WOMEN AND WORK IN INDONESIA FROM 1970 TO 1985:
CAPITALISM AND GENDER INEQUALITY IN PERSPECTIVE

By

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is written in the context of studies of women in the Third World. Broadly, concern is given to contemporary critiques of Western feminist theory which question the capacity of general theory to speak to the specificity of women's positions in places other than the West. In order to engage with women's different experiences of gender inequality, without losing a sense of a general feminist problematic, this study uses a theoretical framework that emphasizes the ways in which ideologies concerning gender inequality are constructed and experienced in locally specific ways. These issues are examined through a consideration of women's position in the labour market in Indonesia.

The 1970s and early 1980s were periods of considerable economic restructuring and rapid social change in Indonesia. Within the labour market, income-generating possibilities shifted from agricultural production to the service sector and, to a lesser extent, to industry. More recently (the early 1980s), employment in the industrial sector has been further curtailed as Indonesia entered a period of economic austerity in response to declining world oil prices, among other factors.

Taking this situation as a point of departure, this thesis examines changes and continuities in women's position in the labour market from 1970 to 1985, using data from the Indonesian census and Intercensal survey, and from various ethnographic accounts of women in the workforce. Women's labour force participation and their concentration in particular sectors and
occupations is interpreted as a response to capitalist restructuring and also to the construction of an ideology of gender which, through state rhetoric and development policy, is redefining women as wives and mothers: according to a particular conception of what those roles entail. It is argued that the ideology of familialism has re-ascribed tasks, tools and conditions of work as "female" or "male". Within an already constrained situation brought about by capitalist restructuring in Indonesia in general, income-generating possibilities for women are even more limited. According to the familial ideology that is being promoted by the state, women are being encouraged to leave the waged workforce, or are able to work only at its margins.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION.

There has been a growing recognition of the importance of gender issues within contemporary western social science over the last twenty years. Parallel to this has been an increasing concern with these questions in non-western settings. The heightened interest in gender-related issues in the Third World relates to an identification of the enormous and specific impacts that economic and social transformations have had upon the lives of women in different places. While ostensibly these questions have been directed from the institutional contexts of Anthropology, Economics and Political Science, geographers have also been engaged in gender-related research in the Third World (see Horst, 1981; Christopherson, 1983; IBG, 1984; McGee, 1985; Momsen and Townsend, 1987). From these disparate intellectual positions, there has emerged a particular trans-disciplinary field of study which seeks to understand the position of women in different historical and geographical settings.

Situated within this broad field of enquiry, this thesis focuses on the position of women in the workforce in Indonesia and explores, at a theoretical level, a number of contemporary issues in feminist theory in general. At a substantive level, the focus is upon issues surrounding gender relations and structural changes concerning the labour market in the 1970s and early 1980s: a period of rapid social and economic change in Indonesia. In particular, attention is paid to gender
relations and to the construction and reproduction of women's position in the workforce.

Relative to other Asian countries, a high proportion of women in Indonesia are defined as economically active. Approximately 30% of working age women are in the labour force: this figure has remained fairly constant over the last several years. However, since the 1970s, particular patterns of female labour force participation have emerged, in which women are concentrated into certain sectors and occupations within the labour market structure. Although differences can be observed between rural and urban areas, generally women were predominantly engaged in agricultural activities, in the formal sector (public services) and in the informal sector, particularly in services such as trading. In addition, the involvement of women in formal sector industry has become more evident. Over the 1970s and increasingly in the early 1980s, a number of trends have emerged; in particular, the role of women in agriculture has declined, and the industrial sector appears to have a greater proportion of male workers than previously. Women's position in the informal sector and in services in general, seems to have become more pronounced.

In order to explain this situation, this thesis argues that continuities and changes in the nature of women's position in the labour market reflect a patriarchal ideology on the one hand, and the links between global capitalist development and local factors on the other. The role played by the state in both aspects of this process is of central importance. Global
processes of change have affected the texture of the Indonesian labour market in a number of ways, as state investment policies and a number of pre-existing aspects of Indonesian political economy have forged particular patterns of capitalist development. While this has affected the nature of income-generating possibilities in Indonesia in general, the influence of prevailing gender ideology has led to women occupying a particular position in the labour market.

Following Michele Barrett (1980; 1988), patriarchal or familial ideology is seen as a relatively autonomous and materially-grounded ideology of gender in which women are defined primarily by their roles as wives and mothers. This has to be understood in historically specific terms. It is argued that this ideology has been constructed and reproduced through Indonesian customary law, the tenets of Islam, the state, and through the actions of contemporary women's organizations. With respect to female labour force participation, familialism affects the type of activity in which women are able to engage, both in an ideological sense, and in a material sense. This thesis attempts to establish that both familial ideology, as it is manifested in contemporary Indonesia, and capitalist restructuring within local conditions, underlie the changes and continuities that are observable in patterns of women's work over the 1970s and early 1980s.

The interpretation of women's position in the labour market in Indonesia is derived from feminist perspectives on women and work that have been devised in an Anglo-American context. At a
theoretical level it is recognised that there are problems associated with exporting theory from one context to another. Thus, the thesis examines a number of debates that have emerged within the feminist literature with respect to understanding the position of women across time and space, and that are of relevance to an analysis of women in the labour market in Indonesia.

1.i. The Context of the Study.

Feminist research on women in the Third World sits uneasily between two strands of thought and practice, first, western feminist theory, and second, what has been collectively dubbed "Women in Development" (WID). Western feminist theory has, until recently, been preoccupied with theorizing women's subordination in general (and quite often universalistic) terms, based on premises often derived from western experience. Politically, the aim has been to establish general theory concerning women's position: often this has been couched in a theory of patriarchy, or of patriarchal social relations.

