Owner	2	1				
Working						
Working in Manufacturing	3		3	3	6	9
Working in Service Sector	11	16	27	11	11	22

In the mini survey conducted prior to the interview, we asked the married respondents whether they and their spouses do domestic work and child-rearing at home. The tabulations of their responses show that our respondents and their spouses are sharing domestic work (Table 4. Distribution of male and female respondents by type of domestic work done by their spouses.

). Married male respondents in our study did childcaring and do the domestic work such as wash the dishes, mopping and cooking. Only one male respondent who stated that he did neither child-caring nor domestic work. The distribution of married female respondents by type of domestic work shows an interesting result. While there were 16 of married female respondents did the child-caring (bathing, feeding, studying, etc) and 11 did the domestic work, but there are 9 female respondents who declared that they did playing with the children only and there is 1 respondent who did not do child-caring or domestic work.

Table 4. Distribution of male and female respondents by type of domestic work done by their spouses.

Married Male Respondents		
Household Chores	M	F (partner)
Child-caring (bathing, feeding, studying, changing diaper, etc)	8	16
Child-caring (playing only)	7	
Doing the dishes, mopping, cooking	5	14
Doing neither child-caring nor other household chores	1	
Married Female Respondents		
Household Chores	M (partner)	F
Child-caring (bathing, feeding, studying, changing diaper, etc)	23	16
Child-caring (playing only)	1	9
Doing the dishes, mopping, cooking	17	11
Doing neither child-caring nor other household chores		1

We acknowledge that this mini-survey result has its limitations in terms of understanding the roles between men and men in the family. We explore this issue further during interviews and focus group discussions.

Women are the carers, men are the breadwinners: Perception towards gender norms at home

Literature on gender norms in Indonesia shows that gender roles and expectations stem from *kodrat*, an ideology that positions women as child-bearers responsible for family and children (Robinson, 2009). *kodrat* has been internalized and caused women to prioritize their roles as mothers and wives. Women value themselves more as homemaker even when they work.

Our qualitative findings show that the attitudes and behaviour of young adults is driven by their beliefs about *kodrat*. The young adult's perception towards gender norms at home revolves around the dichotomy that women are better carers in the family, while men are breadwinners. This view is shared by most respondents, although there are some dynamics in some households, particularly among dual earner households. From the interviews and focus group discussion, it is found that the dominant views of the ideal image shared by most respondents, male and female, were (i) women's ideal role is as the carers in the family (care for children, husband, the home), whether they are working or not, (ii) men's ideal role is as the breadwinners in the family, and (iii) the ideal family is the one that consist of a father, a mother and two children, where the women and men in the family play their respective ideal roles.

On the specific question around good women, most respondents refer to *kodrat* for women's role as the one who looks after their children and husband, and therefore an ideal woman is a tough one, who can keep the balance of their family and house, despite their role outside the house. Many respondents agreed that if a woman is working, she has to be able to manage their time well so they can look after the children and work at the same time.

My ideal woman is someone who can take care of the children and family at home; cooking for her husband while she's not working. But while she's working, she has to be good in time management. As long as she's good at it (time management and still taking care of the children) I allow her to work because I know how boring she's at home, hence working may help her to relieve her stress (Haris⁷, 30 years old, married men).

On the contrary, an ideal man is deemed by most respondents as the one who earns money outside the house and helps the wife do household chores and childcare at the same time. Indeed, this is an ideal image because many female respondents shared their concern about men not doing household chores since their young age.

Honestly, I am handier in sweeping the floor, tidying up my brother's room and house, washing dishes, and so on. In fact, my brothers are not helping me much. They would help if I shouted at them and asked them to at least tidy up their own bedroom. At some level, I am also disappointed in my parents because they don't urge them to share household chores. In fact, my grandma has once said to me 'it's normal they're not helping because they are men — it is not in their nature to do the household chores' (Ismawati, 23 years old, unemployed).

Until they reach adulthood, men are perceived as incapable of doing household chores and caring for children. This finding confirms the analysis proposed in the quantitative part of our research, which questioned the regularity of men performing domestic work. This question arises from the comments of some female participants: that their husbands fail to perform domestic and caring tasks because of their carelessness, likely reflecting their belief that women are better carers than men in most stages of life.

At first, I was shocked cause I commonly see that men are not familiar with these kinds of things. Before we're running this business--he was working at the bakery--he always did any kind of

⁷ All names in the quotations are pseudonym

household duties. Even when I was still sleeping, he's done cleaning and sweeping the floor, whereas I'll wash clothes, ironing by myself." (Tya, 33 years old, married woman).

But yes, my son is closer to me compared to my husband. Probably because men are naturally not caring as much as women. (Husnia, 33 years old, married woman).

Most respondents agree that men should be the breadwinners in the family, and if women work, it must be for financial reasons and in support of their husband's productive role. Many of the respondents did not question women working outside the house – and instead deemed it positive -- because they see it as a way of supporting financial needs of the family. This view is shared by women across classes and employment sectors. Some respondents who are currently not married aspired to continue working after they get married.

Based on our results, men too have a gendered perception regarding women's work. Most male respondents thought women can only work when the income from their husband is not sufficient to support their family.

It is a man's obligation to be the main breadwinner in the family, a working wife is more like a protection. So, the family will always have a financial back up" (Lidya, 27 years old, work as plastic bottle manufacturing)

If my partner does not allow me to work again, I would like to see first if our financial condition is good, because if it is, then I don't mind stopping working. But if it is not enough, I think it is better for me to work." (Ina, 24 years old, work as customer service at bank)

I think mostly working women are working outside due to financial situations (like me). Further, I feel like being outside and socializing with co-workers could shape my thoughts in more positive ways, (it makes me) tougher, and (it) opens up my mind. It is a good decision, of course. although my husband prefers his wife just to stay at home" (Nyimas, 32 years old, HR)

Talking about working, hence, I have a target. If I'm as a husband can earn 5 million rupiahs per month, but my wife thinks it's not sufficient and she wants to keep working, I'll allow her. Unless I could earn 10 million a month, I don't grant her request to work cause I've given her more than enough" (Fizi, 22 years old, cake manufacturing)

While women who are working are seen as positive, the role of breadwinner remains reserved for the men, as discussed earlier. When asked about their views of a househusband (*bapak rumah tangga*), a man who stays at home and looks after the house, many most women denounced it. Such a concept seems to be embarrassing and burdensome for female respondents. They prefer that their husbands work, regardless of how much money they make, to having an unemployed husband. Again, the respondents still perceive men as the breadwinner of the family.

The negative view of the concept of the *househusband* shed light on the disagreement of not conforming the gendered roles at home. Many respondents argued that a househusband will be seen negatively by family and neighbours. One even said, 'My parents would question him: how could you marry my daughter if you cannot feed her' (Yuniar, 28 years old, a housewife). Some women expected their husbands to work even if their income is small, even smaller than the wife's income. They are interested in seeing the

husband's effort irrespective of how much money the job brings. To quote one female respondent, 'It's their effort that I want to see'.

Factors that influence gender norms at home

The acceptance of the gender norms at home and the respondents' opinions about working women is mostly affected by their parents, especially mothers, and sisters. Most respondents in our study reported being inspired by their working mothers, even when raised by single mothers; and a few respondents were inspired by their breadwinning fathers. Those who have positive experience growing up with working mother or sisters are more likely to accept the notion of working female as normal and really appreciate women's participation to work outside the house.

While most female respondents see working as positive, some felt that they would be better positioned in the family if they stay home and take care of children; this was especially the case with the middle-class women who have previously worked outside the house, leaving their children under other people's care. In some interviews we found that the participants' views were influenced by their religious beliefs: they view mothers as the first school, or '*madrasah*' (Islamic school), for their children and therefore have decided to resign from work and focus on children's education and wellbeing.

"My religious beliefs shape my view in volunteering myself to just focus on being 'a mother' at this time. I believe the religious quote says '1+1=2 but 1+0= 10' which means while the husband and wife are working then their income will be doubled but while the wife is fully at home leaves her husband focuses on working then our family's income will be 10 times higher than it used to be. I felt magical while I resigned from work in recent months and surprisingly our family income is still stable and sufficient. Maybe it's also because I'm *ikhlas* (sincere) and grateful with everything that I'm doing" (Sinta, 29 years old, housewife – ex pharmacist)

The society, for instance neighbours or supervisors at work, may also influence respondents' view of gendered norms, although not as strongly as parents and religion. The media, especially online seminars, also have influence on some female respondents as seen from the following excerpts:

Surprisingly, I am happier and feeling more productive if working outside the house. I am always at home; thus, my neighbours will judge me, assume 'someone isn't capable of doing anything', and question 'what I have been doing if I'm always at home?' (Andini, 23 years old, Supermarket staff)

Well, I could say I follow some of Instagram and YouTube channels which bring topics about household and relation between husband-wife. I also attended many virtual webinars and talks that discussed it. (Laras, 25 years old, Consultant company)

Mixed perception of working women

The perception towards working women varied between Greater Jakarta and Greater Surabaya with acceptance and resentment. However, the gendered view on women's salary is signalled by some male respondents.

The data show that some respondents see working allows women to support some personal expenses without disturbing family finance. For others, the social value of *kodrat* pushes women to work only under certain circumstances and necessarily negotiate care tasks at home.

There are some resentments from few respondents towards women who work outside the house, particularly in relation to parents-children relationship which is perceived as a mother's responsibility. The resentment is a clear expression of a perceived gendered caring role in the family, owned by men and women.

In my view, women who work outside the house are good, (they are) special and (particularly because they) can help (the family) financially. But... now... in my view, (if) my wife works anyhow, try to help provide our needs, that means she is also looking for social activities because she does not stay at home only From my point of view, a well-educated woman is supposed to be not at home and have a career because she has a title (Edi, 38 years old, married man)

Yes, I find working women are more modern and braver. Since working woman earns money by her own, she could spend it for her daily expenses without being pressured by anyone else (Winda, 23 years old, unemployed)

Women could also enter the labour force due to the husband's financial condition or the husband died or maybe the husband is sick someday. In that circumstance, women could fill her family's emptiness" (Burhan, 30 years old, waiter)

I think there are two perspectives about this (working women). On one hand, a career is important, also for the children's future. But is it worth it? Psychologically, the children will not be close to the mother. On the other hand, we don't work outside the house, but we will always be close with the children. I guess I'd prefer the second one. (Rini, 26 years old, textile manufacturing)

I disagree if the woman leaves the children behind... how selfish she is because she doesn't think of her family. I also don't like the idea if the child entrusts to somebody else/ childcare. I'm afraid that the children will be closer with the children's nanny rather than the parents themselves. (Edi, 24 years old, unemployed)

Among those who support working women, some men accept the situation in which their wives earn more than them, however, even then the gender relations in the household seem to persist. It is indicated by a male respondent who is grateful for his wife's salary but at the same see her in a lower position than him.

Alhamdulillah if my wife's sustenance is higher than me. But as the husband, we shall always supervise our wives and watch them over, so they are not against our household regulations. Since the wife is by nature lower than the husband, hence she has to know her position as a wife" (Martin, 32 years old, security)

Other men expressed anxiety about the wife having higher income; however, they did not allow it to create family conflict. Some unmarried men even though it is his *rezeki* (fortune) to have a wife whose salary is higher than his.

