

# INVESTING IN WOMEN SMART ECONOMICS AN INITIATIVE OF THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT















# **INDONESIA AND COVID-19**

IMPACT ON THE PRIVATE SECTOR









## Indonesia and COVID-19: Impact on the private sector

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Investing in Women and UN Women both work with influential companies on shifting workplace cultures, practices and policy barriers to achieve workplace gender equality (WGE) in Indonesia, Myanmar, the Philippines and Vietnam. A partnership has been established to share data and knowledge, and develop joint tools and approaches that leverage our respective expertise.

Investing in Women is an initiative of the Australian Government through the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade that catalyses inclusive economic growth through women's economic empowerment in Southeast Asia. Through Business Coalitions for Workplace Gender Equality, change is driven from the top. CEOs make commitments to gender equality and hold themselves accountable by measuring their progress against their commitments.

UN Women works through WeEmpowerAsia, a programme funded by and in partnership with the European Union seeking to increase the number of women who lead and participate in business in China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam. A key component of the programme is to mobilize private sector companies to become gender-responsive by committing to and implementing the Women's Empowerment Principles (WEPs).

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## Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic of early 2020 caused a global contraction in economic demand and supply that saw hundreds of millions of workers around the globe stood down or only able to access reduced hours of work.<sup>1</sup>

This report focuses on the impact of COVID-19 on private sector workers and employers in Indonesia.

On March 31<sup>st</sup> President Widodo declared a national public health emergency to be implemented until May 29<sup>th</sup>. This included large-scale social restrictions as stipulated by Law No.6/2018 on Health Quarantines and included a temporary ban on domestic and international air and sea travel, school closures, and restrictions on public events. The Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar or PSBB was implemented across the different regions of Indonesia between early April and mid-May. By early June, Indonesia had begun to ease some containment measures in cities such as Jakarta, including restrictions on malls (on June 15) and recreation areas (on June 20).

The Indonesian government has sought to mitigate the economic impact of the pandemic through the introduction of a number of economic stimulus packages. Following two early interventions, a large program of IDR 405 trillion (USD 24.5 billion) was introduced on March 31st and expanded further to IDR 677.2 trillion (USD 46.9 billion) on June 4. This included funds to support testing and treatment capability for COVID-19 cases; increased support for low-income households such as food aid, conditional cash transfers, and subsidies for electricity subsidy; expanded unemployment benefits, including for workers in the informal sector; tax relief for hard hit sectors; and reduction of the corporate income tax rate. Tax and spending measures were accompanied by capital injections for state owned enterprises and interest subsidies, credit guarantees, and loan restructuring funds for micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs). Monetary and macro-financial initiatives undertaken by the central Bank Indonesia have provided further economic support.

It is in the context of this national response to the immediate health and economic crisis that we provide an analysis of the impact of the pandemic on the private sector in Indonesia.

The report is based on two surveys.

1. The first and main data source is an employee survey undertaken in May 2020, during the height of the lockdown. It investigates the general and gender-specific short-term impact of COVID-19 on private sector employees in terms of work, household dynamics and mental health.

This data was collected through an online survey facilitated by YouGov between May 13-18, 2020. The target population is private sector workers from the formal sector who have internet access. The statistics presented in this report use sample weight corrections to ensure representativity in terms of age, gender and region. The sample is composed of 600 individuals (300 men and 300 women), between 18 and 60 years of age, working in companies with 200 employees or more. Table 1 shows a demographic description of the sample.

2. The second data source is a small employer survey of eleven private sector companies, implemented between 15-30 May 2020.<sup>2</sup> Companies were recruited through the Indonesia Business Coalition for Women's Empowerment (IBCWE). Ten of the companies are based in Jakarta and one in Sukoharjo. The survey was designed to understand the impact of the pandemic on employers and gather information on the challenges faced by private sector employers and their commitment to gender equality in the crisis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> ILO (2020) ILO Monitor: COVID-19 and the world of work. Third edition, 29th April 2020.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> IBCWE administered the survey over the phone.

Table 1. Sample summary

Net income (in IDR)	Women	Men	Industry	Women	Men
[2M;4M[	5.5	7.2	Accommodation and Restaurants	1.7	4.1
[4M;6M[	16.5	22.0	Administrative and Support Services	3.4	3.6
[6M;8M[	21.1	21.3	Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	2.6	2.8
[8M;10M[	16.4	14.0	Arts and Recreation Services	0.6	0.7
[10M;15M[	9.5	10.4	Construction	2.5	7.5
[15M;20M[	1 <i>4.7</i>	11.4	Education and Training	5.2	1.9
More than 20M	6.7	3.9	Electricity, Gas, Water and Waste Services	1. <i>7</i>	1.0
Total	100	100	Financial and Insurance Services (including banking) Health Care and Social Work	13.6 4.5	8.3 2.8
Age (average)	37.87	36.61	Information Media and Telecommunications Mining	4.5 12.7	7.1 8.5
Married or living with partner	64.9	71.7	Manufacturing (food and drink)  Manufacturing (other)	3.1 2.0	2.1
			Professional, Scientific and Technical Services	3.7	2.6
Primary earner	56.06	76.3	Rental, Hiring and Real Estate Services	2.3	8.9
Times y Carries	50.00	, 0.0	Retail Trade	5.8	4.0
Have one or more children	69.19	66.55	Transport, Postal and Warehousing Other	3.1 9.6	2.1 7.5

Note: sample weights applied.

Analysis of these two surveys shows that the pandemic lockdown had an immediate and negative impact on private sector employers and employees in Indonesia. Employees report experiencing significant pressures on their financial security with almost half having either their hours of work reduced or their pay cut. Pressure on domestic life has also escalated, more so for women than men. The intensification of unpaid domestic care and household work is reported to have a strong negative impact on both men and women's mental health, although for different reasons.

The aim of this report is to provide insights for employers concerning the immediate impact of the crisis on the private sector. These findings will assist employers looking to better support their workforce during the next stage of the crisis period. It should be noted, that the medium-term and long-term impacts of the pandemic will not necessarily show the same patterns as the ones presented in this report and ongoing research into the impact of the COVID-19 crisis will be required to inform employers' ongoing response and business planning.

The report is divided into four main sections. The first three focus on employee responses and the impact on work, impact on household dynamics, and the impact on health. The final section examines employer perspectives.

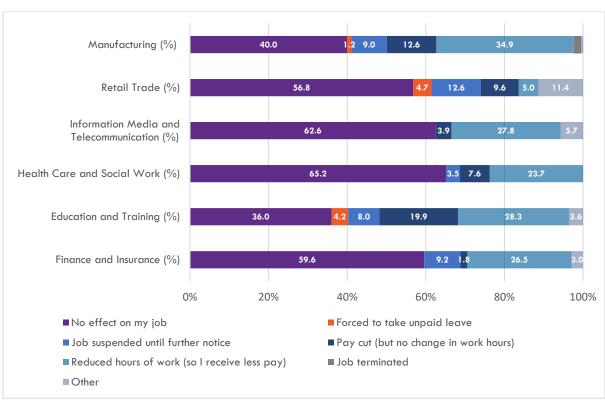
## Section 1. Impact on work

- Two-thirds of workers report the pandemic had a negative impact on work.
- Workers in manufacturing and education and training were hardest hit: almost half the
  workers in these sectors reported a decline in income due to cuts in pay or hours of work
  available.
- More women than men report a reduction in working hours, while twice as many men as women experienced a cut in wages.