By contrast, the aims of Women in Development have been concerned more with ameliorating the conditions of women's lives within the social context of local value systems, and often without direct reference to broader theoretical schemas. As each of these strands has developed, a widening gulf has emerged between western feminist theorists, and proponents of WID who work in government and non-governmental development
organizations, and in the field. Many of those in WID have questioned the approaches adopted in much of western feminist theory, in particular, the privileging of theoretical purity over and above local concerns, and the exportation of a set of values which do not accord with the realities of many women's lives (Tinker, 1985).

Although the effort of WID advocates to sensitize feminist theory to local values and definitions is, to some degree justified, adopting such a position raises a number of issues. It is necessary to specify what is meant by a "local definition of values" in a particular context. Given the explicitly emancipatory aims of feminist theory, and the implicitly emancipatory aims of WID, how are "local definitions" of values (for example, with respect to power relations between men and women) to be evaluated? Privileging the local must not be a justification for leaving a set of oppressive power relations intact. Nevertheless, western feminist theory needs to be responsive to the fact that relations of power between men and women may be experienced and expressed in quite different ways in different places and at different times.

In order for WID to retain its critical edge, and for western feminism to recognize the possibility of variation in women's concerns, at some point, the gulf between WID and feminist theory needs to be bridged in order to account for "the oppression of women in its endless variety and monotonous similarity" (Rubin, 1975: cited in Fraser and Nicholson, 1988). Increasingly, this has become a central concern of both
geographical and feminist research, and it is a concern for which feminist geographers are in a position to make an active contribution through a focus upon the ways in which general processes are played out in particular contexts. At issue is the concept of "difference", around which much of the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis are arranged.

In emphasizing "difference", feminist research on women in the Third World has raised a number of questions. First, a well-articulated critique of development theory from a range of feminist perspectives has emerged. Within these critiques, many of the substantive and theoretical concepts underlying development research in general are problematized. It is recognized that "development" is experienced and responded to by women in ways that may differ from the experiences and responses of men. Class-based development paradigms have been challenged for the manner in which gender differences and inequalities are eclipsed, and feminist research has sought to reformulate questions around issues of gender inequality and gender differences, within development processes.

Second, feminist concepts derived from white western middle class women's experience have been questioned, in terms of their universal theoretical validity (Spivak, 1987; Ong, 1988). As Moore phrases it with respect to anthropology, there has been a recognition of the need to analyse how gender is experienced and structured through culture, through colonialism, neo-imperialism, and through the rise of capitalism (Moore, 1988).
Third, questions concerning the spatial over-aggregation that is implicit in the very concept of "Third World" have been raised (Corbridge, 1986). While in some instances as a political rallying point against western domination, the term Third World holds some utility, the recognition of some monolithic Third World Other does not. Geographers, as well as anthropologists have begun to recognize the complexities surrounding the ways that a number of aspects of development and domination (class, race, gender, ethnicity) are experienced in different parts of the world, and the necessity to identify the means by which relations of domination and subordination intersect at different times and in different places.

An emphasis on difference, however, does not imply a rejection of general theory. It does, however, imply a rejection of totalizing theory which often obscures important issues, such as gender relations. It is recognised that although there are a number of general processes that can be identified globally such as capitalist development and female subordination, the way in which these are manifested does, for a variety of reasons, vary: at a local scale, and within or between countries and cultures.

The purpose of this study therefore is twofold: first, to take on board these theoretical concerns and to consider the importance of gender as a social relation through which peoples lives take shape, and in addition, to consider the ways in which gender relations are constructed and experienced in a particular context: Indonesia. From a feminist perspective, the
study aims to unravel some of the ahistorical and universalistic assumptions that underlie mainstream theorizing about women's roles and gender inequalities in society. As such, therefore, the primary theoretical focus is upon gender, though it should be recognized that other types of social relation are of considerable importance also. Second, these theoretical concerns are taken to the substantive realm in a discussion of the position of women in the labour market in Indonesia over the 1970s and 1980s. The aim is to consider how gender relations have been constructed and manifested in the industrial and occupational structure of Indonesia. This is set within an analysis of the changing political economy of Indonesia in the period between 1970 and 1985.

1.ii. The Structure of the Thesis.

In order to accomplish the theoretical and empirical aims of the thesis put forward earlier, the thesis is divided into four main chapters. Chapter Two examines both the feminist and the non-feminist literature on women in the labour market in western and in non-western settings. It is argued that theories of women in the labour market either consider women's roles as natural and therefore outside the realm of analysis, or if they do theorize women's roles, the analysis is ahistorical or universalistic in its assumptions. Instead, a feminist perspective that attempts to overcome these problems is adopted, emphasizing the role of a historically specific and
materially grounded ideology of gender. This chapter examines the utility of this theory in non-western contexts and explores the issue of difference and specificity in terms of gender relations and in terms of the nature of capitalism. A theoretical framework is set up for analysing the position of women in society in general, and in the workforce in particular.

In order to consider the nature of women's position in the labour market in Indonesia, Chapters Three and Four examine the specificities of capitalist development and gender relations respectively in Indonesia. Chapter Three outlines the political-economic context within which the labour market is situated. It is argued that the interaction of global and local processes within specific conditions of existence in Indonesia have given rise to a particular range of income-generating possibilities for different groups of people in rural and urban areas of Indonesia. In addition, some of the changes that have been taking place in Indonesia in the 1970s and 1980s that have implications for the labour force are considered.