As a couple, we will know each other before we start life together. Of course, I would feel less, but when my wife has a higher salary than me, it's also my *rezeki*. I also don't feel becoming the breadwinner of the family is a burden, it's about commitment and if you feel that it's a burden then you shouldn't be married (Faris, 22 years old, unemployed)

While my salary is lower, I feel my responsibility as a man/breadwinner is reduced, but that's normal feeling as a real man though? In fact, it is wrong if I don't feel that way. So, I'm still looking up some side-jobs in increasing my family's income (Lukman, 32 years old, online food seller)

Negotiation of gender norms

Our study found that women negotiate their role in the family over the lifecycle, following the existing gender norms that their family believes in and in society. For example, since women often deal with household chores from their early age, our research found that unmarried women who live with their parental family are also responsible for cooking and cleaning the house, unlike their male siblings. Even when those women are working, they still have the responsibility to look after the house when they are at home. Some of these women aspire to continue working when they are married, including when they have children. However, they admitted that their decision is subject to their future family economic condition and husbands' approval. Meanwhile, married women in the survey thought it was acceptable for women to work and entrust the child care to a relative – although not to a paid care giver – thus negotiating the household and work tasks. Alternatively, women negotiate child caring roles by taking a job that can be performed from home, or in the close neighbourhood. By doing so, they would not leave children for a long period.

Time management, childcare, and online business: Negotiating women's dual role

Given that, according to *kodrat*, the 'ideal' woman is the one who cares for children and home, women's decision to work and the type of job they engage in are relative to their children and family situations. Some people believe that the decision to work is 'deviating' from the social norm related to woman's role in the family, and that it is highly influenced by economic factors. Obviously, women's work outside the house calls for some negotiations. Managing time well is seen as a good way to negotiate women's work and family care. This view is translated to an ideal type of job for women, the one that allows them to look after children. Some of the female respondents think working from home (running an online business, for instance) is more acceptable than working outside of home, which requires them to leave children at home. Many respondents resigned from work and started a business from home. They argued that they are happier now, as they could focus on raising children while earning income from home.

Fortunately, I am beyond happy by working at home, to be able to take care of my children and do the household chores. Although the income isn't that good compared to formal jobs, as long as I'm working and near with my children, I feel safe and no *beban pikiran* (mind-burdening issues) (Rose, 36, married, ex-staff of a crackers factory)

Interestingly, some women prefer jobs with fixed official working hours than flexible work arrangement such as work from home and flexible hours. The fixed working hour helped them to focus at work and plan the time dedicated to tasks at home. Such an arrangement is seen as a good time management allowing women to fulfill their dual role.

For me, I prefer to work in a job that has fixed working hours. That way I can focus at work and after that, I can focus with my children. I know I have to work from this hour to this, and after that I will focus on my children and family. (Saras, 23 years old, unemployed/ used to work in pharmacy manufacturing)

Having fixed working hours and being home early for their husbands may be required by a male respondent whose wife is working. For example, one male respondent thought it is necessary to have his wife greet him as soon as he arrives at home. For this respondent, it is very important for a woman to keep her *kodrat* as a family care taker, which includes serving her husband. In particular, when the husband is tired coming from work, it is good for the wife to meet the husband with greetings and food, even if the wife has been working during the day too.

My wife is already at home since 3 or 4 in the afternoon and I get home by 7 or 8 in the evening. So, it is not a problem because she is already at home before me. I think it is not good if your husband is at home while you are working late. At least there will be someone who can greet me while coming back home, this belongs to my wife. In fact, I also pity my wife if she's not working because it might be boring for her. Working is something that she can make her life more productive and spend the day on. In fact, we haven't got a baby and she want to fund her little sisters; hence I'll allow her to work" (Bambang, 38 years old, academic learning administrator)

Another example of negotiation made by working women is child care management at home, which is subject to the resources of the family. Most working women in our study find that balancing the job and the family wellbeing is challenging, yet some negotiate such challenges better than others – for example, by asking parents or other relatives to help with child care. Some employed women admitted that they cannot focus on work when their children are sick. They are in dilemma whether to go to work or not in such situations as they would not be able to attend to the child who is sick. Luckily, they can resolve the issue by asking their parents (instead of paid carers) to act as temporary caregivers.

What challenges me at the workplace, usually while my son is sick, so I'll think hard when I'm working and affect my work performance. In fact, I also find it hard when my senior women employees are gone without specific mention due to family reasons. But I also understand while I'm in that position, I'll ask to go home earlier... such a work dilemma for being a working mother, hence, we don't have a nanny to take care of the children and just rely on my parents (Nina, 32, married, IT staff)

For respondents from the lower economic background, it is their parents, sisters, or even neighbours who help with taking care of the children. In some cases, the women can bring their children along when working. Normally, door to door sellers are the ones who can do this.

Thus, I bring my child as I'm working. Thankfully, my senior or coordinator allows me to bring my child while neighbourhood/community meetings. In fact, this job is a freelance, so I don't entrust my child quite much to other people" (Sheli, 24 years old, Local District Staff)

Interestingly, men also negotiate women's work in certain conditions, for example only after the child reach particular age or development stage. One male respondent from the lower economic background accepted that his wife return to work outside the house, but only after the child is 5 years old.

"Of course, I will let her go back to work (to sell food). If our kids are ready enough to be brought to work. At least they have to be 5 years old or understand what we communicate about" (Dodi, 40 years old, Sandals and Shoe manufacturing)

Annex 7 provides case studies of how women negotiate gender norms at home and how the norms affect their attitudes and behaviour on women's employment's decision.

Attitudes towards gender norms at work

Gamburd (2000) stated that gender 'marks and creates segmentation in the labour force'. Gender norms affect the gender-based segregation in jobs as it is shaped the gendered division of labour that increase the chance of women working in the type of jobs that feature the caring tasks. The gender norms also shape the belief that women deserve a less steady career than men. The belief also limits women to jobs with low productivity and seniority or professions that are considered suitable for women.

As discussed in the earlier section, the respondents' ideal jobs for women are the one that is flexible enough to allow them to take care of children. Some women with lower economic backgrounds narrow it down to being able to bring children to work. On the other hand, women from the middle-income group cherish the flexibility of jobs like freelancers or online sellers and thus find them 'ideal' as such jobs allow them to spend more time with children. Men from the middle-income group shared this idea for a woman's job. Many women who work in factories aspired for jobs with short working hours to allow them to return home and look after their children, in addition to jobs that do not require heavy lifting. Child caring is the main factor that affects women's decision to work and choose the type of job they want to do.

Once women are working, only women who work in private companies or government officials share their awareness of work benefits. Most women in our study express little concern about the importance of having supportive workplace policies for women and all workers. One female respondent mentioned that she wished to have a separate prayer room.

In addition, when working, women still have to keep their and family's honour by conforming to the gender norms that exist in society. For example, the quote from Bambang on page XX signalled a quite fundamental argument that women must wear appropriate clothes and be present at home as early as possible. While the respondent understood that some types of work require women to wear makeup and maintain their appearance when working, he argued that was only due to the job requirements rather than women's personal choice (female customer services, marketing, sales). Those who do not wear covered clothes and put on appropriate makeup are considered breaking women's own and their family's honour by society.

Women are better in administrative jobs, men are in technical and heavy-duty jobs: Intersection of work, gender and class

The narratives gathered in our study shows that gendered job segregation intersects with class. Our respondents do not support strict differentiation of women's vs. men's ideal jobs, e.g., that it is more suitable for women to perform indoor and administrative tasks, while for men - the outdoor and physical tasks. The dichotomy reflects class rather than gender differentiation: the working class, but not the middle class, tend to do manual work.

When asked about the dichotomy of soft/indoor/administrative jobs versus hard/outdoor/technical jobs for women and men, the respondents provided examples of complexities of such dichotomy in their workplaces. For example, a woman who had worked in a bread factory, admitted that although her job seemed to represent women's task (related to kitchen/food), she had to lift heavy goods for baking and mix a huge bowl of batter in the factory. In contrast, she compared her job with men who work in office and do not have to perform strenuous physical activities.

Sometimes people would think that one job is suitable for women because it seems easy, but trust me, it is not. I used to work in a bread factory maker, so I made bread, right? But don't ever think it was a small portion of bread. It was very large dough for mass production, it wasn't an easy and effortless job. We needed strength to make the dough, throw it into the oven, bake it. Sometimes the job is not as easy as it may seem. Also, at my current laundry business, women work with muscles, they iron, lift piles of clothes. Meanwhile men who work at the office, they are well-dressed and work with their brain (Rina, 35 years old, home laundry owner)

The above view indicates that women do not always perform administrative and indoor jobs, which is perceived as 'light tasks'. Women from the lower economic background also perform heavy-duty tasks because their jobs are the predominantly manual type of work.

Meanwhile, women's decision to quit jobs or to choose to work in a less difficult jobs are common among respondents from middle class group. Some of our female respondents who are married middle class women have resigned from work because they thought they are more suitable to work in the office with some light workload so they can perform their dual responsibilities at home and at work.

Interestingly, the study found that perception around gendered job segregation exists among some women from lower economic backgrounds, particularly those who are not working. They thought working

as sales agents/administration/finance officer is a representation of women's ideal work as women are believed to be more organized and neater than men. Meanwhile, male respondents perceive their ideal jobs are the ones that deal with technical issues related to machines or jobs that require heavy lifting. Because of such perception, these respondents believed it is ideal for men to have a higher salary than women, given the more difficult tasks and bigger responsibilities.

It's quite common for men who do the heavy jobs rather because women couldn't bear with heavy tasks. In my case, women only do the crackers packing while men do the deep-fried and cracker delivery door to door. Also quite make sense if women may have lower salary because we're handling less burden jobs and the aim is to support income. Meanwhile, men have pressure to be a breadwinner for their families (Prima, 36 years old, housewife)

Men's jobs are heavier and do technical stuff related to our machines...hmm more like mechanical. In fact, compared to women, their salary is also higher due to heavier workload (Lidya, 31 years old, manufacturing worker)

Women's leadership at work

Our study reveals some narratives around the norms and perception about women leaders, which could explain the evidence of low women's representation at the leadership at the workplace in Indonesia (see, for example, a study from IBCWE et al., 2018).

Most respondents express their positive views about women being leaders at work. However, gender stereotype remains. Nearly all of the respondents argued that women could lead as long as they have the capability. Some of the respondents who work, both men and women, assigned gender-stereotyped to their positive perception towards female leaders. Some female respondents working in the manufacturing sector argued that female supervisors are more caring, organized and flexible in setting working hours. In contrast, one of our respondents described female leaders as 'fussy'.

"A female supervisor in my division is very understanding, especially when I was sick due to menstruation period, she told me to rest at the sick room or get some medication. A male supervisor would not ask me so. He would just say: ok you, go home!" (Maya, 21 years old, factory worker)

"Female supervisor is so fussy and if I make mistakes, she would recall my past mistakes. A male supervisor is more sensible. They talk to us firmly when we make mistake, but never mentioned our past mistakes" (Yani, 23 years old, sales promotion girl)

In particular, when the respondents were asked about their preference of having female or male bosses, most respondents said they prefer to have male bosses. For them, male leaders are deemed more logical and able to control their emotions more than women. Some male respondents also expressed their preference to work with same-sex leaders because they can easily relate to each other (e.g., men felt it is easier to talk to a male boss). In a discussion during focus group discussion, it was observed that a male respondent did not even pay attention to his female supervisor/boss.