#### 1.1. Employment change by industry & gender

The pandemic and government response to the health crisis had an uneven impact on workers and employers. While 44% of survey respondents reported the pandemic has had no effect of their job, 31% reported they had experienced a reduction in their hours of work, 9% had a cut in hours of work and another 9% had their job suspended until further notice.

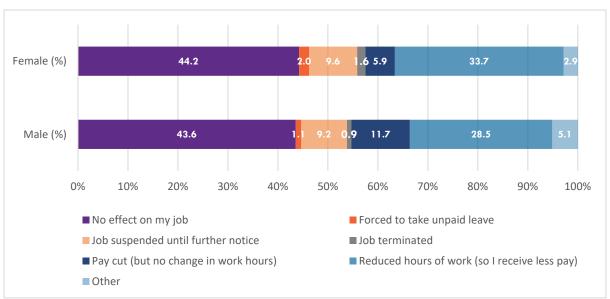
The impact of the crisis by industry was highly variable. In Indonesia, workers in manufacturing and education and training experienced the most significant negative impact, affecting around 60% of workers who either had their pay cut and worked same hours, or had reduced hours of work (see graph 1). In the manufacturing sector 10% of workers reported their job was suspended or they were forced to take unpaid leave. Another 47.5% reported a decline in income – either on account of a cut in pay or reduced hours of work. Twelve per cent of workers in the education sector reported their job was suspended or they were forced to take unpaid leave, and 48.2% experienced a decline in income due to a cut in pay or hours.



Graph 1. Employment change by industry

Note: sample weights applied.

In terms of changes in employment, there are statistically significant differences by gender (see graph 2). Women are more likely to have experienced reduced hours of work: 33.7% compared with 28.5% for men, whereas men are more likely to report a cut in pay. Twice as many men reported they had experienced a cut in pay (11.7%) compared with women (5.9%). Overall, a similar proportion of men and women (40%) reported they either had a pay cut or a reduction in hours of work, both resulting in lower incomes. Around 10% of men and women had their jobs terminated until further notice.



Graph 2. Employment change by gender

Note: sample weights applied. Chi<sup>2</sup> test shows significant gender differences for location change (P-value = 0.051).

### 1.2. Changes in hours, income and location

- Hours almost half of all workers experienced a reduction in working hours.
- Income Half of all workers experienced a decrease in income, but men experienced less income change than women.
- Location Significant differences by gender: more women than men reported working from home and more men reported working from their regular place of work.

Men and women experienced very similar patterns of change in hours of work and pay during the early months of the pandemic (see graph 3). Slightly more women (47.1%) experienced a decline in hours of work compared with men (45.4%), and slightly more men (4.5%) had an increase in their hours of work compared with women (3.2%). Half of men and women reported no change. The relative pattern is similar for income with slightly more women (51.6%) than men (48.5%) reporting a decline in income, and a similar proportion of men and women reporting no change or an increase in income.

Only changes in location of work are significantly different for men and women (see graph 3). Forty-seven per cent of women report working from home compared with 35% of men, who were more likely to be working from their normal place of work (56.6%) compared with women (46.5%).

Graph 3. Change in hours of work, income and location



Note: sample weights applied. Chi $^2$  test show significant gender differences for location change (P-value =0.045).

Inferential analysis<sup>3</sup> shows that when other factors are accounted for<sup>4</sup>, workers from smaller size businesses (200-499) are more likely to experience a decrease in working hours and less likely to experience an income increase compared to larger size business workers (1000+). Moreover, men are less likely to experience income changes compared to women. Higher-income workers are also less likely to experience income changes compared to workers who earn less than IDR 20M. The analysis also shows that senior management workers are more likely to experience disruptions (increases or decreases) in hours and income compared to clerical workers. Men and full-time workers are less likely to work from home.

## 1.3. Productivity

- More women than men reported they were equally or more productive curing COVID-19.
- More men than women reported being less productive during COVID-19.
- Among those who experienced a productivity loss, one in two workers reported anxiety and stress as a cause, and two in five workers reported inadequate work facilities.
- Productivity loss for men was more likely on account of an increase in domestic work compared with women.

When asked about the impact of the crisis on productivity, four out of every five respondents reported being more or equally productive compared to before the crisis. Women (12%) were significantly more likely than men (8%) to report higher productivity levels than before the pandemic.

One-fifth of workers reported they are less productive than before the pandemic, with significantly more men (25%) than women (17%) reporting they think they are less productive than before COVID-19 (see table 2).

Table 2. Self-declared productivity change because of COVID-19

	Female (%)	Male (%)	
I'm equally productive	70.9	66.9	
I'm more productive	12.0	8.2	
I'm not as productive	1 <i>7</i> .1	24.9	
Total	100.0	100.0	

Note: sample weights applied. chi-square test indicates significant differences in the distribution of men and women (P-value = 0.065).

Among workers experiencing a decline in work productivity, 52% report that it was because of anxiety and stress (see graph 4) and 43% say it is on account of inadequate facilities for working at home, such as internet and office space. Only around 20% of workers nominated the increased domestic load as the reason for reduced productivity.

However, interesting gender differences can be observed in the reasons for productivity loss. Fifty-two per cent of women are less productive because of inadequate work facilities such as internet and space to work, compared with 37% of men. This reflects the higher proportion of women who were sent to work from home when the crisis struck. Anxiety about the pandemic was the next most important reason for women's decline in productivity (47%) which was the most important reason for men's productivity loss (57%). Both men and women rank the increased domestic load as less of a reason for declining productivity although there are interesting, but not significant, differences. Twenty-four percent of women

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> These analyses are based on multinomial regression models on the change in income, change in working hours and change in location, as presented in Appendix 2. The base category for each regression is 'no change'. Only statistically significant results (at 1%, 5% and 10% levels) are presented.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> These other factors are the control variables (e.g income, education level). See the Appendix for the complete regression tables including all control variables.

report increased housework is the reason behind reduced productivity compared with 17% of men, whereas men are almost twice as likely to report care responsibilities as the reason for the decline in productivity (30%) compared with women (16%). When considering all unpaid household duties (care and domestic tasks) we find that the increase in unpaid work as a result of COVID-19, was seen to directly affect men's productivity to a greater extent than it did women's.

Inadequate facilities (i.e. internet, space to work, furniture)

Anxiety/stress about the situation

Increased household work

Increased child and adult care responsibilities

Personal illness

0.00% 10.00% 20.00% 30.00% 40.00% 50.00% 60.00%

Percentage of less productive women

Percentage of less productive men

Graph 4. Reasons of productivity loss

Note: sample weights applied.

### 1.4. Employer response

- Almost one in two workers had access to flexible work.
- One-third of women and one-quarter of men had access to technical support to work from home.
- Men and women had similar access to paid leave and mental health and stress management.

Employer responses to the challenges presented by the crisis have taken a variety of forms (see graph 5). Employees report that employer support has generally taken the form of access to personal protective equipment (PPE) and to flexible work arrangements. More women report access to PPE (52% compared with 50% for men), access to flexible work (51% and 46% respectively) and the technical support required to work from home (32% compared with 25% for men). Men and women were almost equally able to access full or partially paid leave and mental health/stress supports.

Access to personal protective equipment (such as masks and hand sanitizers)

Flexible working arrangements (e.g. work from home)

Technical support to work from home

Full paid leave

Access to COVID-19 testing and treatment

No penalty if quarantine required or I contract the virus

Accommodation during quarantine

Partial paid leave

No support provided

Stress management and/or mental health support

Access to visa and/or work permit extension services

Access to child care

Graph 5. Type of employer support

Note: sample weights applied. Chi<sup>2</sup> tests show significant differences in the proportions of women and men in the following categories: access to child-care (P-value 0.076); technical support to work from home (P-value 0.060).