Chapter Four considers the specificity of contemporary gender relations in Indonesia, focussing upon the construction and operation of a particular gender ideology that is termed "familialism". It is argued that although this ideology is historically rooted in gender relations that are pre-capitalist, the form that it takes in contemporary Indonesia is conditioned by the activities of the state and by the motivations of a middle class women's movement that together
have redefined the nature and meaning of women's identities and roles in general. It is suggested that through its operation in the state, the family/household and in the workplace, Indonesian familial ideology has had a significant impact upon the position of women in the labour market.

Finally, in Chapter Five the themes explored in the previous chapters converge in an interpretation of female labour force participation as it is revealed in studies of the workforce in the 1970s, in the 1980 census and 1985 intercensal survey, and in various case studies that have been concerned with the position of women in particular occupations. It is argued that together the particular contours of the labour market in Indonesia in the 1970s and early 1980s, and the texture of contemporary Indonesian familial ideology have shaped the form taken by the position of different groups of women in the labour market in both urban and rural areas. The thesis concludes by evaluating the capacity of this particular framework for analysing women's position in the labour market in different places, and in particular, in Indonesia.

1.iii. On Indonesia.

Indonesia comprises a chain of thirteen thousand islands, which span a distance of some three thousand miles (Figure 1). With a population of over 170 million (Hugo et al., 1987), it is the fifth most populous country in the world (after China, India, the Soviet Union and the United States). Its
Source: Adapted from a map compiled by the Indonesian Consulate, Vancouver, B.C.
predominantly Islamic population ranks it as the largest Muslim country in the world. The majority of the Indonesian population lives on the island of Java where rural population densities of over 1000 per square kilometre are not uncommon. In addition, although Indonesia is made up of over 300 distinct ethnic groups, politically and numerically it is dominated by the Javanese. In addition to its large and unevenly distributed population, Indonesia is characterized by its natural resources. Indonesia is one of the ten largest oil-producing countries, the largest exporter of natural gas: indeed, it is richly endowed with timber and mineral resources generally. Whereas the population of Indonesia is concentrated on the inner islands (Java and Bali), its resources are predominantly situated in the outer islands. This dichotomy between inner and outer Indonesia underscores regional patterns of development in Indonesia.

Although Indonesia is identified as a Southeast Asian country, and is a member of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), the political economy of Indonesia does not suggest that it is a newly industrializing country in the same manner as others in the region, as for example Malaysia. Indonesia is predominantly agricultural, and industrialization has until recently, been oriented towards the production of consumer goods for the domestic market by private and public domestic capital. Investment in Indonesia by international capital has been somewhat truncated. A central explanation for
the specificity of economic development in Indonesia concerns the role of the state in conditioning the nature of capitalism.

Since the overthrow of Sukarno's left-leaning Guided Democracy in 1965, the Indonesian state has been made up of Suharto's New Order Government: a bureaucratic authoritarian crystallization of power around the military, state officials and elements of capital. In the absence of a de-facto party system and financed by oil revenues and loans from various financial agencies, the state has actively pursued nationalistic industrialization policies aimed at import substitution, that are resistent to foreign investment. This has led to a particular type of development in Indonesia, and a particular position within the capitalist world system, which in the last few years seems to have been changing.

In addition to the state's role in conditioning capitalist development in Indonesia, the state has played an active role in conditioning social relations in Indonesia, including relations of gender. Historically, commentators have frequently noted the seemingly egalitarian relations that exist between men and women in Indonesia in comparison to other countries in Asia. Despite the fact that the majority of Indonesians are Muslim, there is no rigid system of purdah, and women are quite visible in Indonesian society, particularly in the workforce. In addition, ethnographies indicate that women's position in the family/household is quite strong, except in polygamous situations (Geertz, 1961). However, evidence suggests that through a variety of mechanisms, the state has attempted to
redefine the nature of gender relations and women's identity and roles in Indonesia. Increasingly, women's roles as wives and mothers are exalted, in new and particular ways that have ramifications for their position in all aspects of society. In many respects, therefore, the specificity of the Indonesia lies in its population and resource endowments, and in the particular role played by the state in conditioning both the nature of capitalist development and the nature of social relations. In exploring issues of difference and specificity in gender relations and in capitalist development therefore, this study focuses on the ways in which each is manifested in Indonesia, and upon the implications that each has for the position of women in the labour market.

I.v. Sources and Methodology.

It should be noted that this thesis is primarily theoretical in orientation, and that its contribution to an understanding of the Indonesian situation, given that it is based on secondary sources, is modest. Substantive material for the study was derived from two sources, first, from Indonesian census data, and second, from recent ethnographies that are concerned with the analysis of various aspects of women's lives.

The census data used in this thesis is taken primarily from the 1980 census survey (Sensus Penduduk Seri S, No.2), and from the 1985 intercensal survey (Penduduk Indonesia Seri Supas
No.5) tabulations, both of which are compiled and published by the Indonesian Bureau of Statistics (Biro Pusat Statistik). The 1980 census was compiled using a 5% random sample of the Indonesian population which was then reboosted to represent the Indonesian population as a whole. The 1985 census covered a smaller sample: 3% of the Indonesian population, and excluded isolated groups, the homeless and Indonesian citizens abroad. The census covered the economic activities of men and women over ten years of age, defining those that were economically active as persons who during the previous week performed an activity for pay or profit for the duration of at least one hour or more.