Well, it is suitable (for women to be a leader) but we need to see their capability, for example how is her management, how she divides tasks, (can) manage work clearly... but when (a) female (boss)

talk normally (her words) get into (my) left ear and get out of my right ear (Arya, 30 years old, furniture manufacturing)

High educational background may reduce the gender stereotype towards women's leadership. This data was found in a male from a middle economic background – and with a university background – who said that he did not have any problem with having a female boss. The respondent was a new employer at work who held a middle-level management position, and his supervisors were dominantly women. His education and work experience might have exposed him to female-led workplaces that position him to accept women's leadership.

At work my boss is a woman. My manager is a woman. My CEO is a woman. I do not have any problem with female supervisors at all. My office is an IT company and even now I am recruiting a female staff for my team. (Iwan, 32 years old, IT worker)

Our study also found that gendered view towards women's leadership may become the barrier for women to grow their business. Small businesses are often becoming a venue of what seems to be more egalitarian norms, where men and women are doing an equal share of their time for running the business. Tessa, who runs a spicy chicken *warung* with her husband, said that she and her husband are 'perfect substitutes' for running a business and household. Although her household has an egalitarian gender role, her view on who should lead the business remains gendered.

The (business) registration should be under my husband's name. For me, my husband is more dominant (business ownership), because he's the leader of the family and I don't want to step over my husband. If in any time, my position is higher than my husband, I will still respect him because no matter what, he is my husband and his (social) level is higher than me. We must respect (the husbands). I look up to my mother, although my father is unemployed, she still respects him. She prepares food for him, cook for him, buy him cigarette. Husband will always be the leader. (Tessa, 29 years old)

Negotiation of norms at work: Working environment versus workers' rights

Our quantitative analysis shows that more young adult women cited expecting a child and domestic duty than those citing workplace-related situations as their main reasons to quit their work/have job termination. The result from our qualitative study shows that the working environment seems to be a critical consideration for women to refrain from leaving their jobs.

Most of our respondents express that a good working culture would make workers enjoy their work. Some of our respondents mainly discussed how friendship at work and good employer-employee relations help them stay in the same jobs. Some female respondents stated that they could accept their workplace regulation that may affect how they perform their role at home, as long as they have a good working environment.

Younger female respondents who work as manufacturing workers said that they enjoy working in a factory because they have many friends at their age. In addition, they also mentioned that the friendship and

“free” working environment, which is happened mostly during night shifts, are so enjoyable because supervisors are no longer present after the day shift ends (around 5 PM).

Our study did not find respondents who complain about regulations, moreover the ones related to the rights of female workers. Both workers from middle and lower economic backgrounds did not express any objection towards their company regulations. For example, a female respondent who did sub-contracted factory jobs expressed that not taking annual leave was acceptable for her, as she has to work in shifts that give her 1,5 days off each week. A female mid-level insurance staff was even reluctant to ask for her health insurance allowance from her workplace because she thought it is inappropriate to raise the issue.

I do not have any insurance allowance from work. I am pregnant and will give birth in a few weeks, but there is no insurance from work. So, I have to pay for the hospital by myself. I have worked in this job for a long time, so I feel bad to ask my boss. My boss is very kind to me (Irma, 30 years old, insurance company staff)

Seemingly, a good relationship at work seems to be more important for some respondents, even if it is compared to their rights as (female) workers.

Social norms and economic participation during the COVID-19 Pandemic

As stated in the literature review, the economic crisis pushes women to earn an income due to family financial difficulties. Most of our respondents agree that working women are highly acceptable during economic hardship. Family needs and income have changed due to the pandemic, and it has strengthened people’s positive value towards women’s economic participation. Our study reveals some changes that occur due to the pandemic, particularly the ones that affect family income and job division at home.

Changes in family income

The pandemic has a significant influence on people’s jobs which causes men and women to seek alternative income. Most respondents have a common experience of reduced income, both married and unmarried ones. Some women and men have experienced being laid off from work, having spouses laid off from work, furloughed without notice, or reduced work hours and payments. In this situation, many of the respondents tried to start a small business, from selling food, drinks or even becoming a reseller of other people’s food. Given the physical distance regulation limiting people’s mobility, some respondents open their business at home or at a place near their house, door-to-door sale around the house, or through an online system.

In the beginning of the pandemic, the shoe manufacturing reduced the employees due to lack of order. I was the one furloughed, thus I made snacks to sell in order to cover my lost income. Only a few employees kept working, and the rest did not. It lasted for 5 months (Sari, 35 years old, shoe factory worker)

Some respondents experienced income uncertainty towards work during the pandemic, leading to a creative economic solution.

For example, Amelia, a woman from a middle economic background who work in an insurance company, found a way to make money amid uncertainty in her job during the pandemic. Amelia complained about her company's lack of communication with its employees. As a staff coordinator for Surabaya's office branch, Amelia needed to convey messages from the headquarter in Jakarta to the staff in the region and at the same time collect complaints from her staff in the region. However, the company did not give any clear information about the task since the work-from-home policy was imposed. She was left in a 'status quo' and did not have any tasks except 'not working'. There is no clear information on when such a condition would end. She also had stopped receiving salary since then. Amelia felt deserted by her office in this situation, but she felt the need to find alternative ways to help her make money. She started to work as a reviewer of some beauty products on social media and receive income from the activity. We found that her initiative is a creative way to improve one's and/or family's economy.

I become an influencer on Instagram, sometimes I do product review, but I don't want to if it's not a tested product. The fee is good, enough for helping my family although far lesser than my salary.
(Windy, 30 years old, insurance coordinator)

Shifting versus persisting gender norms at home

Changes in family income can shift gender norms at home, particularly the beliefs related to the men as breadwinners. Some working women shared their experiences of having their spouses laid off from work. These women played a role as the primary breadwinner in the family and supported their husbands to find a job. A woman from a middle economic background even played the main income earner role until the interview because her husband worked in the entertainment industry, and there are no concerts/shows allowed to date.

Due to this pandemic, my husband doesn't work since his job is related to exhibition which is very impacted by this pandemic. Before the pandemic, his job was non-stop and now it's 0. It's happening until now and even though he wants to find another job, he still hasn't got the opportunity yet.
(Amelia, 38 years old, Ministry of Finance staff)

Mobility restriction during the pandemic seems to change the perception about work domain of men and women (i.e., men outside the house, women inside the house), as both are now working from or around the house. While women remain to seek income that allows them to be around the family, men start their business either at home or in a stall outside the house. Among middle-class men still employed during the pandemic, their 'work from home' status is possibly done because their jobs do not require them to be at the office. Their choice is not because of family/childcare reasons. They also felt uncomfortable when society judge them for 'being at home'.

Nowadays I see an increasing number of people try to open online small businesses as they consider surviving the pandemic. I also feel people (around me) still judge people working outside the office. If the husband is seen to be inside the house for work, whereas the wife is working outside the

house, then people will see it as 'something is strange'. People are more understanding if they see someone is working from home if there is some evidence in the form of store/stall (opened at home), at least seeing someone is doing actual work (outside the house) (Robert, 31 years old, sales in manufacture)

Although the pandemic has changed some aspects of the family, household tasks and care for children remain the same. With all family members staying at home, including the children who conduct school from home, women have a more significant burden of unpaid care work. Most women complained about the school from work activity because they have to assist children with learning before they can start doing their routine household chores. Most of such complaints came from women rather than men, reflecting the realization of the social norms that believed 'women are better carers of children' into everyday life and their role as the house's caretaker. According to some female respondents, their husbands – who are also at home – have tried to help children's learning. However, they are not patient enough to do so that children would cry or complain.

Yes, since my children are online school almost every day, so I have an additional task to accompany them to study at home before (starts from 8 AM) and afterwork (5/6 PM). If I haven't arrived home; overtime for instance, my husband will take charge. He regularly comes back home at 7 PM (Nani, 31 years old, Toy Manufacturing).

The pandemic did not much change the gendered job division in the household. Most of the respondents argued that the tasks between husband and wife are fluid and that there is no strict demarcation on who does what in the household. Nonetheless, from the interviews, most women are responsible for the major household task, while men are doing a complementary task to it. Playing with children, sweeping or mopping the floor, and washing dishes are the tasks that men mostly perform, while women mostly do cooking. Some of the male respondents have experienced such division of labour in the household even before the COVID-19.

Negotiating changes during the pandemic

The pandemic has driven people to use different resources to negotiate financial challenges and household care burden among the respondents. Regarding financial changes in the pandemic, there is a different attitude in negotiating financial difficulties between respondents who come from lower and middle economic backgrounds. While respondents from both economic backgrounds try to get additional income during the pandemic, those from middle income still choose to save money to prepare the prolonged financial difficulties in the future.

I tend to restrain my family expenses because pandemic hits our finances so hard. Due to pandemic, I only earn 0,5% total income which I commonly earned before. 'Cash is King' for me, every rupiah does matter (Aulia, 40 years old, chicken noodle seller)

We both are more savings and my wife currently run online business (Aldi, 31 years old, building management system and guest room control)

However, such an option was not shared by those who came from lower economic backgrounds. They presumably have financial limitations that prevent them from doing so.

Caring for children is mainly the continuously negotiated task by women, before and during the pandemic. COVID-19 pandemic has clearly shown different negotiations of women based on the resources they have. Our study found that women from the middle economic background would negotiate the situation by resigning from work and starting their small businesses. Meanwhile, women from lower economic backgrounds would choose to bring their children around when going out for work or leave the child with their relatives or neighbours around the house. Meanwhile, for single parents, working outside the house during the pandemic seems to be impossible, especially when childcare support is not available. The COVID-19 pandemic made the situation even harder for them, as shown in the case below.

Box 1. Story of Hesti, a single mother with a young daughter during COVID-19 pandemic.

Hesti is a single mother with a young daughter. She is unemployed and currently living with her father, who financially supports her and her daughter. Hesti used to work at a suitcase factory, but unfortunately, she was laid off due to the pandemic. The situation got worse when her mother, who used to take care of her daughter, passed away several months ago. It was tough for Hesti because her daughter did not want to be with anyone else but her grandmother or mother. Hesti could not find another job because she felt it wrong to leave her only daughter at home, so she decided not to work until her daughter is older and understand that her mother needs to work. Since Hesti's ex-husband does not provide anything for their daughter, her father is her only support. Sometimes, her brother also helps to buy her daughter's need or for school.

Most of the respondents express that support from family members proved to be effective and economical to help with their children's learning during the pandemic. One female respondent prefers to seek help from her sister to teach her child rather than her husband.

I ask the help of my older sister who is a teacher in taking care of my son's education. She's teaching my son and helping him out in finishing his homework. Rather than pay for a professional tutor, my older sister voluntarily helps my son. In fact, my older sister doesn't want me to pay her. So, we decided to buy her daughter milk/ pampers/ take her away on the weekends as a reward. (Nesa, 29 years old, married woman, culinary business owner).