0

■ % of women ■ % of men

10

20

30

40

50

60

### What could employers and government do differently?

- One in 5 employees identified the need for some form of additional health-related support be provided by employers.
- One in 6 employees think their employer and the government should provide more financial assistance.
- One in 10 want government to provide subsidies for basic needs such as food, electricity and water.

The survey also asked respondents to report on what their employer could have done differently to provide support during the crisis. The most common forms of employer support identified were health and finances. One in 5 employees identified a need for psychological support, food or vitamins, access to personal protective equipment or the enforcement of health protocols in the workplace. Almost one in 6 workers reported the need for financial support such as continuation of their full salary with no deductions for lost hours of work, extra cash assistance or bonuses. Others wanted continuity of employment. Finally, around 8% of employees wanted employers to allow working from home and other workplace flexibility measures.

When asked to list measures the government could implement to support employees to respond to the economic impacts of COVID-19, the focus was again on health and financial assistance. One in six

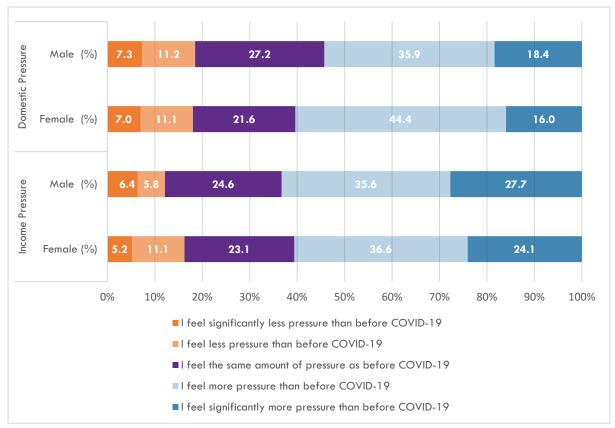
workers want the government to increase its support for workers' access to PPE and better manage the health crisis through mandatory testing and strict implementation of the PSBB. The same proportion of workers identified the need for government to improve financial support for workers. This included salary support, cash transfers, subsidies and other allowances. Almost 10% of workers also identified government support for basic needs such as food and utility bills and a similar proportion thought the government should provide a variety of assistance to workers who had been terminated, this included new work opportunities. And a small group of workers, 4%, wanted additional support for work from home.

## Section 2. Impact on Households

- Almost two-thirds of employees reported more financial pressure because of COVID-19.
- More than half of all workers reported feeling more domestic pressure because of COVID-19, with women more than men feeling this pressure.
- Between 60 and 80 percent of all workers reported an increase in the time spent on food preparation and cleaning
- More women than men report an increase in time spent on cleaning, preparing food, shopping and childcare.

### 2.1. Domestic and income pressures

Almost two-thirds (62%) of private sector employees, men and women, reported they felt more income pressure during the early stages of the crisis than before the crisis, and more than half (57%) felt more domestic pressure. A slightly higher proportion of men reported intensification in pressure about income compared with women (63%) and 60% respectively) with a similar proportion of men and women reporting little change in income pressure during the early months of the pandemic (see graph 6). However, women were much more likely to report an increase in domestic pressures (60.4%) than men (54.3). This is not surprising given the traditional gender division of labour in Indonesian households that see women shouldering the majority of unpaid domestic and care work.



Graph 6. Income and domestic pressure by gender

Note: sample weights applied.

Inferential analysis<sup>5</sup> shows that when all other factors are held constant, an income increase is associated with a higher probability of a decrease in domestic pressure. Income decreases on the other hand has mixed effects on both types of pressure. Primary income earners are more likely to experience changes (increase or decrease) in domestic and income pressures instead of no change, and senior managers are less likely to experience an increase in domestic pressure compared to clerical workers.

#### 2.2. Household work and care

The impact of COVID-19 on work, along with social distancing measures, increased the domestic and care workload of many workers. Between 60 and 80 percent of all workers reported an increase in the time they spend on food preparation and cleaning (see graph 7). The domestic tasks for which much less time is devoted during the crisis are schooling, childcare and shopping. At least half of respondents indicated they had experienced no change in the amount of time spent on childcare or care for ill family members.

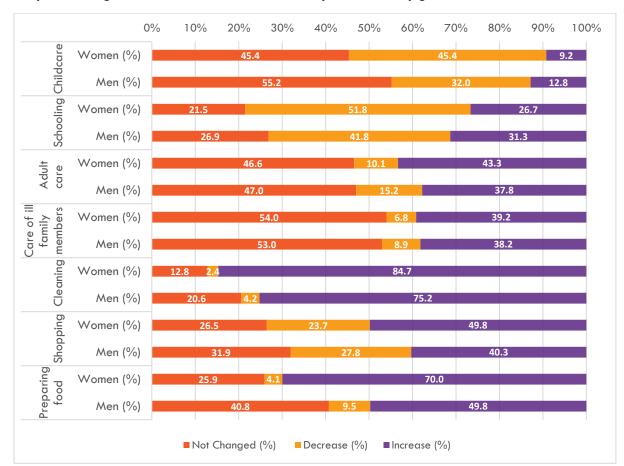
Gender-specific analysis shows that there are significant changes in time allocation for men and women in four activities: cleaning, preparing food, shopping and childcare. More women report an increase in the time they now spend on cleaning (85%), preparing food (70%), shopping (50%) and childcare (13%) compared with men, with the biggest gap between the proportion of women and men reporting an increase in time spent on food preparation. The overall increase in time spent on cleaning and food preparation during the early months of the crisis reflects health concerns and the shift to work from home, but the increase in time spent shopping is out of step with the Philippines and Vietnam, possibly on account

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> These analyses are based on multinomial regression models on the income and domestic pressure, as presented in Appendix 3. The base category for each regression is 'no change'. Only statistically significant results (at 1%, 5% and 10% levels) are presented.

of the less stringent and more variable approach to implementation of the lockdown in Indonesia. Only a small number of workers report they have increased the time spent on childcare. This is mostly on account of spouses being at home during the pandemic and sharing the domestic load.

It is also important to note that the data report changes in time spent on activities by women and men not the total time. These changes in the time spent on household activities during the pandemic must therefore be understood in relation to the distribution of household labour pre-COVID-19. Household labour in Indonesia is heavily skewed towards women who spend the most time on household and care work, so any increase in men's time on household activities is off a low base.6



Graph 7. Change in time devoted to household responsibilities by gender

Note: sample weights applied. Chi<sup>2</sup> tests shows significant gender differences in the distribution of time devoted to childcare (P-value= 0.048); cleaning (P-value= 0.018); shopping (P-value= 0.084) and preparing food (P-value= 0.000).

Inferential analysis<sup>7</sup> suggests that, when all other factors are held constant, an increase in working hours is associated with a decrease in adult care time and food preparation time. Men are less likely to experience a decrease in childcare time but are also less likely to experience an increase in cleaning, shopping and food preparation time.

<sup>6</sup> Eddyono, Sri Wiyanti, Estu Fanani, Dini Anitasari Sabaniah, Yurra Maurice, Haiziah Ghazali, Juni Warlif, Sisillia Velayati and Farha Ciciek. 2016. When and Why the State Responds to Women's Demands: Understanding Gender Equality Policy Change in Indonesia. Research Report. Geneva: UNRISD. Chapter 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> These analyses are based on multinomial regression models on the time devoted to the different household responsibilities, as presented in Appendix 4. The base category for each regression is 'no change'. Only statistically significant results (at 1%, 5% and 10% levels) are presented.