There are a number of problems associated with using census data to describe the position of women in the labour market generally, and particularly in contexts such as Indonesia. These problems are derived from the way in which the data are collected and tabulated, and from the assumptions that underlie what the researchers consider as work. The tendency is for women's work to be eclipsed in the census, owing first, to the fact that women often engage in economic activities that are conceptually inseparable from their domestic role, and second, that they often engage in more than one activity at any one time. These issues are discussed further with respect to the Indonesian census in the appendix. Despite the problems that are associated with the use of census data, the census is able to present a very broad and general picture of female labour force participation in Indonesia, and in addition can describe
in numerical terms, some of the changes that are taking place. However, it is not possible to explain or analyse patterns of women's work on the basis of census data alone. The census tabulations do not reveal the nature of the occupations in which women are engaged, nor the manner in which this might be changing. Thus, in terms of the methodology of this study, and the questions that are being posed, it is necessary to supplement numerical data with material derived from a number of ethnographies concerning the engagement of women in particular sectors and occupations within the labour market.

For the most part, the studies used here represent important feminist research that has been conducted in the Indonesian context in the last few years. In using these as a substantive base for this study, caution is exercised, however, because in considering women's position in the light of contemporary ethnographies, two problems emerge. First, although effort is made to counter prevailing tendencies to "Javacentrism", the availability of data, not to mention the academic work to date that is sourced in this thesis means that inevitably much of the discussion rests upon the Javanese situation. This situation is unfortunate, and highlights the need for gender-related primary research that is sensitive to differences within Indonesia. Second, there are problems associated with basing interpretations on studies of women in which it is not clear how the study was conducted, and whether the nature of the questions asked inadvertently obscured important information concerning gender issues. As with the census,
therefore, caution is exercised when making interpretations and drawing conclusions based on the data in these studies.

Census material and the case studies are interpreted in the light of the framework that is outlined in the main body of the thesis. It is hoped that through an analysis which unpacks some of the assumptions that underlie analyses of gender relations and women's position in the labour market, better insights on the nature of gender inequality in the Indonesian context can be gained. In addition, it is hoped that a consideration of the Indonesian situation illustrates the importance of developing a historically and geographically specific understanding of the nature of gender relations, and of processes of social and economic change, but without losing sight of the importance of general feminist theory and practice.
CHAPTER TWO

PERSPECTIVES ON WOMEN IN THE URBAN LABOUR MARKET.

Write about woman... you say, 
Black woman... 
Write about me... 
Black woman catapulted globally... 
Mashed like grated man-yoke... 
worn out like khaki beaten on river stones... 
Like carefully washed clothes spread out on wild bushes... 
She dries... 
but these not wither, 
from eight 'till four on the factory floor... 
$1.20 an hour, even her youngest son earns much much more. 

(Evelyn Marius - "The Factory Floor")

2.1. Introduction.

In the last decade, interest in the nature of women's participation in the labour force has grown substantially. In addition, there has been an overwhelming response to the challenge of analysing women's work: how different forms of labour force participation are constructed, reconstructed and dismantled in the face of social and economic change. This chapter examines the theoretical perspectives that attempt to conceptualize and explain the specificities of women's position in the work force; and in particular, women's segregation into particular occupations within the labour market.

The chapter is divided into three main parts. The first two parts examine the theoretical perspectives that attempt to conceptualize and explain the specificities of women's position in the labour market. Following Barrett (1988, 1980) and Walby
it is possible to identify four main perspectives that attempt to confront the issue of gender inequality and that underscore analyses of women in the labour market:

(i) Those who consider gender inequality to be theoretically insignificant.

(ii) Those who regard women's oppression as being derived from capitalist relations.

(iii) Dualistic approaches, which identify the articulation of two analytically independent structures: patriarchy and capitalism.

(iv) Those that consider gender inequality as a historically-specific and relatively autonomous ideology.

The following discussion of theories of women in the labour market is structured around these perspectives. The first part of the chapter considers those theories that regard gender inequality as theoretically insignificant: in other words, non-feminist theories. Having discussed some of the inherent problems of perspectives that fall into this category, the second section of the chapter examines three socialist feminist theories of gender inequality in the labour market, that are based on different abstract conceptualizations of the relationship between gender inequality and capitalism. The third part of the chapter considers a theme that most theories have avoided, that is, to what extent and how usefully can theory that is premised on western experience be used as a framework for understanding what may be very specific processes
that are in operation in other contexts. It is suggested that there are two principal factors that must be taken into account when exporting general theory: first, the question of whether the nature of gender inequality can be regarded as historically and geographically universal, and secondly, the nature of capitalism as it occurs at particular historical and geographical conjunctures. The chapter concludes by outlining the issues that need to be taken account of when examining the position of women in the labour market in particular places: and in this case, in Indonesia.

2.ii. Theorizing Women in the Labour Market Without Feminism.

Non-feminist accounts of women in the labour market do not deal directly with the notion of gender inequality in their analysis of women's participation in the labour force: gender inequality is seen as lying outside market relations, and therefore is not accorded theoretical status. These theories include neoclassical theories (e.g. human capital theory, statistical discrimination theory), and dual or segmented labour market theories. Also non-feminist, are radical theories of labour market segmentation. Despite differences in ideological and methodological orientations, each of these perspectives shares certain assumptions about the nature of the labour market and women's relationship to it. Women's position in the labour market, and more generally, is regarded in a somewhat naturalistic sense, roughly based on women's child-
bearing role, a role that is left unquestioned. Here I deal briefly with each of these perspectives and highlight some of the problems that such approaches hold for analysing the specificities of women's position in the labour market.

The first of these theories is human capital theory, a neoclassical perspective that accepts that women's position in the labour market is structurally different from that of men, but argues that this is due to the different amount of "human capital" that women are able to offer, relative to men (Mincer, 1980). Women accrue less human capital (i.e. skill, experience, productivity) because of their role in the family (in particular, in child care), for which they choose to take time out of paid work. Because of this, the price of women's wage work is less than that of men and therefore allocation of family labour between market and non-market work is based on the rational calculation of the different earning power of family members. Women's participation in the labour market is seen as one determined by labour supply factors: it is the occupational choice of members of a unified family based on a complementary differentiation of roles between men and women (Becker, 1965).