Opportunities during the adversity

In this study, we found some people who are indifferent in changing their individual and family situation. They reflect creative pathways and open-mindedness in running family life during the pandemic, particularly in dealing with gender norms that may limit women's active role in society. For example, we found that a male respondent has been doing household and childbearing tasks at home before and during the pandemic. He has been doing it long before the pandemic, marking their non-conformity with the socially accepted gender roles before the pandemic. His job as an educator, which has short working hours, allowed him to perform the caring role, as his wife works outside the house and be the primary income earner in the family.

All my children are close to me. I feed them and bathe them. They always look for me. As an educator, I work only until the afternoon, so I have much time with my children. I do not mind being the househusband. I have done this before the pandemic. (Joni, 34 years old, educator)

We found that the pandemic has driven women to become creative in finding opportunities by using new technologies in economic creativity. Our study found that some respondents have initiated new ways to improve their economic situation with minimum cost, using the internet and social media. Some of the furloughed respondents or laid off from work have updated their skills and generated income with their new skills.

Therefore, pandemic taught me to push myself in mastering something new. I used to be an event marketer. Since I was laid off due to 'uncertain situation events during pandemic' then I urged myself to master digital marketing. So, here I am now being a freelance digital marketing which surprised me. (Silvia, 24 years old, digital marketing freelancer)

Some women who were furloughed or lost jobs switched to being a beauty reviewer on Instagram or a campaign or product promoter - jobs that did not exist in the past.

I join a community that shares information on campaign jobs that we can do from home, from apps. There are a lot of apps for that actually, you can also do it on Instagram, Tiktok, Lemon, etc. The community is 'Mama support Mama'. The campaign can be anything, formula product, vaccines. (Sisi, 30 years old, social media campaigner).

All three stories have shed light on the positive attitude towards negotiating gender norms in society, which is visible in the pandemic time.

Conclusion

The study reveals a mixed perception of working women among young adults due to the perceived gender norms in society. This mixed perception implies the intersection between work, gender and class. Moreover, women's work is deemed positive during the pandemic because it could improve the family economy. However, they have to do so upon their husband's approval.

Based on our study, most respondents – both men and women – believed that women's work is best to be performed at/from home. This view is based on the gendered caring role in the family that society believes stems from the idea of *kodrat*. However, performing childbearing full-time is impossible for some women because they have to work and become the secondary income earner to sustain family needs.

Women negotiate their role in the family and at work in different ways, depending on their resources. From our study, some women negotiate it by working from home to perform their dual role. Some others bring their children while working or leave them at home under their parent's or relative's care. In the pandemic, women's dual role has multiplied given the responsibility to help children's learning from home.

When working, women still have to face gender stereotype, particularly related to physical performance at work and emotions. Nonetheless, appreciation towards women leadership was expressed by most respondents, particularly towards capable women.

Some women think that women are better at administrative tasks, while men are in technical and physical tasks. This differentiation was not found, except among women who are not working and women aspiring to quit jobs. Working women from lower economic background shared their experiences in performing physical work, implying their engagement with manual tasks.

During the pandemic, there are some changes in the perception and attitudes of women's work participation. Women's work was deemed positive even more during COVID-19 because families have difficult economic situations. Some women even play a breadwinning role, which is perceived as men's role by society, because their husbands have lost jobs. Nonetheless, women's care burden remains too during the pandemic, even multiplied due to school from home.

Concluding Remarks

Gender norms in the society exist and evolve from domestic space (at the homes) to non-domestic ones (at the workplace), and vice versa. The gendered roles within a household shape women's and men's perception of their work outside the house. This research found that the gendered child-caring role is the main factor that determines women's decision to work and their work preferences.

The quantitative analysis of data from SAKERNAS and SUSENAS shows that the gender gap in the labour-force participation prevails among urban Young Adults in Indonesia. Although the gap in labour force participation seems to have reduced during the pandemic of the past year, the COVID-19 crisis works as pressure to secure necessary finances for the family rather than an opportunity for women to enter the labour force, due to change of social norms. Women are overrepresented in low-paid type of work and sectors. Unequal distribution of family responsibilities between genders continues to affect the gender gap in labour-force participation and differences in types of work. Expecting a child and performing domestic duties are the main reasons for women to quit their jobs. Our analysis shows that men's share of domestic work increased, indicating that men take more responsibilities of doing unpaid care work at home. These findings suggest that the social norms at home may have evolved towards more equal gender roles, but not sufficiently to affect the attitudes towards women's employment decisions. Economic pressures present themselves as a force guiding women's and men's negotiations of the gender norms at home.

The qualitative results confirm our interpretations of the findings from the quantitative analysis. Over the life cycle, women seem to deal with household care from their early age. In this research, we found that single women living with their family are responsible for cleaning the house and cooking, unlike their male siblings. Even when these women have jobs, they are still responsible for most household chores. Family and peers are the main influence the respondents' approval or disapproval of the gender norms at home.

Most respondents show positive attitudes towards women's work participation, although it is assumed to be necessitated primarily by economic factors and must be navigated around women's primary care role in the family. Time management is thus highly required if a woman participates in labour force. Some female respondents who have never been married aspire to continue working if they get married, including after they have had children. Yet, their decision is subject to their future family's approval.

Next, we found that the women's negotiation of women's decision to work is clearly affected by the family's financial situation, and it is not only women who negotiate the norm, but also men. However, men's and women's negotiations are different, and they define the gender relation in the household. The gender norms at home persist and they shape people's preferences towards work. A woman's decision to work is acceptable only if she prioritises family and children.

For the married working female participants of the study, leaving the child care to others while they are at work was acceptable, and they negotiate it by having a relative or a paid carer look after the children. Contrary to this, some participants chose to resign from work while they raise children and optionally take up a job that can be performed at/from home, or from around the house. For example, doing an online business from home is deemed a negotiation of the childcare responsibility. By doing so, they could still be around their house and if they have to leave children, it would not be for long.

The view of 'women being better carers' is internalised by most respondents and child caring remains the main reason for women's aspiration to work from home. Meanwhile, most of respondents express the view of 'men being breadwinners' positions men to keep playing a supportive role towards women's domestic role in the household.

The COVID-19 pandemic did not significantly change the norms. Although there were cases reported in the study in which men performed domestic tasks, rarely did a man play greater role than the woman. While some statistics have shown greater domestic tasks done by men during the pandemic than before, the qualitative data shows that men's role is much lighter, and irregular compared to women. Women also did longer care and domestic work during the pandemic. Based on these findings, we interpret that the pandemic -- which has pushed all family members to 'stay at home' -- have created greater care burden for women.

The respondents did not show much concern about the gendered structural factors at the workplace. Women's leadership is deemed positive if it is accompanied by the qualification for the job, but most respondents show reluctance towards female bosses due to women's stigmatised emotional characteristics. Nonetheless, both male and female respondents agree that women's work outside the house is secondary, and when it occurs, it must be flexible enough to allow the woman to perform the primary caring role at home. The quantitative and qualitative data consistently show this.

The pandemic also shows differences in the way women deal with the pandemic. Saving seems to be a luxury common only among the women of middle or higher economic background.

Lastly, the COVID 19 pandemic has shed light on women's resilience. Women in this study have shown creative ways to deal with the pandemic. They chose jobs that allowed them to successfully perform their roles both at home and at work.

Insights for policy discussions

In this section, we use the key findings from the study to inform relevant policy makers about the opportunities to tackle the constraints of female labour-force participation. We acknowledge that such findings are derived from small purposive sampling collected through interviews and focus group discussions, therefore they may not be applicable to general populations. Our findings capture the aspirations of our respondents at a certain point in time, which is during the pandemic of COVID-19; we hope that these findings will help relevant stakeholders when formulating policies related to employment for different groups of women and men.

In this study, it is found that social and gender norms persist, even in the pandemic period where a slight norm shift has been shown. During this period, women have been negotiating the gender norms, particularly their role of the principal carer in the family, to enable them to work and earn income for the family. This negotiation is different for each individual, depending on one's socio-economic condition and age.

We acknowledge that the household is a site for gender relation reproduction, particularly in relation to market economy (Robinson, 2018). From the key findings we draw several areas for policy discussion that could promote equal work in the household between men and women, which would in turn affect the decision on who can work to gain income and how. We propose to support women's economic participation through three channels: 1) Enabling equal work opportunity for women, for instance, by providing flexible working arrangements and promoting childcare support for working parents; 2) supporting women small business owners by improving access to finance and trainings; and 3) shifting the social norms towards more equal roles for women and men at home and at work through a media campaign. We argue that these policies would help women by providing more opportunities for paid work and by reducing their share of unpaid care work at home. However, we are also aware that there are caveats in imposing these options as policies for the general population given there are class, sectoral and geographical variations of women and men. While one policy may work for a certain group, it may not be applicable for other groups of women and men because of differences in characteristics and context in which they are living in.

Creating equal work opportunities for women and men

In the research we found **that most respondents aspire to work from home (both male and female). Women justify this choice by saying that it allows them to fulfil their role as carers for the family.** In the context of COVID-19 pandemic, this aspiration became stronger and more relevant, particularly given the school closures that put pressure for women to stay at home while the falling in family income also pushed women to work.

Policies that promote flexibility to balance work and family could support those who are aspiring to continue to work and provide care. **Setting fixed and shorter work hours, providing facilities that allow remote work, and focusing on outputs rather than presence, could help reduce the burden of work and unpaid care, particularly during the pandemic.**

However, we acknowledge that there is unequal access to flexible work arrangement. This policy may be limited to 1) certain type of occupations and sectors, mainly jobs that do not require regular physical presence at work; 2) workers with job security, either in terms of salary, access to social security, and access to enabling infrastructures to do flex work (computers, subsidy for electricity bills, etc); 3) secure household income or those with spouse having secured income. Even for workers with such privilege, flexible work policies may intensify the work-home conflict. As argued by Chung and Lippe (2020), flexible work arrangement could expand work and exacerbate the burden of care upon workers. Flex work, particularly work from home, is blurring the boundary between home and work. For those who prefer work over home care, flexible work would expand paid work, while for those who prioritize home/family than work, would feel the increase of domestic burden.

Based on our study, both women and men lean towards women being entrusted with the primary caring role, moreover, **the COVID-19 pandemic have given most women additional care responsibility of teaching children in relation to 'school from home'.** This situation intrigues us to interpret that **flexible working arrangement indeed expands women's care burden and not her time for work.** However, we shall refrain from making a conclusion about the outcome of flexi work because it is beyond the scope of this research. Instead, **we propose further study on this subject to provide insights on expanding options to reduce the work-home care tension for women and working parents in general.**

In the same vein with reducing the intensified unpaid care work caused by prolonged school closures during the pandemic, earlier research recommended that **gradually reopening schools, with a robust COVID-19 mitigation risk, is a sensible option to reduce care burden as well as to avoid further learning loss among children** (Nadhiva, Syaputri and Revina, 2021; UNDP *et al.*, 2021). Thus, promoting **the gradual return of students to school is deemed to be able to reduce work-family conflict among parents.** However, we realise the risk of the virus spread among young children, especially for under school age children, therefore, although the opening of childcare centre is a necessary step to help ease women's dual burden, it should be done in the later stage of the school opening and subject to parent's approval.