## Section 3. Impact on Health and Wellbeing

- One in four employees reported COVID-19 pressures have negatively impacted their physical health.
- Women's physical health was more affected by exhaustion due to increased domestic burdens than men's.
- Women's mental health is significantly more affected than men's.
- Men are significantly more likely than women to report family tensions as the reason for deterioration in mental health.

#### 3.1. Physical health

Income and domestic pressures are reported to have an impact on employees' physical and mental health. One-quarter of all employees report that crisis-induced pressure has negatively impacted their physical health with slightly more women than men identifying this change (see Table 3). Physical health is mostly affected on account of exhaustion from domestic tasks, inability to exercise and personal safety concerns. More men than women report inability to exercise, risk of infection from COVID-19 and underlying health concerns as negatively impacting their physical health (see Table 4). A higher proportion of women (63.3%) compared with men (57.3%) reported exhaustion from domestic duties as the reason for their reduced physical health.

Table 3. Impact on physical health

	Female (%)	Male (%)	Total (%)	
No	73.4	78.7	76.0	
Yes	26.6	21.3	24.1	
Total	100	100	100	

Note: sample weights applied.

Table 4. Reasons for the impact on physical health

	Female (%)	Male (%)
Exhaustion due to increased domestic burdens	63.3	57.3
Infected with the COVID-19	6	8.1
Personal safety at risk	32.7	46.4
Underlying health conditions	34.5	40
Inability to exercise	44.2	47.4

Note: sample weights applied.

#### 3.2. Mental health

Analysis of the impact of income and domestic pressures on mental health shows that more than one-third of workers report the pandemic crisis has had a negative impact on their mental health, with significant gender differences: 39% of women compared with 32% of men reported a negative impact on their mental health. A greater proportion of both men and women rate this as an area of concern compared with physical health (see Tables 4 and 5).

Table 5. Impact of COVID-19 on mental health

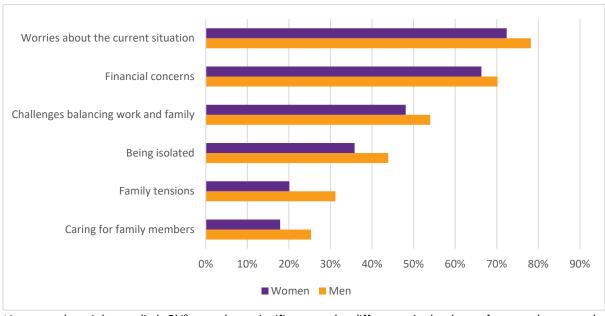
	Female (%)	Female (%) Male (%)			
No	60.8	67.9	64.2		
Yes	39.2	32.2	35.8		
Total	100	100	100		

Note: sample weights applied. Chi<sup>2</sup> test P-value= 0.0812.

When asked to identify the reasons for the negative impact on mental health 75% of all workers (men and women) report it is due to the stress of the pandemic situation and 68% identify financial concerns as the cause. Half of all workers report challenges balancing work and family negatively impact their mental health, and 39% identify social isolation. A further 21% identifying caring for family members and family tensions (25%) as the cause of deterioration in mental health.

There are, however, differences between men and women's experiences (see graph 8). A higher proportion of men whose mental health had been negatively impacted by the crisis reported it was due to worries about the crisis situation (78%), financial concerns (70%) and being isolated (44%). Men were also more likely than women to report that family issues such as the challenge of balancing work and family (54% compared with 48% of women), family tensions (31% compared with 20% of women) and caring for family members (25% compared with 18% of women) as the reason for deterioration in their mental health.

Graph 8. Reasons for the impact on mental health



Note: sample weights applied. Chi<sup>2</sup> tests shows significant gender differences in the share of men and women who selected family tensions (P-value= 0.066).

## **Section 4. Employer Perspectives**

- 7 of the 11 companies ranked the financial impact and disruption caused by COVID-19 on their business as 8 or more out of 10.
- Most companies reported they did not feel women and men employees were affected differently by the crisis.
- 10 of the 11 companies reported their commitment to women's empowerment would remain
  the same or increase on account of the crisis, although half thought the crisis would negatively
  affect gender advancement in general.
- Half reported the crisis had shifted the business mindset either in terms of work organisation or providing new business opportunities.

This final section of the report provides results from the small employer survey of 11 private sector businesses representing a broad cross-section of industries including manufacturing, food and beverage, steel and gas, commercial business and professional services. Nine of the 11 companies employ more than 500 workers, and five have more than 5000 workers. More than 30% of staff were female in all but two companies, with 4 companies employing more than 50% women. Eight companies reported between 30%-50% of top management positions were held by women. The companies all had an existing commitment to gender equality in the workplace.

## 4.1. Impact on business

The level of financial impact and disruption to business operations caused by the COVID-19 pandemic reported by businesses surveyed varied. Asked to rank the level of impact out of 10, seven companies rated the impact at 8 or higher.

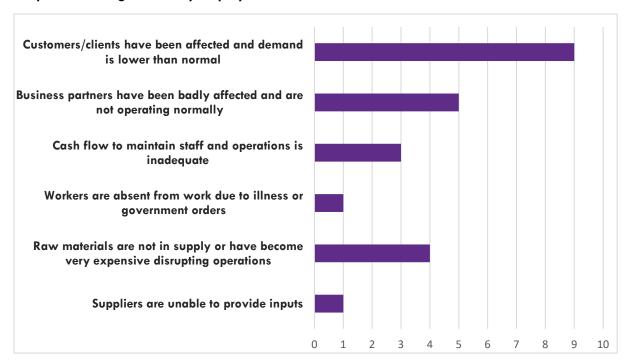
At the time of the survey, all companies were operating: four were partially operational and seven were fully operational either on-site or with staff working from home - this included companies engaged in manufacturing and business services.

Companies reported varying lengths of time before they expected their enterprise would be restored to operating normally. The majority (9) of companies expect it will take between 3-12 months before regular trading will resume.

#### 4.2. Business challenges and response

Current challenges facing business were mostly due to a decline in customer demand on account of the crisis (see graph 9 which charts the number of businesses - out of 11 - that report each challenge). Other immediate challenges have been due to business partners having been badly affected and not operating normally, and disruption to operations due to limited supply or high cost of raw materials.

Graph 9. Challenges faced by employers



The most common responses made by business to these initial challenges included allowing employees to telecommute or work from home and providing the technology required to work from home/work flexibly (10). Almost all companies provided employees with sanitizers and other personal protective equipment (10). Eight companies changed or adapted roles to fit the new operational requirements and 9 either scaled back or closed down part of their operations. Four provided benefits such as housing, transportation or meal subsidies and only one company implemented pay cuts or furlough for staff. The main difficulties experienced by companies implementing these early responses to the crisis included inconsistent government guidelines and maintaining staff welfare and morale.

Almost all companies had a COVID-19 Task Force or Crisis Management Team (10) and included women as part of this leadership team. Half the companies did not offer specific supports for women, while a few did. These included special supports for pregnant women or mothers with school aged children who had to supervise home-schooling due to school closures. Flexible working and digital engagement were also listed as special supports. Most (7) of the companies reported that they did not feel that women and men employees were affected differently by the crisis. The four companies that did recognise a difference said this was because women face the double burden of managing work and home: "in general, women are still seen as the one accountable for care-giving activity. Especially during work from home they take dual role as professional worker and as a family caregiver (home-schooling, chores, etc.)"