This perspective has been subject to a number of criticisms. First, as it is based on "choice" factors it ignores the constraints that women face in the labour market. Second, the emphasis on the household utility maximizing function assumes a given role for women - that of child care - without analysing why this is women's work and why this might structure only
women's participation in the labour market and not that of men. Associated with this point is the question of why only women appear to have these preferential "tastes" for the occupations that women frequently are engaged in. Finally, this view has been criticised for emphasizing supply factors and ignoring demand for female labour (Blau and Jusenius, 1976).

A second view which may be considered as an offshoot of human capital theory is that of "statistical discrimination" (Phelps, 1980). This perspective denies that the labour market operates perfectly competitively, and instead emphasizes demand factors in structuring the labour force participation of women: namely, exclusionary behaviour against women or other social groups by employers whose actions are based on scarce information (Yun, 1984). On average, women are seen as being less qualified, less reliable and less likely to stay in the job for a long term than males. Employers therefore discriminate against women as a whole, regardless of their individual qualities. Gender inequality is thus seen as the result of a market imperfection that rests on the "bounded rationality" of employers. This view presents some problems also. First, it is not clear why employers should discriminate against all women in certain occupations, especially when this is seen as being a "disadvantage" in an essentially gender-neutral market operation; and second, there is inadequate attention paid to the actual causes of the discrimination that appears to exist in the labour market (Blau and Jusenius, 1976).
A third perspective which may be considered non-feminist is that which has been termed either "dual" or "segmented" labour market theory. Basically this approach to the study of women in the labour market is derived from Doeringer and Piore's "institutional" analysis of internal labour markets (Doeringer and Piore, 1971). Segmented labour market theory argues against a neoclassical assumption that the labour market is perfectly competitive, and suggests instead that there exist two distinct labour markets each with boundaries determined by geographical, occupational and institutional factors. The external labour market comprises jobs that are filled from external sources: such jobs are generally lower-level positions. By contrast, the internal labour market includes those job categories that are filled from internal sources, usually through the promotion and upgrading of the existing workforce (Blau and Jusenius, 1976). Entry to and exclusion from the internal labour market is governed by "statistical discrimination" against women, youth and particular ethnic groups, possession of firm-specific skills and training, and seniority (Chiplin and Sloane, 1980). Doeringer sees the origins of the dual labour market as lying in technological changes that have accompanied industrial development in the twentieth century, which, together with fluctuations in labour demand, has segmented the labour market within and across firms into separate labour markets of privileged, better paid workers, and of less privileged, less well paid and less stable workers (Doeringer, 1980).
While it might be conceded that segmentation mechanisms do operate in this manner, criticisms of this analysis that have been lodged from a radical perspective argue that this view is not explicit enough in outlining the reasons for the occurrence of labour market segmentation. Although agreeing with the whole notion of there being a series of separate labour markets within the occupational structure, radical labour market segmentation theory views this as an outcome of a specific historical process: the rise of monopoly capitalism in the Post-War period (Reich et al, 1980; Gordon et al, 1982). Gordon et al. are critical of Doeringer and Piore on several accounts, first for failing to analyse the determinants of skills, customs and rules in the workplace, secondly for not having an adequate theory of capitalism and thirdly, for ignoring class struggle that exists in the workplace, and hence for regarding the sources of segmentation as exogenous to the economic system. For them, labour market segmentation grew out of the needs of monopoly capital to foster control over an increasingly homogeneous (and potentially politically volatile) workforce. Labour market segmentation is thus seen as a deliberate strategy of capital to divide and conquer workers on the basis of pre-existing racial, ethnic and gender antagonisms (Reich et al., 1980).

Jelin suggests that a similar situation can be observed in many Third World labour markets, although its origins are less clear cut: "the historical roots of segmentation have to be traced back to the partial dissolution of precapitalist
organizations, as well as to diverse institutional arrangements that are not always well known" (Jelin, 1982:254). Generally, segmentation is seen as being something that is endogenous to the market, but the outcome is structured along the lines of pre-existing hierarchies which, in the above formulations, remain untheorized.

Later theories of labour market segmentation have attempted explicitly to explain the specificities of women's position in the labour market using some notion of segmentation into internal/external or primary/secondary labour markets. Barron and Norris follow Gordon et al. in their general approach but they argue that dual labour market theory (segmented labour market theory) is an appropriate theory for understanding women in the labour market as clearly women are concentrated in certain occupations (Barron and Norris, 1976). Women's concentration in the secondary labour market in less stable, less remunerated, less unionized and less skilled occupations is explained by reference to five main characteristics that may make a particular social group a "likely source of secondary workers" (Barron and Norris, 1976:53). The five characteristics which they identify are worker dispensability (voluntary or involuntary), conventional social differences (and inequalities), a low interest in acquiring human capital through training, less concern with monetary rewards, and less worker solidarism. These are all characteristics with which women are endowed, principally, it is argued, through their family/household role and partly through their labour market
experience (Walby, 1986). In an argument similar to that of Mincer (1980) and other human capital theorists, Barron and Norris regard women's child-bearing/rearing role and dependence upon a male wage as being factors which lead to their status as secondary workers in the secondary labour market. This view is echoed by Standing who suggests that in both Third World and Western contexts, women workers are placed in occupations within the secondary labour market because of the structural disadvantage accorded to them through their role as child-bearers, through their relatively limited access to education and through resultant discrimination against women in the workforce (Standing, 1976; see also Jones, 1984a; Liu, 1984; Lim Lin Lean, 1984; Anker and Hein, 1986; and with reference to migration patterns of females in Southeast Asia see Shah and Smith, 1984). Evidently this process does take place; the main fault with these analyses is their failure to problematize the reasons for women occupying the positions they do. The analysis needs to be pushed further back, therefore.