It is worth noting that the pandemic has already taken the toll on women's labour force participation. Our quantitative analysis shows that the share of female wage workers had declined, and more women worked as self-employed as of August 2020. Collins *et al.* (2021) argue that although women can increase their work hours when children return to schools and day-care centres, employers may try to suppress the production cost "at the expense of mothers who have weakened their labour market attachment". We were aware of this issue when proposing the opening of schools and childcare institutions could help reducing work-family conflict, but it may not immediately increase female labour force participation. We note that the slight increase in women's LFPR during COVID-19 suggests that women may work due to

economic pressures. This means that by the time the economy has recovered, these 'added workers effect' may disappear, women may withdraw from the labour force, and demand for childcare may not be as high as during the pandemic.

Developing childcare centres, either company-provided or community-based centres, have been argued to help working parents to reduce the juggling work and child care. However, the results of the in-depth interview show that most respondents prefer and rely on their parents or family as carers for their children, signalling the issues of trust towards, accessibility, and affordability of childcare services. Thus, we propose **different type of childcare support in a form of childcare subsidy for families with children (e.g., in the form of cash transfer), access to free or subsidised childcare centres at work, or provision of community childcare.** Certain conditions may be applied on accessing these types of childcare support, say, the family's financial condition. The provision of childcare centres requires careful preparation, especially in relation to targeting which family to get the support and to building trust by establishing quality of care standards and regulations that prioritise children's wellbeing while help ease families and women into work. The target receivers of the subsidy could be determined by relevant stakeholders even in the smallest level, such as at the subdistrict level, or at the company level. In terms of care standard, it is understood that, currently, middle-class families who have used childcare centres facilities or paid childcare services, often question the standards of care of such providers. The fundamental question is whose care standard to follow (government/companies/parents) and who to monitor it in the long run. Even so, the Government can provide a regulatory framework to ensure the quality of the facilities. Meanwhile, **the community** childcare can be run collectively by the community with financial support from the local government (at the subdistrict level) or through companies' CSR.

Supporting women-owned businesses

The COVID-19 pandemic has taught people to save money when they could. However, saving money may be challenging for people from lower economic backgrounds. Thus, **policy makers need to provide information on and improve access to alternative financial opportunities available.** This recommendation is made based on the findings around being a social media campaigner (such as social media influencer and campaigner) to improve the family economy in the pandemic. The job information provided must be massively spread out through the media (social media or other forms), allowing men and women to access and follow up the information. Simultaneously, **the government or private sectors should provide further information on how to apply for the job or organize trainings to gain entrepreneurial skills for those who have been laid off or furloughed.**

Creating a regulatory framework favourable for women-owned businesses is also important to help the currently increasing number of women who engage in self-employment to grow their businesses beyond survivorship. It is noted that women have challenges when starting their small businesses, particularly in terms of capital, ownership, and government services caused by the male-dominated regulatory

framework. Although the respondents in this study did not express the bias in regulation for women's entrepreneurship, gender-sensitivity remains important, so that women have full rights in managing business results.

Media campaign on equal care and domestic role

It is noted that the use of media campaigns has been recommended in the SNAPS Survey 2020 report, particularly in promoting equal gender roles in the household. This report would also like to recommend **the media campaign to promote equal roles in the household and the workplace, particularly the social media campaign**. Messages around childcaring for fathers, women's participation at work, equal wage between men and women, and women's leadership at work are among the recommended themes.

The media campaign message will ideally be tailored to the context of knowledge and perception of women and men of different classes and geographies. Similarly, the type of media should also be differentiated based on the targets' context and characteristics. Using 'popular figures' – celebrities, social media influencer, religious leaders – who have a wide influence could be hired to reach the low socioeconomic groups. Alatas *et al.* (2019) found the significant effect of celebrity endorsement in promoting immunization). In addition, using the repeated message and buzz words in social media around the topic would help spread the message more massively and informally. However, it requires further research to understand the effectiveness of using different means in campaigning for equal roles at home and at work.

Further Studies

Our study found how women constantly negotiate their caring role over the life cycle, and the negotiation clearly depend on the resources available to them. We realize that there are some areas to explore further, particularly in regard to understand what resources are and should be available to support their negotiations and under what circumstance can they negotiate. This area is important to further inform policy makers in understanding and supporting women (and men)'s decision to work while supporting their care responsibilities in the family. Topics around women's (in)ability to perform their agency related to work and family life balance, resources available and challenges that exist (e.g. family, religion), and other ways to measure them, are among the issues worth exploring.

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Annexes

Annex 1. Matrix of criteria of IDI and FGD Respondents

In-depth interview matrix

Married

Employment History	Low income	Middle income
Currently working		
Currently not working; or Laid off from job temporarily or permanently		
Previously not working, but now working since COVID-19 *		

Single – never married

Employment History	Low income	Middle income
Currently working		
Currently unemployed/looking for work		

Note: Each cell consists of one respondent. The same criteria will be applied for men and women, in Manufacturing and Service Sectors. In each sector, we estimate to have 10 males and 10 female respondents in both Jakarta and Surabaya.

Focus Group Discussion Matrix

Employment History	Low Income	Middle Income
Currently Working		
Currently unemployed or Ever unemployed *		

Note: The FGD will be conducted separately for men and women, in Jakarta and Surabaya. The total number of FGD = 16 discussion, with approximately 5 participants.

Annex 2. Key questions and themes

No	Key Questions	Themes
Norms at Home		
1	Ideal role of a good woman and man; confirming perception and experience towards women work outside home versus stay-at-home fathers.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring Role • Family Income
2	Explore factors that influence the perception of good wife, good husband, good family income	
3	Explore the risks and benefits of conforming/deviating the ideal image at home	
4	Attitudes and experience of what is considered to be appropriate for women working outside the house (e.g. domestic work is still women's responsibility, women with children cannot be promoted).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring Role • Family Income
5	Exploring how individuals' beliefs affecting their economic participations (e.g. seeing their role as a mother as a constraint to work in jobs with rigid hours)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring Role • Family Income • Women's Life Cycle
6	Understanding whether the norms have evolved and there is aspiration to change the norms.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring Role • Family Income • Women's Life cycle
7	Explore any changes of job division at home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effects of Covid 19 • Caring Role
8	Explore changes in family income, decision who should earn income	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Effects of Covid 19 • Caring Role
Norms at Work		
9	Ideal role of a good job; good employer; good employee	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job segregation • Leadership
10	Explore factors that influence the perception of good job, employer, employee	
11	Explore the risks and benefits of conforming/deviating the ideal image at work	
12	Explore whether the presence of an enabling environment will change the norms on women work outside home.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring Role • Family Income • Job Segregation
13	Explore whether the presence of an enabling environment (e.g. childcare, flexible work arrangement, reliable public transports) will affect their beliefs and decision to work.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring Role • Job Segregation • Women's Life Cycle
14	Explore factors that contribute to drop out from work and whether provision of an enabling environment would change the decision? (workplace provision, support to movement and safety to commute from/to work, domestic and social expectation towards care and housework).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Job Segregation • Leadership • Women's Life Cycle
Factors that Shape/is Shaped by the Norms		
15	Explore life stories (education, job, marriage, children)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring Role • Family Income
16	Decision to start and/or quit work (who decides, why, when)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caring Role • Family Income • Women's life cycle

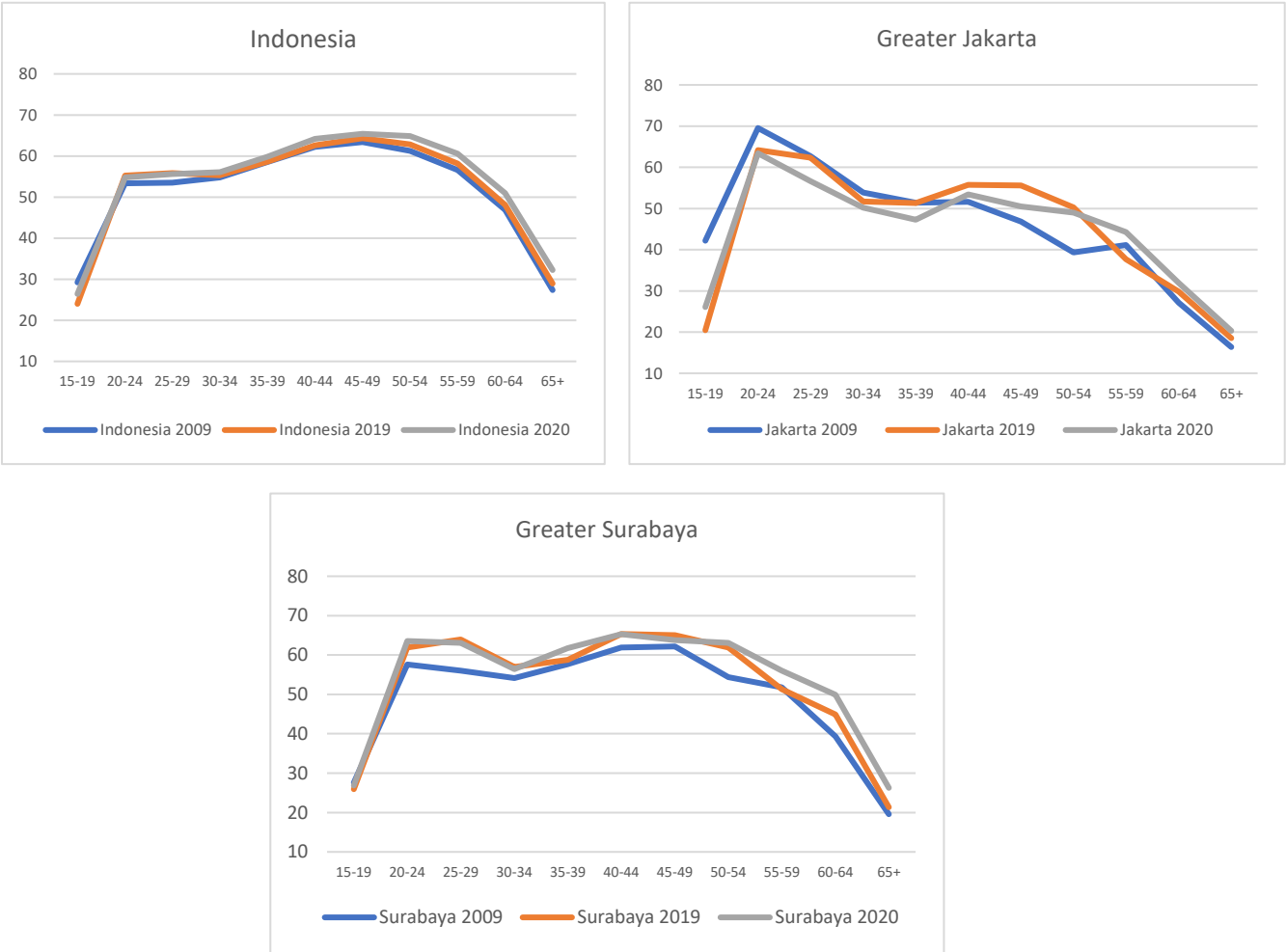
Annex 3. Key norms, statements, and key questions derived from literature review