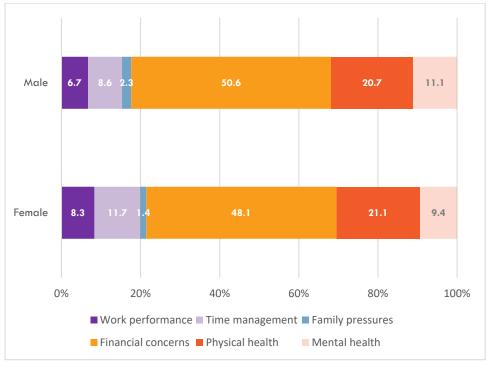
Most companies expected their own current commitment to women's empowerment would remain the same despite the crisis, with plans unaffected (7) and three companies expected they would increase their commitment to workplace gender equality on account of the crisis. However, when asked if they think the pandemic will affect gender equality advocacy in general, half the employers thought the pandemic would have a negative impact as the business focus shifts to managing the demanding economic conditions and government resources and focused on managing the economic and health crisis. Two companies thought the pandemic would benefit gender equality in the workplace arguing that the pandemic has elevated women's position as critical workers and challenged traditional gender norms: "now the husband and wife are together in managing their home. If empathy and collaboration are being built, then even when the situation comes to normal it will benefit gender equality."

#### 4.3 Business opportunities

Many of the businesses surveyed identified new opportunities that had emerged during the first few months of the crisis. Almost half (5) identified opportunities to mainstream new employment arrangements including part-time, flexible and remote/WFH provisions. It was noted that this shift requires a new mindset and business paradigm that would lead industry to be innovative: "The work is not measured by number of hours the employee spends [at work] but the outcome delivered. This should enable women to work and contribute more." Two companies identified new opportunities to work in the health sector manufacturing PPE and other medical supplies. And a few companies identified an opportunity to streamline business operations, improve productivity and efficiency, be more creative and build resilience. Others were still assessing the evolving business landscape.

#### Conclusion

In Indonesia, the economic consequences of the COVID-19 health crisis on employees and employers are considerable, with half of the employee survey respondents identifying financial concerns as the greatest challenge of the immediate crisis period. One in five workers cite physical health as the most challenging issue. Mental health was ranked as a higher challenge by men (11%) compared with women (9%) (see graph 10). Work performance was the biggest challenge for slightly more women than men.



Graph 10. Most challenging issue during COVID-19

Note: sample weights applied.

The analysis contained in this report shows that the impact of the crisis on employees' professional lives, household dynamics and health is mixed with variation depending on industry and gender. More than two in five workers report the pandemic had no impact on their work and four out of every five respondents reported being more or equally productive compared to before the crisis. However, two-thirds of workers experienced a change in their working arrangements and more than half having their

hours of work reduced, their pay cut, job terminated or suspended, making financial concerns the most challenging issue during COVID-19.

The crisis also had an impact on household and care work with more than half of all workers reporting they felt more domestic pressure because of COVID-19. Between 60 and 80 percent of all workers reported an increase in the time they spend on food preparation and cleaning, with child-care receiving less attention.

Gender has been a factor in how the crisis has impacted employees' paid and unpaid work. While men and women report a similar pattern of change in hours of work and overall income during the early months of the crisis, there are significant gender differences in the change to location of work with women more likely to work from home. The crisis has also changed the amount of time households spend doing unpaid domestic work. More women than men report an increase in the time they now spend on cleaning, preparing food, shopping and childcare. Even so, men are more likely than women to report that productivity loss at work is due to an increase in their domestic load. While men have increased the time they spend on some domestic tasks, this is off a very low base, while women's increased domestic burden is on top of an already very high domestic load. The change in time spent is likely due to an increase in the time available (i.e. less time required for commuting and taking children to school), the increased demand for household chores during the pandemic and the reduced availability of care services such as child and elder care and domestic help.

Two-thirds of all employees reported they felt more income pressure during the early stages of the crisis than before the crisis and more than half also felt more domestic pressure. More women than men report an increase in domestic pressure. Income and domestic pressures on account of the COVID-19 crisis negatively impact employees' physical and mental health with one in four reporting COVID-19 pressures have negatively impacted their physical health. The impact on mental health was more acute with more than one-third of workers reporting the pandemic crisis has had a negative impact on their mental health — this was more significant for women than men. While women's mental health was most impacted by general anxieties about the pandemic and financial concerns, men were more likely to identify various family issues as the key reasons for deterioration in their mental health. Nevertheless, financial and physical health were more commonly reported to be 'the most challenging issue' during the early months of the crisis.

Impact on workers did not only vary by sector and gender but also business size: workers from businesses employing between 200-500 people were more likely to experience a decrease in working hours than those employed in companies with more than 1000 workers. Further, senior managers were more likely to experience disruptions (increases or decrease) in hours and income compared to clerical workers. Employees report their employer offered a variety of supports during the early months of the crisis, with half able to access flexible work and work from home. Men and women reported similar access to paid leave and mental health and stress management. This was supported in the small employer survey that showed most companies did not feel women and men employees were affected differently by the crisis.

## **Author biographies**

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Elizabeth Hill is Associate Professor in Political Economy at the University of Sydney and co-convenor of the Australian Work + Family Policy Roundtable. Elizabeth's research focuses on the political economy of gender, work and care in the Asia Pacific, in particular how economic institutions shape women's paid work, unpaid care and the care workforce in the rapidly evolving dynamics of the global political economy.

## **Professor Marian Baird AO**

Marian Baird AO is Professor of Gender and Employment Relations, and the first female professor in industrial relations at the University of Sydney. She is a Presiding Pro-Chancellor of the University of Sydney, Head of the Discipline of Work and Organisational Studies and Co-Director of the Women, Work and Leadership Research Group in the University of Sydney Business School. Marian's disciplinary background is industrial relations and her research focus is gender and employment, in particular how regulation and social norms interact to produce different labour market outcomes for women and men.

## Dr Suneha Seetahul

Suneha Seetahul is a postdoctoral research fellow at the University of Sydney and the Australian Women's Working Futures Project. Suneha's research involves micro-econometric analyses of gender, labor markets and development. Her current research focuses on the future of work and labour market outcomes of migrants in Australia, gender norms and labour market transitions and India, and the relationship between health, nutrition and inequalities in emerging countries.

## **Appendix**

## Appendix 1. Sample, data and methodology

The data used from this report was collected through an online survey facilitated by YouGov between May 13-18, 2020. The target population is formal sector private sector workers who have an internet access. The statistics presented in this report use sample weight corrections to ensure representativity in terms of age, gender and region. The sample is composed of 600 individuals (300 men and 300 women) between 18 and 60 years of age, working in companies with 200 employees or more. Table A1-1 shows a demographic description of the sample.

A1-1. Sample description

	Women	Men	
Net income (in IDR)			
[2M;4M[	5.5	7.2	
[4M;6M[	16.5	22.0	
[6M;8M[	21.1	21.3	
[8M;10M[	16.4	14.0	
[10M;15M[	9.5	10.4	
[15M;20M[	14.7	11.4	
More than 20M	6.7	3.9	
Total	100	100	
Industry			
Accommodation and Restaurants	1 <i>.7</i>	4.1	
Administrative and Support Services	3.4	3.6	
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	2.6	2.8	
Arts and Recreation Services	0.6	0.7	
Construction	2.5	7.5	
Education and Training	5.2	1.9	
Electricity, Gas, Water and Waste Service	s 1.7	1.0	
Financial and Insurance Services (including			
banking)	13.6	8.3	
Health Care and Social Work	4.5	2.8	
Information Media and	d		
Telecommunications	4.5	<b>7.</b> 1	
Manufacturing (food and drink)	12.7	8.5	
Manufacturing (other)	19.8	19. <i>7</i>	
Mining	0.7	5.0	
Other	9.6	7.5	
Professional, Scientific and Technical	ıl		
Services (including accounting, consulting	,		
engineering, legal)	3.1	2.1	
Rental, Hiring and Real Estate Services	2.0	1.9	
Retail Trade	3.7	2.6	
Transport, Postal and Warehousing	2.3	8.9	
Wholesale Trade	5.8	4.0	
Age (average)	37.87	36.61	
Married or living with partner	64.9	<i>7</i> 1. <i>7</i>	
Primary earner	56.06	76.3	
Have one or more children	69.19	66.55	

Note: sample weights applied.