Although these particular versions of labour market segmentation theory have been used to conceptualize the labour market in the Third World, a more important dualistic perspective is that which has emerged from debates concerning the "informal sector" or "petty commodity production" in the Third World and also more recently in the West (McGee, 1978, 1979; Bromley and Gerry, 1979; Santos, 1979). There are some parallels between occupations within secondary labour markets (in the formal sector) and the informal sector, these
being their relative ease of entry, limited unionization, relatively low rates of return to labour, and general instability. The debates surrounding the informal sector are concerned with establishing the nature of the informal sector (as either an autonomous precapitalist "folk sector" or as evidence of the articulation of modes of production); and with its relationship to capital (autonomous, functional or dialectical). With respect to women's position in the labour market, empirical evidence has consistently shown the overwhelming importance of this type of work for women in Third World cities as street vendors, domestic servants, industrial outworkers or prostitutes. Most discussions of the informal sector acknowledge this fact, yet as Roldan writes, other than rather hazy discussions of women's domestic obligations, until recently there has been little sustained analysis of "why women are so disproportionately represented in those particular activities" (Roldan, 1985:253).

As has been pointed out, most non-feminist accounts of women's position in the labour market consider the factors that shape female labour force participation to be exogenous to the market. This could mean that gender inequality is regarded simply as a by-product of struggles between capital and labour (as Reich et al., implicitly suggest) or as emanating from pre-existing non-market factors that are then left untheorized. The most important of these so-called non-market factors that the above accounts have managed to evade is that of women's role in the family. Most accounts have accepted a set of ahistorical
and acultural assumptions about women's position in the household/family. First, the household is seen as a unity: gender hierarchies which exist within the household are not acknowledged (Harris, 1981). Second, it is assumed that women are dependent upon a male breadwinner and that women's participation in the labour force is as a secondary wage earner only. Third, this is considered to be a function of women's child bearing role. A final assumption that underlies both neoclassical and segmentation theories is the expectation that when supply and demand factors change (such as women's human capital or employer's discriminatory actions) so will occupational segregation. In fact, as MacEwen Scott says, this has consistently been shown to be not the case (MacEwen Scott, 1986). In these theories, therefore, the market, or the capitalist system, is seen as being gender neutral itself, gender divisions that are manifested are seen as pre-existant, natural and therefore are not considered to be appropriate objects of analysis in themselves for theories of women in the labour market (Hartmann, 1976; Walby, 1986).

Feminist theorists, rather than leaving these aspects of women's inequality untheorized, take them as their point of departure, engaging directly with this problematic by relating gender inequality in the labour market to wider systems of domination such as patriarchy and capitalism that may operate in the household, workplace and the state. The next section of this chapter considers feminist accounts of women's position in
the labour market: these are accounts which engage with the concept of gender inequality.

2.iii. Theorizing Gender Inequality and Women's Work: Socialist Feminist Perspectives.

Socialist feminist studies of women's employment take as their point of departure the social construction of the gender division of labour. The gender division of labour under capitalism is considered to be constructed in such a way that it fosters and is fostered by inequalities between men and women at a variety of empirical levels, such as the family/household, the workplace and the state. Despite a variety of opinions on this matter, it is acknowledged that of central importance in understanding the relationship between gender and employment is the relationship between capitalism and gender inequality which culminates in a hierarchical gender division of labour in which women are responsible for different (and less socially and economically valued) tasks than men. One manifestation of this is the nature of female participation in paid employment. Understanding women's position in the labour market using a feminist analysis necessitates sketching out first, the origins of unequal gender relations and second, the relationship between capitalism and gender inequality.

In this discussion, three broad feminist theories of gender inequality are considered, in general, and in the labour market in particular. Within these views, the origins of gender
inequality in the labour market are variously seen first, as resulting from gender inequalities that are an inherent feature of the capitalist system; second, from the interaction of two separate structures: capitalism and an autonomous patriarchy; and third, from the operation of a relatively autonomous, historically specific patriarchal ideology (familialism).

In addition to their differing theories of gender inequality in general, studies of women in the labour market vary according to whether the nature of women's position in the labour market is seen as a result of processes operating in the family/household, or in the workplace, and occasionally this is extended to consider how these are related to state-level processes. In some interpretations these are respectively referred to as supply factors and demand factors. In this discussion, however, this terminology is avoided where possible because of its neoclassical connotations and also because of the fact that exclusion and state processes tend to be eclipsed in this type of conceptualization.

This section considers a range of different views upon both women's entry into the labour market per se; and on sex segregation within the labour market from each of the three socialist feminist perspectives outlined above. Some of these studies focus on the family as the seat of gender inequality in the labour market, others as a result of processes in the workplace. More commonly, many points of view intersect and overlap, making any kind of taxonomy of literature on socialist feminism a difficult task. The first part of this section
considers a number of Marxist feminist perspectives on women in the labour market, which consider women's inequality in the labour market to be related to family/household processes or to workplace processes.

2.iii.(a) Gender in the Labour Market: Marxist Feminist Perspectives.

Marxist feminist theories of gender inequality arose as a response to "gender blind" Marxist theory in which the specificities of women's position were rendered invisible. Marxist feminism considers gender inequality to be historically specific: women's position is regarded as being derivative of capitalist relations and patriarchy, as an autonomous concept, is denied any analytical power. Instead, gender inequality is regarded as being an inherent property of capitalism, that owes its origins to women's domestic role under the capitalist system (Armstrong, 1984; Armstrong and Armstrong, 1987b; Beechey, 1977; Braverman, 1974; Bruegel, 1986; Seccombe, 1987).