Social Norms	Statement	Key Question
Social Norms at Home		
Women are the primary carers	Women feel more pressure to take care of children and assume housekeeping duties than men do.	Explore participant's perception of a good woman and man; confirming the division of work at home and perception/experience towards women work outside home versus stay-at-home fathers.
	Society dictates women remain first and foremost committed to caring for their husband, children and parents.	<p>Explore the attitudes and experience of what is considered to be appropriate for women working outside the house (e.g., domestic work is still women's responsibility)</p> <p>Clarify the factors that influence the perception of good wife, good husband, good family income?</p> <p>Probe participant's opinion whether the norms have evolved or are evolving in certain circumstances (e.g., pandemic) and there is aspiration to change the norms.</p>
	Both men and women share the same belief that supports women's nurturing roles.	<p>Explore how individuals' beliefs affect participant's economic participations (e.g., seeing their role as a mother as a constraint to work in jobs with rigid hours)</p> <p>Explore the risks and benefits of conforming/deviating the ideal image at home</p> <p>Clarify whether the norms have evolved or are evolving in certain circumstances (e.g., pandemic) and there is aspiration to change the norms.</p>
Men are the primary income earners	Men face more pressure to be the breadwinner of the family than women do.	<p>Explore the ideal role of a good woman and man; confirming the division of work at home and perception/experience towards women work outside home versus stay-at-home fathers.</p> <p>Explore how individuals' beliefs affect participant's economic participations (e.g., seeing their role as a mother as a constraint to work in jobs with rigid hours)</p>

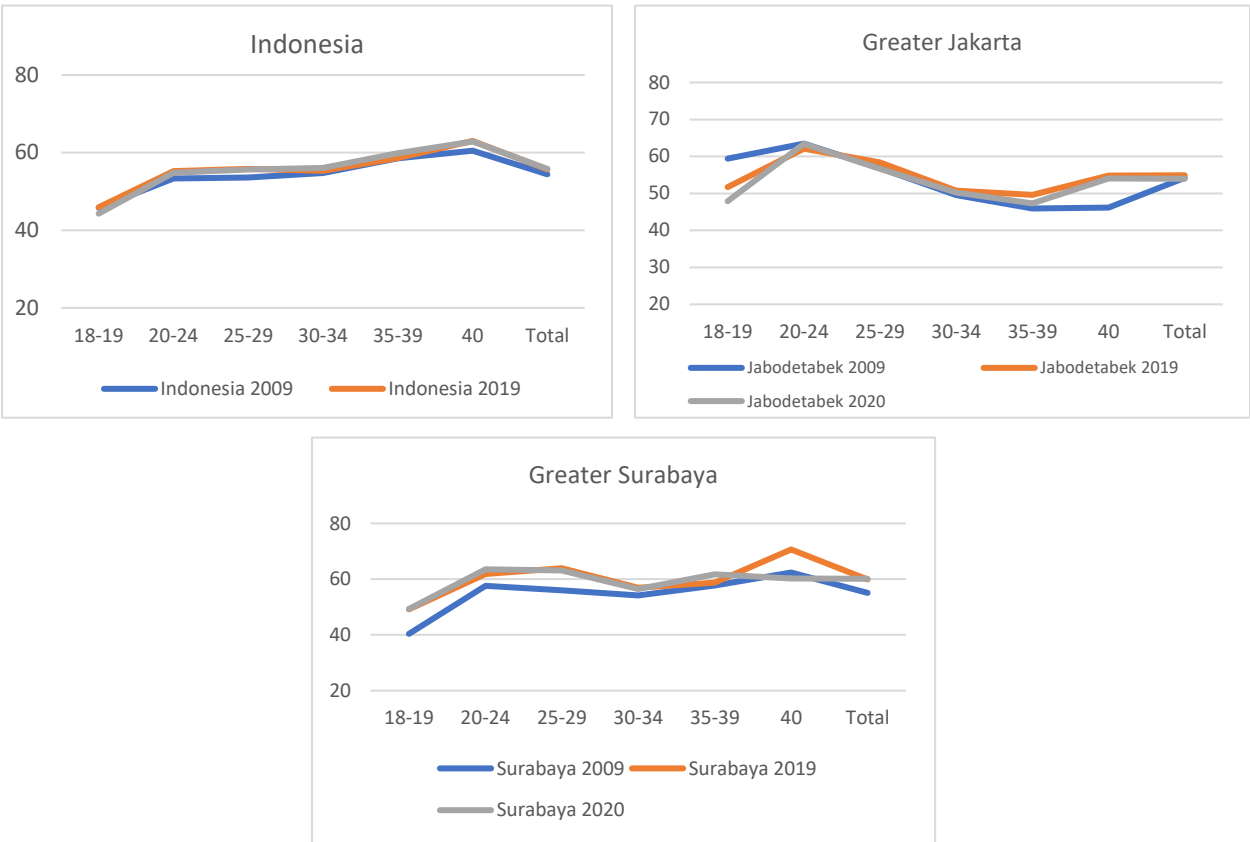
	Society will chastise men who are seen as relying on their wife's income.	<p>Explore the factors that influence the perception of good wife, good husband, good family income; the risks and benefits of conforming/deviating the ideal image at home</p> <p>Clarify whether the norms have evolved or are evolving in certain circumstances (e.g., pandemic) and there is aspiration to change the norms.</p>
Social Norms at Work		
Perception that certain job types are specific for women and other to men, leading to occupation segregation	Women find it is normal for men to have higher wage. Besides they are breadwinners, it is also easier for men to gain access to achieve higher education.	<p>Explore the attitudes and experience of what is considered to be appropriate for women working outside the house (e.g., domestic work is still women's responsibility, women with children cannot be promoted).</p> <p>Explore how individuals' beliefs affecting their economic participations (e.g., seeing their role as a mother as a constraint to work in jobs with rigid hours)</p>
	Gendered divisions in the labour market are socially constructed by the society and impacted to both women and men workers on choosing their career.	Explore factors that contribute to drop out from work and whether provision of an enabling environment would change the decision? (Workplace provision, support to movement and safety to commute from/to work, domestic and social expectation towards care and housework).
	Women see themselves as less deserving of a steady career because they have less experience than men.	<p>Explore the ideal role of a good job; good employer; good employee</p> <p>Explore whether the presence of an enabling environment will change the norms on women work outside home.</p> <p>Explore factors that contribute to drop out from work and whether provision of an enabling environment would change the decision? (Workplace provision, support to movement and safety to commute from/to work, domestic and social expectation towards care and housework).</p>

	Besides the safety, most women workers are still burdened by household chores and childcare. Women would prefer to choose a workplace that is close to home.	<p>Explore whether the presence of an enabling environment (e.g. childcare, flexible work arrangement, reliable public transports) will affect their beliefs and decision to work.</p> <p>Explore factors that contribute to drop out from work and whether provision of an enabling environment would change the decision? (Workplace provision, support to movement and safety to commute from/to work, domestic and social expectation towards care and housework).</p>
Perceptions of women as better in supportive roles and men as better leaders.	Women are less able/ willing to take on leadership roles because their superior are generally viewed as men and not women.	Explore personal aspiration to progress career at work and probe whether the presence of an enabling environment (e.g., childcare, flexible work arrangement, reliable public transports) will affect their beliefs and decision to work and progress their career.
Beyond Social Norms at Home and at Work		
Women's Life Cycle	Married women who have young children prefer to postpone their labour enrollment due to childbearing and domestic duties issues.	<p>Explore the ideal role of a good woman and man; confirming the division of work at home and perception/experience towards women work outside home versus stay-at-home fathers across different life cycle.</p> <p>Explore how individuals' beliefs affect participant's economic participations (e.g., seeing their role as a mother as a constraint to work in jobs with rigid hours)</p>
Social Factor: Media	The way media represented women and men affects people's beliefs and attitudes about men and women's place in society.	Explore how individuals' beliefs affect participant's economic participations (e.g., internalising media news)
Covid 19 Effects	COVID-19 does not significantly change the attitudes towards existing social norms, but possibly negotiate the norms	<p>Clarify whether the norms have evolved or are evolving in certain circumstances (e.g., pandemic) and there is aspiration to change the norms.</p> <p>Explore the changes of job division at home during the pandemic and the causes of such change.</p>
Women's negotiation towards social norms	Women negotiate social norms differently depending on their social status, despite the risks they endure at home and at work	<p>Clarify whether the norms have evolved or are evolving in certain circumstances (e.g., pandemic)</p> <p>Explore if there have been attempts to change the norms.</p>

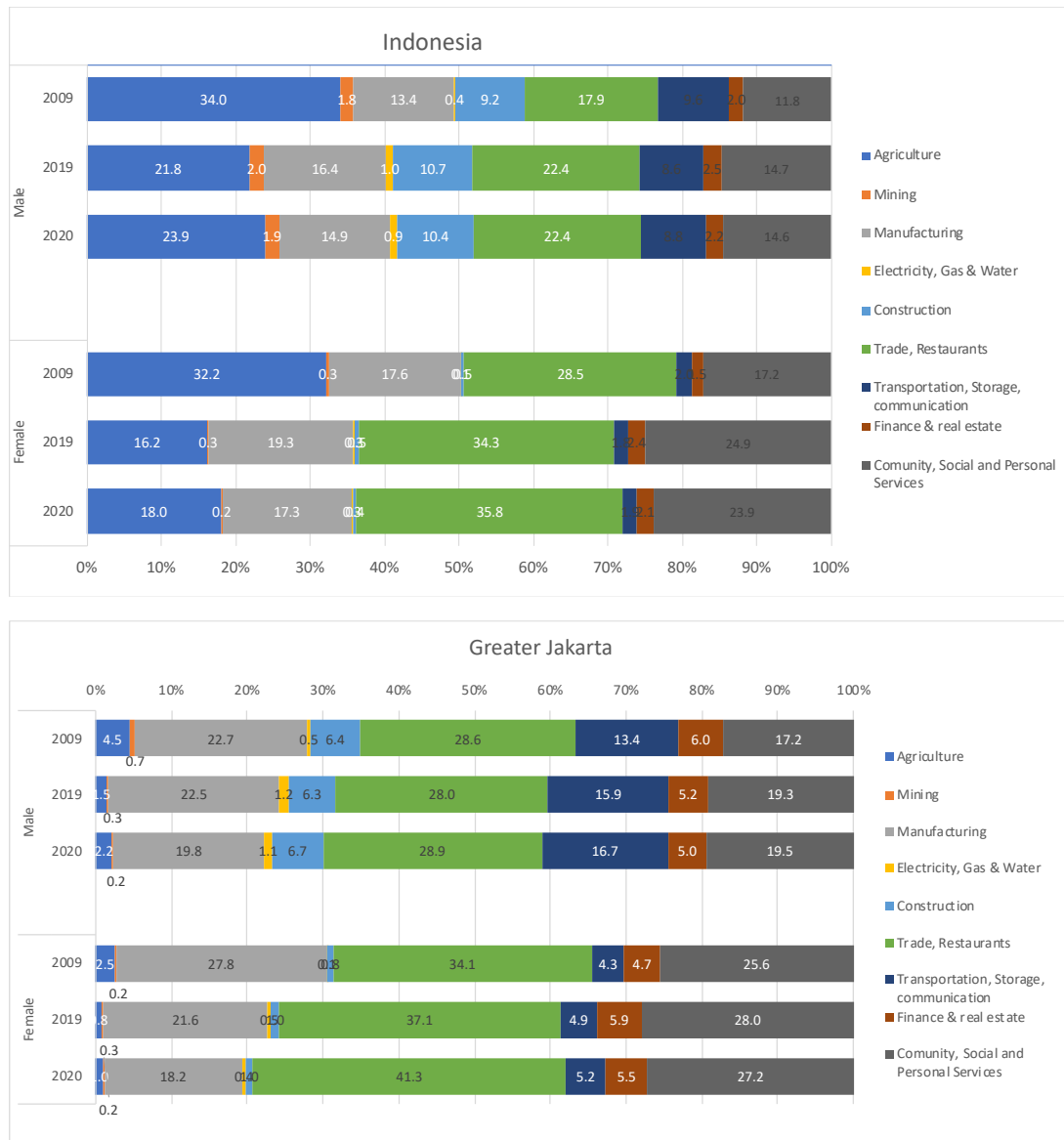
Annex 4. Age-specific female LFPR of working age population in Indonesia, Greater Jakarta and Surabaya