The survey data has been analysed using descriptive statistics and inferential methods. Additional analysis presented in this appendix has been conducted using multinomial regression estimations on the following categorical dependent variables: change in hours, change in income and location change (see Appendix 2), income and domestic pressures (see Appendix 3) and time devoted to various household responsibilities (see Appendix 4). Sample weights are used to ensure age, gender and region representativity.

Appendix 2. Exploring change in employee work hours, income and location: multinomial regression results

		change o change)		change change)	Work from home (base: no change)
	Decrease	Increase	Decrease	Increase	(aucor no anango,
	Decrease	mere duse	Decircuse	merease	
Male	-0.15	-0.14	-0.42*	-0.63*	-0.50**
	(0.23)	(0.30)	(0.23)	(0.34)	(0.25)
Age	0.07	0.11	0.10	-0.23	-0.05
	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.11)
Squared age	-0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Single	0.03	0.12	0.14	0.06	-0.09
	(0.30)	(0.37)	(0.28)	(0.49)	(0.27)
Child	0.08	-0.28	0.49*	0.76*	-0.24
	(0.26)	(0.33)	(0.26)	(0.40)	(0.28)
Education level (base High school or less)	` '	` ,	, ,	` ′	` '
Trade/technical/vocational	-1.00**	-0.87	0.06	-0.73	-0.37
	(0.43)	(0.53)	(0.41)	(0.73)	(0.44)
Bachelor's	0.03	-0.41	-0.28	-0.20	0.10
	(0.33)	(0.39)	(0.32)	(0.49)	(0.34)
Master's	0.33	-0.73	-0.01	-0.70	1.00*
	(0.52)	(0.72)	(0.50)	(0.86)	(0.57)
Primary income earner	0.25	1.13***	0.81***	0.67*	-0.18
ary meetic carrier	(0.23)	(0.34)	(0.23)	(0.37)	(0.26)
Working full time (30 or more hours per week)	-0.39	-0.38	-0.10	0.12	-1.02**
	(0.33)	(0.39)	(0.31)	(0.49)	(0.41)
Income (base: less than 2M)	(0.00)	(0.0.7	(5.5.)	(01.7)	(0)
[2M;4M[	0.41	-0.03	-0.75	-1.25*	-0.41
	(0.50)	(0.54)	(0.51)	(0.64)	(0.55)
[4M;6M[	-0.12	-1.40**	-1.23**	-1.76**	-0.27
	(0.51)	(0.58)	(0.52)	(0.70)	(0.55)
[6M;8M[	-0.68	-2.19***	-1.66***	-1.73**	-0.05
	(0.56)	(0.76)	(0.54)	(0.71)	(0.58)
[8M;10M[	-0.13	-1.02	-1.74***	-2.41***	0.58
	(0.59)	(0.72)	(0.61)	(0.86)	(0.65)
[10M;15M[	-0.19	-0.75	-1.50**	-2.55***	0.74
	(0.59)	(0.72)	(0.60)	(0.81)	(0.63)
[15M;20M[	-0.96	-1.37	-2.07***	-2.35**	0.09
	(0.72)	(0.84)		(1.02)	(0.84)
More than 20M	-0.85	-1.90**	-2.01***	-3.17***	0.10
	(0.67)	(0.89)	(0.66)	(0.97)	(0.72)
Business Size (base: 1000 +)	( ,	( )	, , , , ,	· · · · ·	, , , ,
200 to 499	0.42*	0.29	0.23	-0.73*	0.41
	(0.25)	(0.34)	(0.24)	(0.41)	(0.28)
500 to 999	0.42	0.18	0.13	-0.20	0.27
	(0.28)	(0.37)	(0.27)	(0.42)	(0.31)
Type of employment (base: clerical support work)	, -,	, ,			
	-0.44	0.32	1.44	-10.72***	0.72
Crafts and trades	(1.07)	(1.17)	(0.90)	(0.95)	(0.99)
	0.14	0.55	1.50***	0.67	-0.40
Machine operators and product assemblers	(0.39)	(0.53)	(0.44)	(0.69)	(0.48)
	1.64	3.14**	1.96*	2.10*	(0.10)
Manual labour	(1.39)	(1.37)	(1.14)	(1.22)	
	(1.57)	(1.57)	(1.14)	(1.22)	

	1.24***	1.41**	1.10***	1.53***	0.53
Senior Management	(0.36)	(0.55)	(0.37)	(0.57)	(0.37)
	0.34	0.28	0.38	0.09	0.04
Services or sales	(0.39)	(0.48)	(0.37)	(0.62)	(0.41)
	1.24	-11.66***	1.86	3.25	-0.15
Skilled agriculture, forestry, fishery	(1.37)	(1.40)	(1.37)	(2.03)	(1.14)
	0.03	0.52	0.39	0.59	0.31
Supervisor/mid-management level	(0.32)	(0.47)	(0.31)	(0.49)	(0.33)
	-0.27	-0.33	0.66	1.35**	0.41
Technical expert	(0.48)	(0.70)	(0.46)	(0.65)	(0.45)
Constant	-1.50	-3.23	-2.73	2.56	1.33
	(1.88)	(2.58)	(1.91)	(2.78)	(2.24)
Regional Control	Yes		Yes		Yes
Observations	5	553		53	445

Note: Survey weights applied. Standard errors in parentheses \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0. The location change regression only includes workers who are working from their normal workspace or from home.

Appendix 3. Exploring the determinants of income and domestic pressure: multinomial regression results