Of those studies that consider capitalism itself to foster gender inequality, perhaps the most widely cited has been Beechey's early work on women as a "reserve army" of labour (republished in Beechey, 1987) (see also Bruegel, 1986, for a discussion of the reserve army thesis). In considering women's entry into the labour force, Beechey argues that

women have a distinctive position in capitalist forms of the labour process - as cheap, unskilled workers and as a
potentially disposable industrial reserve army of labour
(Beechey, 1987:9)

and that this results from the sexual division of labour in the home: under capitalism this creates women's dependence upon a male wage. Women's position in the labour market is thus structured by processes in the family/household: an arena that has taken on a particular role under capitalism, with women accorded a particular position in the division of labour as a result. This view is echoed by Mies who refers to it as a process of "housewifization" in which women throughout the world are redefined as dependent housewives by the operation of capital, which effectively cheapens the price of women's labour. Thus, female workers are accorded a position in the labour market that is quite different from that of male workers (Mies, 1986; 1988; Bennholdt-Thomsen, 1988).

A process similar to this that is occurring in particular instances is described with reference to the internationalization of factory production that occurs when capital expands geographically in order to ameliorate economic crisis. The gender basis of the emergent international division of labour is emphasized, in which capital subordinates women, and in turn is able to benefit from the low cost of their labour (Grossman, 1979; Elson and Pearson, 1981; Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Fuentes and Ehrenreich, 1983; Nash and Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; ILO, 1985; Pearson, 1986; Safa, 1986). The employment of women in so-called world market factories is one outcome of this process in which low wages can be justified by
women's definition as "secondary workers" whose income is regarded as supplemental to family reproduction (Heyzer, 1986), and low levels of worker organization are achieved by paternalistic methods of worker control on the job (Grossman, 1979). A similar argument has been used to explain the predominance of women in the informal sector too (Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Roldan, 1985) and in enterprises in peri-urban areas (Arizpe and Aranda, 1986).

In terms of occupational segregation, therefore, women's position in the labour market is seen as resulting from the logic of capital, and the creation of women as a subordinated group within the workforce. A number of criticisms have been directed at the emphasis on so-called supply factors, i.e. women's domestic subordination under capitalism, in this analysis. Walby argues that it is also possible to consider women's position in the home as being structured by their position in the labour market, and that emphasis should be given to the operation of processes actually occurring in the workplace. For this reason, many who view capitalism as a system that fosters gender inequality have turned to processes that operate in the workplace in order to explain gender segregation in the labour market.

Game and Pringle in their six case-studies of industry in Australia locate the key processes governing women's entry into the workforce and their segregation into particular occupations as taking place in the workplace itself (Game and Pringle, 1983). In their study of the relationship between gender, the
labour process and technological change, Game and Pringle's argument is similar in some respects to that of "occupational segmentation theory", except that they stress that capitalism itself is inherently gendered. The interaction of capital and organised male workers creates a sex-typing of jobs through a series of dichotomies (skilled/unskilled, heavy/light, technical/non-technical) which at once divides the workforce (to the benefit of capital), and protects "skilled" male jobs (to the benefit of the worker). The types of occupations that women are able to secure are related to the activities of employers and male workers and these in turn are reinforced by state legislation that justifies their actions. However, the problem of the family/household is not focussed on in this study, and thus it is unclear why capitalism operates in such a patriarchal fashion: in other words, why should it be women who are placed in such a position?

It is difficult to situate the structuring of occupational segregation in either the family/household or in the workplace. More sensitive are analyses that regard both of these arenas as mutually-reinforcing. Most analyses acknowledge this but nevertheless emphasize one position or the other. Armstrong, although originally citing women's position in the labour market (occupational segregation) as being structured through processes operating in the domestic sphere (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978), now regards the process as being dialectical. Gender segregation is premised on the separation of productive and reproductive activities (both are capitalist). Women's
biological relationship to reproduction conditions their entry into paid work, and their dependence upon men. However, processes operating in the workplace are also given conceptual importance: these are seen to create sex-segregation in all aspects of life - in the home as well as at work (Armstrong, 1984).

Although it seems that each of these perspectives differs in terms of the domain which is given conceptual primacy in structuring women's participation in the labour market and gender segregation, gender inequality is seen as being endogenous to the market: capitalism is gendered, whether this is within the capitalist family/household or within the workplace itself.

Marxist feminist perspectives on gender inequality have been challenged by Barrett (1980) and Connelly (1987) (amongst others) who make four points. First, such perspectives do not account for aspects of women's subordination that predate capitalism (see for example the review of anthropological investigations to this end in Blumberg, 1984). Second, and related to this point, there is no evidence to suggest that women's position will automatically improve after socialist revolution: class struggle and women's struggle do not always coincide. Thirdly, underlying such analyses is a biologistic assumption that echoes some of the assumptions inherent in non-feminist theory, i.e. that women's role is somehow "natural" and based on women's reproductive capacity. This is a position that has been vocally challenged by psychoanalytical
feminists like Nancy Chodorow who stress the social construction of sexual reproduction (Chodorow, 1978). Finally, this focus tends to obscure the interests that working class men have in retaining women's subordinate position as domestic labourers by emphasizing the importance of female subordination for capitalism rather than for men per se (Barrett, 1980; Walby, 1986; Connelly, 1987). In an attempt to deal with some of the problems of reductionism that this type of theorizing encounters, socialist feminists sought to explain gender inequality by reference to a structure that is separate from but operates with capitalism, that is, patriarchy.