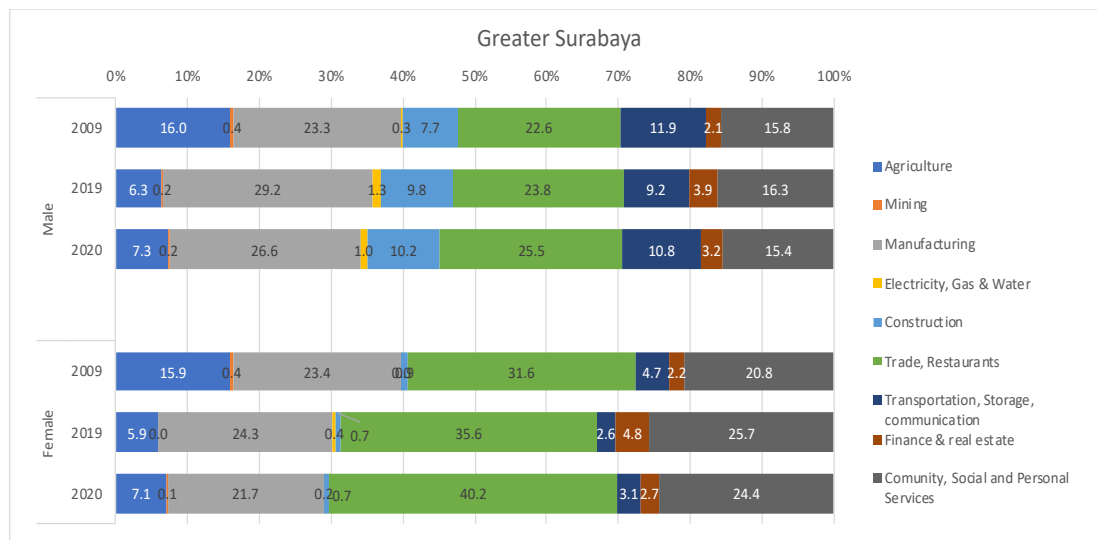


Annex 5. Age-specific female LFPR of population aged 18-40 in Indonesia, Greater Jakarta and Surabaya, 2009, 2019



Annex 6. Proportion of workers aged 18-40 by employment sectors





Annex 7. Case studies on negotiations of norms at home and norms at work over the life course

Case 1. Nyimas, 32 years old female, married, Human Resource staff

Nyimas, a mother of 3 years old son, holds a dual role; housewife and career woman. She has been working as a Human Resource at an internet provider company for seven years. She used to quit from this job at the same company because she and her husband were having a pregnancy plan for a year. After the pregnancy plan didn't work well and her family's financial situation was in crisis, hence, she went back to this company year after and continued working until now. Nyimas is categorized as a positive deviant because she supports women to work, not just doing household chores instead. According to her, both domestic chores, childcaring, and even financial purposes must be carried out by the husband and wife. A husband is not only responsible in earning money but also obligated to help the household chores.

"Good woman for me is someone who is independent, tough, and responsible to her husband and children. A Woman doesn't just stay at home but also socialize or work outside the house. In fact, ideal man doesn't always responsible in earning money and do his activities outside the house but also helps the wife and does the household chores and childcaring"

The challenge of being a working woman comes from her husband; including to do household duties and childcare. This caused her to feel more burdened when she came back home. Her husband is categorized as a traditional husband. Having different perspectives in seeing who's responsible for household duties doing often creates clashes between her and the husband. Even though they have communicated about this issue, she is annoyed many times because her husband only helps her in doing 'light household chores and childcare. In fact, he only does the job just for a while.

"Which makes us more frequent to clash is because my husband thinks the household chores responsibility is on women/wife. Man is obligated to work outside the house, meanwhile woman does her job at home. If my husband is at home, he just helps me 1-2 hours, no more than that. My times we were arguing about this, but it happens again and again with same mistakes"

Nyimas has fully realized that most women are working due to a financial reason, like her. Interestingly, she finds the perks of being a career-woman in a good way. Lots of experience and daily routine which she gets at the workplace thus shape her as in mentally and physically tough. Further, they're still relying on the parents in entrusting their child. Hence, her husband prefers more she just stays at home and could focus on childcare.

"I think mostly working women are working outside due to financial situation (like me). Further, I feel like being outside and socialize with coworkers thus shape my thoughts in more positive ways, tougher, and open up my mind. It's a good decision, of course. even my husband prefers his wife just to stay at home"

Regarding many clashes and arguments in their household, Nyimas assumes that man is by nature born with characteristics which most women have to deal with and tolerate. This assumption is related to religious belief which puts man or the husband to woman's priority and woman has to fulfil the husband's needs. NY beliefs while the husband is happy, he is gentler, has lower temper, and willing to do the wife's request. Many religious beliefs she follows are from social media and virtual webinar sessions, relating to household arrangements.

"I think man is by nature more reliant on muscle rather than his emotion compared to woman. He is more selfish and does his own business. I think God has created them that way hahaha. In fact,

man is more desire to lead due to his natural behaviour (*kodrat*). In my religious belief which says "before a woman asks for help with her husband, the wife must fulfill her husband 'above and below stomach' needs. Hence, while we (as wives) have fulfilled those needs then the husbands do our request more openly and create lower clashes between husband and wife. That's an analogical overview which I got from religious webinar hahaha."

Nyimas is strongly influenced by her working mother and humble-supportive women leaders at the workplace affect her perspectives and practices being a working-woman. She confidently said that taking dual roles is possible regarding a woman's capability in managing the time and doing multi tasks, compared to men.

"My mom is the most influential person in affecting me at work. She takes dual roles as a housewife and entrepreneur--runs small stores at home. Besides, I also look up to my women bosses who are really good at time management; do their duties as housewives--wake up early in the morning for preparing the breakfast, go to the office afterwards, devote all the time in sharing for job and household duties. Yes, women are even stronger than men cause she's multitasking and still being responsible!"

Fortunately, Nyimas considered that she has found an 'ideal workplace' which meets with her expectations, including time flexibility, children friendly, and tolerant with women's biological circumstances. The comfort which are offered by the workplace affect her in seeing the workplace as a safe space for women to work.

"I enjoy the most flexibility at my workplace. If we're in the office, we are allowed to bring our children there, and have a half day work permit if there's an urgent situation. Almost all of my seniors are baby-friendly, even my director allows us to bring the baby to the office. In fact, he's a man but he understands us well. My boss also understands that I have a son under 3years old and there are some limitations which I'm facing on."

Further, Nyimas' positive point of view about the workplace does also affect how she's getting more confident and optimistic that a woman has potential to be a leader, promoted, and treated as equal as a man employee.

"Because I see my own superiors are women. One of my bosses is female and she's been working for more than 20 years and she's mature enough. By seeing her, I think women are more considered than men. Well, women are more capable to be leaders because her sensitivity level is higher than men, more attractive or charismatic, and more sociable to employees. So, women can lighten up social environment more blend in."

Case 2. Bambang, 38 years old male, Married, Administrative Officer

Bambang is a married man who has a 10-year gap to his wife and has no children yet. His wife is a pharmacist and is currently doing her master studies at university. Since his wife is much younger than Bambang, he is quite dominant over her activities. In daily life, Bambang always takes her wife to the pharmacy before he goes to his office. He also requests her wife to come back home early, so she comes home first and greets him afterwards. He assumes that a woman shouldn't work until up night because it will endanger the woman herself and avoid the neighbourhood's negative perception towards the woman. Furthermore, his wife also hands over household expenses to him because she thinks the husband is more capable in doing so and could manage the expenses well. Hence, he feels so grateful since his wife is obedient to what he said and has no complaint so far.

"I used to talk to her 'isn't it better if you work only for morning/afternoon shift?' and asked her to quit the job since she's working until late night and I felt uncomfortable with the family/neighbour

reaction. Night seems bad for women to work. After that, she's understood, quit the job, and replaced with a better workplace, Alhamdulillah."

"My wife is already at home since 3 or 4 in the afternoon and I get home by 7 or 8 in the evening. So, it is not a problem because she is already at home before me. I think it is not good if your husband is at home while you are working late. At least there will be someone who can greet me while come back home, this belongs to my wife."

According to Bambang, he allows his wife to work regarding her request to send some money to her siblings, also he thinks that working outside the house would make herself more productive. But still, he gives allowance to work by certain limitations; her wife should come back home immediately after the work is over, obligates to wear 'appropriate uniform' as long as it doesn't expose *aurat* (covered body parts defined by Islam), has to do household chores, and honours the husband whenever she has had own salary.

"In fact, I also pity my wife if she's not working cause, it might be boring for her. Working is something that she can make her life more productive and spend the day on. In fact, we haven't got a baby and she want to fund her little sisters; hence I'll allow her to work."

"I feel women can work in any job division but for some reasons in doing a job, women have to commit, keep their pride, don't have to change their appearances, wear tight dresses to impress others, and still keep their hijab. If the job avoids her to that, I prefer not recommend the job."

In fact, Bambang does have a strong personal religious view and is influenced by his father in bringing about the ideal picture of husband-and-wife relation. Besides the husband should be a breadwinner, Bambang also manages the family's income by him not his wife. Moreover, he doesn't shut off the opportunity for his wife to work as well since he wants to maximize household income, especially in tackling the pandemic situation.

"For me, a good man is the husband who should always be responsible for earning money for his family and protecting them. While a good woman is the wife who should always be responsible for doing her roles at home, even when she is a working woman."

"Men surely have to be the breadwinner but again it goes to the family's financial situation. I open 'two doors' for income as it regards to family needs or to handle such unexpected costs."

Interestingly, although Bambang seems to be a traditional husband in responding to women at home, but he's quite different in viewing women at the workplace. He thus supports women to have equal rights like men employees. Even though he sometimes finds women difficult to deal with heavy work related to men's job at work and also maintains women's duty at home. But again, he still thinks household duties are more into women's obligation, besides in responding child caring is a win-win responsibility between the husband and wife. Nevertheless, if he had children, he said that he would request his wife to quit job temporarily so that she can focus on raising the children.