		Pressure pressure)	Domestic Pressure (base: no pressure)		
	Less Pressure	More Pressure	Less Pressure	More Pressure	
Income change	2033 1 1033010	More Fressore	2033 1 1033010	More Fressore	
Decrease	1.399***	1.289***	0.834**	0.730***	
200.0000	(0.398)	(0.275)	(0.371)	(0.278)	
Increase	-0.064	0.326	1.164**	0.564	
	(0.748)	(0.402)	(0.508)	(0.423)	
Hours change	` ,	, ,	, ,	, ,	
Decrease	0.175	0.323	0.655*	0.165	
	(0.402)	(0.276)	(0.376)	(0.282)	
Increase	0.696	0.864*	0.252	0.328	
	(0.622)	(0.459)	(0.514)	(0.389)	
Male	-0.366	0.082	0.014	-0.178	
	(0.380)	(0.263)	(0.339)	(0.261)	
Age	0.096	-0.020	-0.465***	-0.186	
	(0.167)	(0.107)	(0.144)	(0.118)	
Squared age	-0.001	0.000	0.005***	0.002	
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	
Single	-0.941*	0.226	-0.384	-0.156	
	(0.486)	(0.325)	(0.416)	(0.327)	
Child	-0.583	-0.019	0.461	0.073	
	(0.418)	(0.308)	(0.403)	(0.298)	
Education level (base High school or less)					
Trade/technical/vocational	-1.003	-0.216	1.017*	0.135	
	(0.767)	(0.476)	(0.586)	(0.422)	
Bachelor's	-0.222	-0.445	0.250	0.193	
	(0.520)	(0.396)	(0.489)	(0.337)	
Master's	0.719	-0.360	1.430**	0.451	
	(0.804)	(0.665)	(0.703)	(0.598)	
Primary income earner	0.994**	0.653**	0.838**	0.622**	
	(0.405)	(0.262)	(0.364)	(0.261)	
Working full time (30 or more hours	0.440	0.454	0.700	0.440	
per week)	-0.468	0.456	-0.730	-0.460	
learner (harris learning 101)	(0.448)	(0.366)	(0.510)	(0.400)	
Income (base: less than 10k) [2M;4M[	1 110	0.040	0.769	1.008*	
	-1.112	0.060			
[4M;6M[	(0.727) -0.235	(0.570) 0.691	(0.800) 0.816	(0.540) 0.689	
[6M;8M[	(0.7 <i>57</i> ) -0.561	(0.594) 1.093	(0.783) 1.336	(0.552) 1.585**	
F	(0.866)	(0.673)	(0.889)		
[8M;10M[	-0.989	1.236*	0.701	(0.647) 0.755	
[,[	(0.892)	(0.692)	(0.890)	(0.623)	
[10M;15M[	0.892)	0.692)	1.328	(0.623) 1.229*	
[	(0.814)	(0.695)	(0.859)	(0.665)	
[15M;20M[	0.139	1.397*	1.173	1.829**	
[			(1.027)		
	(1.138)	(0.829)	(1.02/)	(0.780)	

More than 20M	-0.705	1.104	1.641*	1.726**	
	(1.035)	(0.746)	(0.983)	(0.759)	
Business Size (base: 1000 +)					
200 to 499	0.994**	0.359	0.203	0.476	
	(0.421)	(0.279)	(0.380)	(0.294)	
500 to 999	0.839*	0.497	-0.205	-0.103	
	(0.481)	(0.334)	(0.411)	(0.305)	
Type of employment (base: clerical support work)					
Crafts and trades	-15.040***	-0.458	-0.234	0.202	
	(1.146)	(0.889)	(1.795)	(1.202)	
Machine operators and product					
assemblers	0.004	-0.063	-0.666	-0.417	
	(0.698)	(0.513)	(0.592)	(0.432)	
Manual labour	-0.899	-0.429	-1.943	-0.662	
	(1.878)	(1.100)	(1.796)	(0.833)	
Senior Management	0.445	-0.439	0.040	-0.829**	
	(0.601)	(0.436)	(0.497)	(0.410)	
Services or sales	-0.426	0.343	-0.240	0.232	
	(0.685)	(0.431)	(0.607)	(0.440)	
Skilled agriculture, forestry, fishery	1.596	-1 <i>5.75</i> 3***	-0.827	-14.365***	
	(1.654)	(1.128)	(1.048)	(0.812)	
Supervisor/mid-management level	-0.953*	-0.688*	-0.476	-0.207	
	(0.546)	(0.353)	(0.501)	(0.367)	
Technical expert	-1.2 <i>57</i>	-0.600	-0.660	-1.561***	
	(0.865)	(0.458)	(0.635)	(0.515)	
Constant	-3.461	-1.165	5.993**	2.342	
	(3.216)	(2.076)	(2.745)	(2.367)	
Regional Control	Y	es	Yes		
Observations	5.	53	5	30	

Note: Survey weights applied. Standard errors in parentheses \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.

Appendix 4. Exploring change in time devoted to various household responsibilities: multinomial regression results

			Time devot	ed to adult	Time devoted	to care for ill					Time devoted	to preparing
	Time devote	d to childcare	ca	re	fam	nily	Time devoted	l to cleaning	Time devoted	to shopping	fo	od
	(base: n	o change)	(base: no	change)	(base: no	change)	(base: no change)		(base: no change)		(base: no	change)
	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Increased
Income change												
Decrease	0.73*	-0.09	0.18	0.59**	1.08**	0.45	0.59	0.24	0.52*	0.04	1.56***	-0.02
	(0.39)	(0.57)	(0.42)	(0.28)	(0.51)	(0.28)	(0.75)	(0.31)	(0.31)	(0.26)	(0.58)	(0.26)
Increase	-0.71	0.93	0.40	0.08	0.61	-0.06	0.83	0.39	0.36	0.62	1.46**	0.80*
	(0.56)	(0.71)	(0.49)	(0.39)	(0.74)	(0.41)	(0.99)	(0.48)	(0.53)	(0.44)	(0.74)	(0.44)
Hours change												
Decrease	0.97**	0.94	0.45	0.13	0.13	0.05	0.69	0.05	0.20	0.28	0.67	0.59**
	(0.38)	(0.61)	(0.45)	(0.27)	(0.53)	(0.26)	(0.95)	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.26)	(0.58)	(0.27)
Increase	-0.05	0.24	1.39***	-0.67*	0.36	-0.30	0.95	-0.37	0.27	-0.04	1.64***	0.39
	(0.49)	(0.77)	(0.48)	(0.40)	(0.60)	(0.36)	(0.94)	(0.39)	(0.42)	(0.39)	(0.59)	(0.36)
Male	-0.98***	0.29	0.55	-0.13	0.16	0.03	0.19	-0.68**	0.15	-0.41*	0.57	-0.75***
	(0.35)	(0.51)	(0.36)	(0.24)	(0.46)	(0.24)	(0.57)	(0.27)	(0.29)	(0.24)	(0.45)	(0.23)
Age	-0.15	-0.08	-0.06	-0.29***	-0.04	-0.23**	-0.05	-0.07	-0.10	0.01	0.15	-0.06
	(0.14)	(0.24)	(0.20)	(0.10)	(0.21)	(0.10)	(0.25)	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.20)	(0.09)
Squared age	0.00	0.00	-0.00	0.00***	-0.00	0.00**	-0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.00	-0.00	0.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Single	-0.61	-0.26	-0.26	-0.43	-0.28	-0.20	0.37	-0.09	-0.51	0.07	-1.13*	-0.15
	(0.41)	(0.65)	(0.44)	(0.31)	(0.58)	(0.31)	(0.68)	(0.34)	(0.37)	(0.31)	(0.58)	(0.30)
Child	0.58	0.91	0.23	-0.04	0.18	0.20	0.92	0.48	-0.35	0.02	0.33	0.47*
F1 2 1 1/1	(0.44)	(0.64)	(0.45)	(0.29)	(0.58)	(0.30)	(0.75)	(0.30)	(0.33)	(0.28)	(0.49)	(0.27)
Education level (base High school or less)												
Trade/technical/vocational	-0.27	0.79	0.70	0.40	1.54*	0.53	-0.28	-0.97*	-0.20	0.44	0.39	0.68*
	(0.58)	(0.86)	(0.56)	(0.43)	(0.93)	(0.46)	(0.94)	(0.57)	(0.49)	(0.42)	(0.71)	(0.40)
Bachelor's	-1.09**	-0.84	0.22	0.20	1.53*	0.19	-1.79*	-1.20**	-0.71*	0.21	0.95	0.51*
	(0.47)	(0.77)	(0.45)	(0.34)	(0.87)	(0.33)	(0.93)	(0.48)	(0.39)	(0.34)	(0.73)	(0.31)
Master's	-0.25	-15.61***	1.33	1.03*	2.74**	0.68	-1.56	-0.68	0.57	-0.15	1.85	1.64***
	(0.94)	(1.33)	(0.86)	(0.56)	(1.08)	(0.55)	(1.26)	(0.75)	(0.60)	(0.61)	(1.30)	(0.61)
Primary income earner	0.78**	0.26	0.38	0.25	0.14	0.39	0.67	0.35	0.21	0.24	-0.28	-0.11
	(0.39)	(0.47)	(0.38)	(0.25)	(0.46)	(0.26)	(0.71)	(0.30)	(0.31)	(0.26)	(0.50)	(0.25)