"I sometimes put a pity on my women co-workers if they are struggling about workload and still maintaining their household duties at home. Must be very tiring in childcaring and also doing the job."

"Responsibility to childcare while I'm having a baby goes to both parents; me and my wife."

Case 3. Rahima, 27 years old female, Married, Employee at a tapioca flour home-distributor

Rahima is a woman who is a mother, a wife, and also an employee at a tapioca flour home-distributor. She lives with her husband and her 5 years old daughter. Before the pandemic, she was a stay-at-home mother who ran a small *warung* business that sold drinks at their house. The situation urged her to find a job to support her family, because her small *warung* business did not earn profit, even had loss. In the beginning of the pandemic, Rahima decided to try her previous job at a tapioca flour home-distributor that she quitted a long time ago because of her only daughter. The good connection with the owner and her experience made her get the job again. Her job is to safely pack the tapioca flour from sacks into small plastics and make sure there is no holes in the plastic.

The situation got worse when her husband lost his job and is hardly finding a new one. Rahima also started to feel bad to leave her only daughter at home with her husband all day from Monday to Saturday. She even thought of quitting the job again. When she was about to talk to the owner, there was bad news that they temporarily cannot distribute the flour to outside Java until the situation gets better. Unfortunately, the business is ruined because they usually distribute more to outside Java.

During this situation, the employees do not come to work every day anymore unless there are many orders. Thus, Rahima did not quit the job, but she must accept the wage which depends on the orders.

Before Rahima's husband lost his job, he never helped Rahima on doing the household chores although Rahima was also working. They only shared responsibility for taking care of their daughter. Rahima was the one who managed her time between work and household chores. After Rahima's husband lost his job and always stays at home, he starts doing light household chores such as drying the clothes and cleaning the house. He also sometimes picks Rahima up from her work. Interestingly, RM does not see his help on doing household chores as his responsibility, she understands that he might feel bored doing nothing at home. According to her, a man's responsibility at home is only taking care of his wife and children. While a woman in the family has to be good at doing household chores.

"A woman is supposed to understand (how to do) household chores, such as cooking. If she is working, then it depends, there is no problem as long as she doesn't forget her responsibilities (at home). Also, for a man, even though he is working, no matter how tired he is, he is supposed to manage his time for his children and wife. Sometimes, there are men who don't want to take care of their children because they are tired. In my opinion, both man and woman should never forget their responsibilities at home."

Despite her current status as the main breadwinner for the few months, Rahima still sees that women are the secondary earners of the family and are not able to be the main breadwinners. She finds working women are good as long as the intention is to help their husbands. Initially, RM's husband prefers that she does not work because of his concern for working women around them. Then, RM persuaded him and found a job that is still in the same village, so her husband would allow her to work and support her family during this hard time. Nonetheless, Rahima argued that men are the main breadwinners, and it is understandable if they only earn small income or do not earn at all during the pandemic.

"As long as (the intention) is to help, it is good. Nowadays, working women tend to defy their husbands and fall to improper things. My husband indeed really did not like women who work outside the house because he looked at his surroundings and saw many examples, even it happened

to my neighbour and they divorced. He was scared and did not allow me to work far from home. But my workplace is nearby, I don't have to go out of town. When I wanted to work, I needed to persuade him, so that he let me work, sometimes he also picked me up from work. His concern was very serious because it also happened to his relative. Actually, it's not a problem for me, but depends on what she does it for? Help her family's economy or have fun (fulfil her needs), it's a different thing, right?"

"During this pandemic, it is fine if he (Rahima's husband) only earns small income, because what can we do? We also cannot force (the situation). My husband tried to find a job in the factory, warehouse, even the low jobs. He also tried his friend's material shop, but they don't need any employees because the selling is also decreasing. He once tried a shop to become a coolie with Rp 70.000,00 daily wage, without meal and cigarette allowance. Nowadays, what is Rp 70.000,00 for? How about his gas and his meal? Even that kind of job didn't accept him. Whereas we assume that if we try the low jobs, the possibility to be accepted is high, right? But for now, it's not. Finding a job is very hard."

Since Rahima's current job is at a home-distributor, the regulation and policies are more flexible because there is no complicated bureaucracy at the workplace. The relation between the employers and the employees tends to be close and personal because they know each other as neighbours. Employers also control the work and their employers themselves. Notably, there is no regulation and policies such as healthcare and leaves, and allowances are only given for *Ramadan* and New Year. When there is a pregnant employee, she could take her unpaid leave anytime, but whenever she wants to come back for work, the employers will accept them.

"It depends on the person's condition. One of my co-workers worked until her 7 months of pregnancy before she took the "leave". Usually, our boss asks the pregnant employee to stop working when the pregnancy age is 5 months, but my co-worker did not want to, so she left at 7 months of pregnancy. She tried to come back for work since her baby was 3 months old, but unfortunately she must wait because we don't even work every day."

Case 4. Petrus, 38 years old male, Married with 4 children, Entrepreneur

Previously, Petrus was an entrepreneur engaged in making bread and yarn. Now he is working as a company driver in Surabaya. However, the business that had been built was destroyed due to being deceived by work colleagues. Petrus realizes that he feels two different economic conditions, an adequate economy and an inadequate economy in his family. Petrus admitted that at this time he was not able to fulfill his wife's and four young children's needs. Petrus responsibilities as the head and the backbone of the family are considered quite heavy, so that it does not have to be borne by the wife.

"Yes, as if in a situation like this it is very difficult. It's really difficult because the impact is uncertain. Currently, the income is only from one source, definitely less in terms of income. The income and the expense are not balanced, previously it was still pretty good to make ends meet, but now it doesn't even close."

Petrus' wife was a worker in a shoe factory before getting married. After getting married and having children, she no longer works and takes care of the household. This decision was made after they had discussion. PE did not want to burden his wife with family finances, so she could be more focused on taking care of the family and educating children. This refers to a condition in which Petrus is still established and can afford the needs

of his family. Changing economic circumstances resulted in different reactions to the response to working wives. Finally, he allowed his wife to work with the viewpoint that what his wife did was to support the family as little and as possible as she can according to her abilities.

"As long as my economic condition is not stable, I allow her (to work). But if it is stable enough, I have never allowed my wife to work. It's always like that from a long time ago. I have told her to take care of the children at home, school and all kinds of things because my condition is already established and self-employed. I was able to do it, but if the economy is still downturn while the children are already grown up, whether I want it or not, I can still allow her to help (to work)."

The current situation, Petrus' wife opens an online small business at home and also built a game vouchers and mobile phone credit shop. She did this job because it was easiest, and she didn't need to leave her house. Being at home allows her to still be able to do household and look after children. Actually, she did not fully carry out housework, there was still housework that was done by Petrus.

"I help wash clothes, that's all. The other task, I'll help if I have free time. I definitely do the daily housework, like washing clothes because it's heavy, and it's a pity for my wife that has already taken care of the house and the kids. So, when I come home from work and didn't busy enough, I definitely wash clothes 3 times a week, that's for sure."

There is a definite division of task/work, Petrus was responsible to wash clothes and his wife taking care of the house and children. Petrus is unable to help due to his work every day from morning to evening. During the pandemic there was no change in the division of task/work because Petrus was still working. The busyness he gets from his job influences his mindset regarding ideal work for women. According to Petrus, women can work in shops, offices, production factories, and jobs that are in accordance with the abilities they obtain through school, skills, or women's native abilities.

"The ideal job for women is, at most, in the shop as a customer service or something like that. If it's in a factory, it is a production worker. The point is, that 'work' is not a heavy work and according to her abilities, if she can sew, she sews, but it can't be a benchmark for women to work like this."

What makes this case interesting is Petrus did not initially allow his wife to work so he had more time to stay at home. On the other hand, Petrus considers that women have the opportunity to work and considers women who work are extraordinary figures. Petrus also sees that initially women have had the opportunity to get education so they should not be at home. Apart from that, Petrus also realizes that women who stay at home will also be bored and need to have activities other than taking care of the house.

"In my view, women who can work outside are good, special and can help financially. But now, in my view, my wife works in many ways, helping provide the needs, then she is also looking for activities because she is not used to being at home. That is sure to help the economy, that is my opinion. From my point of view, a well-educated woman is supposed to be not at home and have a career because she has a title."

In Petrus workplace, it turns out to be more men than women. This is men's dominance because there are many heavy jobs such as in warehouses and factory sections. Other jobs "support" more to women so that women have the opportunity to get a job. Women don't just get jobs; they have the opportunity to get good careers too. For example, in Petrus' workplace, the highest leader is women and in certain parts, the managers are also led by women. In workplaces dominated by men, female is considered 'suitable' to be leaders as long

as they have sufficient capabilities in terms of education and skills but there are stereotypes that make them unacceptable.

"If it's a woman, she's too convoluted. Women's bosses are less dexterous than men. Women are too conscientious, different from men. Men are a bit 'lost' (tenuous / relaxed). In terms of work, men think more quickly than women in drawing conclusions. In my opinion, men are faster than women not only in terms of draw conclusions but also when taking the speculation."

Case 5. Indah, 20 years old female, Unmarried, Employee at state-owned enterprise

Indah is a single woman who is a university student and an employee at one of state-owned enterprises in Surabaya. She only started her current job less than a month ago after laid off 5 months ago from her previous job at a pharmacy factory due to the pandemic. Indah still lives with her parents, also with her first sister, the husband of her sister, and a nephew who lives at her parents' house. She does not spend a lot of time at home and only has a day off on Sunday. From Monday from Saturday, Indah starts working at 08.00 and will be at home at 22.00. Indah's workplace specifically provides capital services, and her job is to find clients who would use their services. So, her job is target-oriented and flexible working hours. Although it does not seem very hard to follow, Indah does not like her current job because of several reasons.

"I am so exhausted to do my current job, moreover I still have to study too. Sometimes it is really difficult to take a leave at my workplace even for my study. My office and its coverage are between Sidoarjo and Pasuruan, while my university is between Sidoarjo and Surabaya. Could you imagine the time I spend on the road?"

"I'd prefer to work like my previous job. The working hours are fixed and at a factory, you just know what to do. Everything is clear and when the working hours are over, you can leave. If we make a mistake, the supervisor will rebuke us, but that's it. The next day, he won't talk about it anymore."

Beside the high mobility and unfixed working hours, Indah also does not like the way her supervisor treats her. Comparing the woman leader at her current job and man leader at her previous job, she prefers to be led by a man leader. Indah does not like her woman supervisor's traits; it makes her feel uncomfortable.

"All supervisors at my workplace are women, including my supervisor. She talks a lot and very sensitive. When we make a mistake, she will remember it forever and even worse, brings it to us when we make another mistake on the other day. For instance, I did not reach the target one day, then she will keep talking about it, even until now. I mean, I know she wants me to improve, but sometimes it does not seem as easy as it seems. I spend most of my time on the road, go to places, people just don't want it (use the service). She did not appreciate my effort at all."

For now, Indah can do nothing but do her job. She does not have any choices because she needs the money to pay her university tuition. She had it very difficult to manage her financial when she did not work for 5 months. But once she is done with her study, she wishes to find a better job.