Working full time (30 or more hours per week)	0.16	0.25	-0.34	-0.22	-1.02**	0.20	-0.10	-0.05	-0.19	0.71**	0.19	0.53
more neere per meen,	(0.46)	(0.72)	(0.43)	(0.34)	(0.51)	(0.37)	(0.86)	(0.35)	(0.38)	(0.35)	(0.53)	(0.34)
Income (base: less than 10k)	(0.40)	(0.7 2)	(0.43)	(0.54)	(0.51)	(0.37)	(0.00)	(0.55)	(0.38)	(0.55)	(0.55)	(0.34)
[10k;15k[	-1.31*	-4.07***	0.16	-0.00	0.80	-0.47	-1.08	-0.12	-0.58	-1.14**	-1.69**	-0.69
	(0.75)	(1.35)	(0.64)	(0.50)	(1.01)	(0.50)	(1.29)	(0.60)	(0.59)	(0.54)	(0.73)	(0.50)
[15k;20k[	-2.53***	-2.15**	0.02	0.49	0.56	0.04	-0.67	-0.37	-0.57	-0.87	-1.03	-0.27
	(0.80)	(0.91)	(0.69)	(0.53)	(1.04)	(0.51)	(1.36)	(0.60)	(0.60)	(0.54)	(0.72)	(0.52)
[20k;30k[	-1.53*	-2.47**	0.54	0.90	1.07	0.13	-0.10	0.01	-0.80	-0.86	-1.24	-0.37
	(0.79)	(1.06)	(0.76)	(0.59)	(1.14)	(0.57)	(1.48)	(0.67)	(0.66)	(0.60)	(0.85)	(0.55)
[30k;40k[	-1.28	-0.55	-0.31	0.77	0.09	0.20	1.10	0.49	-0.97	-0.15	-2.12*	0.41
	(0.83)	(1.13)	(0.83)	(0.62)	(1.16)	(0.60)	(1.56)	(0.77)	(0.75)	(0.63)	(1.23)	(0.62)
[40k;50k[	-0.60	-1.06	0.25	0.84	0.61	0.25	0.14	-0.09	0.13	0.04	-1.15	-0.10
	(0.87)	(1.20)	(0.83)	(0.65)	(1.10)	(0.61)	(1.55)	(0.72)	(0.71)	(0.65)	(0.87)	(0.62)
[50k;80k[	0.11	1.00	1.35	0.81	0.72	-0.43	2.06	-0.31	-0.38	-0.35	-0.08	-0.24
	(0.99)	(1.29)	(0.93)	(0.82)	(1.26)	(0.80)	(1.71)	(0.83)	(0.86)	(0.73)	(1.01)	(0.75)
More than 80k	-1.91**	-1.16	-1.1 <i>7</i>	0.75	0.43	-0.64	1.38	0.45	-0.98	0.07	-14.69***	0.04
	(0.90)	(1.16)	(1.16)	(0.69)	(1.34)	(0.66)	(1.85)	(0.95)	(0.86)	(0.71)	(0.93)	(0.69)
Business Size (base: 1000 +)												
200 to 499	0.07	-0.69	0.25	-0.26	0.54	-0.06	0.14	0.43	0.22	0.30	-0.20	-0.04
	(0.38)	(0.53)	(0.39)	(0.28)	(0.50)	(0.27)	(0.76)	(0.30)	(0.32)	(0.25)	(0.51)	(0.26)
500 to 999	-0.36	-0.44	-0.01	-0.14	-0.78	-0.80**	-0.69	-0.11	0.24	0.12	0.43	-0.09
	(0.42)	(0.61)	(0.45)	(0.30)	(0.64)	(0.32)	(0.76)	(0.33)	(0.35)	(0.31)	(0.56)	(0.29)
Type of employment (base: clerical support work)												
Crafts and trades	1.73*	-12.79***	0.60	-0.86	2.06	1.07	-13.31***	0.58	1.02	0.17	1.69	1.42
	(1.05)	(1.34)	(0.96)	(1.09)	(1.55)	(1.31)	(1.19)	(1.14)	(1.17)	(1.1 <i>7</i> )	(1.40)	(1.23)
Machine operators and product assemblers	-0.37	-0.16	-0.72	0.32	-0.06	0.88**	-2.21*	0.08	-0.23	-0.09	0.92	0.10
	(0.57)	(0.90)	(0.67)	(0.42)	(1.27)	(0.42)	(1.1 <i>5</i> )	(0.55)	(0.52)	(0.46)	(0.90)	(0.41)
Manual labour	0.60	-15.28***	-0.02	2.21*	3.26**	1.76*	-1.26	0.84	1.81	1.63	-0.06	-0.37
	(1.67)	(1.81)	(1.43)	(1.28)	(1.58)	(1.05)	(1.43)	(1.02)	(1.35)	(1.26)	(1.23)	(0.77)
Senior Management	0.37	-0.58	0.35	-0.08	2.01***	1.15***	-0.22	0.16	0.58	-0.12	0.30	0.13
	(0.51)	(0.77)	(0.59)	(0.39)	(0.76)	(0.39)	(0.98)	(0.54)	(0.46)	(0.40)	(0.82)	(0.39)
Services or sales	-0.28	0.13	0.15	0.50	0.95	0.92**	-1.54*	0.21	-0.38	0.28	0.55	0.89**

	(0.64)	(0.88)	(0.59)	(0.43)	(0.87)	(0.44)	(0.90)	(0.45)	(0.51)	(0.39)	(0.86)	(0.39)
Skilled agriculture,			a a contrator		a cadedule						child	
forestry, fishery	-17.40***	-12.62***	-11.04***	0.52	-9.49***	2.13	-0.83	12.91***	-1.13	-1.35	-12.94***	0.16
	(1.31)	(1.99)	(1.48)	(1.42)	(1.68)	(1.51)	(1.20)	(0.77)	(1.83)	(1.59)	(1.32)	(1.1 <i>7</i> )
Supervisor/mid-												
management level	0.43	-0.85	0.28	0.31	1.15	0.89**	-0.87	0.63	0.07	-0.20	-0.29	0.35
	(0.48)	(0.78)	(0.53)	(0.36)	(0.71)	(0.36)	(1.05)	(0.41)	(0.41)	(0.34)	(0.76)	(0.32)
Technical expert	-0.04	0.27	-0.08	-0.50	1.48	-0.16	-0.50	-0.19	0.60	-0.16	0.69	-0.56
	(0.64)	(0.76)	(0.82)	(0.53)	(0.90)	(0.56)	(1.02)	(0.51)	(0.51)	(0.48)	(0.75)	(0.43)
Constant	3.91	-0.27	-1.56	4.08**	-4.82	2.35	-0.72	2.85	2.88	0.03	-4.99	1.42
	(2.75)	(4.61)	(3.42)	(2.04)	(4.29)	(1.98)	(5.18)	(2.65)	(2.34)	(2.05)	(3.96)	(1.93)
Region control												
Observations	1: 1 0: 1		ባ ককক	<0.01 **	<0.05 * <0							

Note: Survey weights applied. Standard errors in parentheses \*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.