2.iii.(b) Gender in the Labour Market: Dualistic Perspectives.

Walby usefully divides dualistic theories of gender inequality into first, views which consider the operation of two spheres: the reproductive sphere (with patriarchy as its mode of operation), and the production sphere (with capitalism as its mode of operation); and second, dualistic approaches that consider the operation of two parallel structures - patriarchy and capitalism - in all spheres (Walby, 1986). From the first type of dualistic analysis, the most influential have been those perspectives which consider material life to be composed of two spheres: production and reproduction, whose relations are determined by the operation of patriarchy and capitalism respectively. This type of dualistic perspective regards women's position as being determined by the relationship between two separate spheres - the productive
sphere which comprises capitalism/waged work, and the reproductive sphere consisting of "other forms of work", most commonly those that are considered "domestic" (Engels, 1972[1884]; Beneria and Sen, 1981; Meillasoux, 1981; Bryceson and Vuorela, 1984). Important in determining women's subordination in these theories, therefore, are processes that are located within the reproductive sphere but that become significant when that sphere articulates with another mode of production.

Using the concept of "modes of human reproduction" Bryceson and Vuorela argue that women's participation in both social reproduction and biological reproduction structures their position in productive work, but they insist that their theory is not biologically deterministic (Bryceson and Vuorela, 1984). While ostensibly women's position in the labour market results from processes within the reproductive sphere, of principal importance is the nature of the relationship that exists between the productive and reproductive spheres. They argue that women's subordination in the labour market results from the form taken by a rationalization of labour time that takes place in any societies that exhibit a sexual division of labour, and which cuts across particular modes of production. Based upon women's necessary role in pregnancy and breastfeeding, this rationalization relegates women "to labour tasks that are more conducive to accommodating pregnancy and childbearing" (Bryceson and Vuorela, 1984:162). This explains
women's position in part-time work, in low-paid jobs in secondary labour markets, and in the informal sector.

In a similar manner, in their earlier work Beneria and Sen take the idea of a separation of spheres to account for women's position in the labour market by considering the importance that the precise nature of the articulation of these separate productive and reproductive spheres has for understanding occupational segregation by sex. As a wage labour system emerges, production and reproduction are further separated to the point that women's unique responsibility for reproductive activities becomes a disadvantage which structures their position in low-wage sections of the labour market, thus entrenching their dependency upon men (Beneria and Sen, 1981; Mackintosh, 1981; Mackenzie and Rose, 1983).

Following this logic, in many discussions of women's segregation into the informal sector and into particular activities therein, women's activities in the productive sphere are seen as extensions of their domestic role in the reproductive sphere, and subject to the constraints that domestic obligations pose. Hence the domestic division of labour is seen as a primary factor in explaining the concentration of women in activities such as cooked food vending (Jellinek, 1987; Tinker, 1988), vegetable selling (Nelson, 1979; Bunster and Chaney, 1985) and domestic service (Bunster and Chaney, 1985). In addition, many studies of women and work have considered sex segregation in the labour market to be a result of the articulation of a patriarchal family form.
(family system) with capitalism. Of these studies, the most convincing are those that discuss particular family forms in East Asia where control of unmarried daughters by parents leads to their position within the wage labour market (Salaff, 1981; Kung, 1983; Greenhalgh, 1985; Phongpaichit, 1988).

Generally-speaking, this type of dualistic perspective tends to regard women's position in the labour market as being structured by the constraints that women's principal reproductive activities pose. The operation of patriarchy (or an equivalent structure) is confined to the reproductive or domestic sphere - occupational segregation results from the constraints therein. There are a number of problems posed both by the abstract underpinnings of this type of analysis, and by the analysis itself. First, the conceptualization of reproduction tends to collapse a number of quite different activities into the category "reproduction", for example, biological reproduction and social reproduction, subsistence activities; and, as Redclift has pointed out, some informal sector activities are also seen as "reproductive" (Redclift, 1985). Reproduction is clearly a chaotic conception.

Second, and related to this point, is the problem of distinguishing between productive and reproductive activities. These may form "separate spheres" in some instances but not in all (Moore, 1988). Thus it is problematic to regard these spheres as exclusively male and female, and to lodge the roots of women's subordination universally within their role as "reproducers" when it is not entirely clear what is meant by
reproduction and how it relates to production. Third, there is an inadequate conceptualization of the nature of productive activities: their structure is taken as given and it is unclear just from an analysis of the domestic role of women, why this should pose such constraints upon participation in production. Finally, this type of dualistic analysis ignores the operation of gender inequality in the workplace. By focusing upon some form of "traditional patriarchy" in the family or reproductive sphere, forms of patriarchal power in the workplace such as employer exclusion from particular forms of work, or men's interests in retaining women in the home are down-played.

The latter question is explicitly addressed in the second type of dualistic analysis of women's position, which comes from Hartmann's much discussed consideration of "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism" (Hartmann, 1981). In Hartmann's view, gender hierarchies (patriarchy) and the mode of production (capitalism) are two semi-autonomous systems which operate in partnership to produce women's position in society. The roots of patriarchy, it is argued, lie in heterosexual monogamous marriage, and several other social institutions, which form the basis of control of women's sexuality and labour power by men (Hartmann, 1981). Sylvia Walby is also sympathetic to the use of dualistic analyses and suggests that they "capture the autonomy of patriarchal relations whilst not ignoring the significance of capitalist relations" (Walby, 1986:33). Walby's version of dualism considers both patriarchy and capitalism to be modes of
production, which differ simply in their respective "modes of exploitation" (Walby, 1986:46). Patriarchy involves the social relations of men exploiting women, capitalism involves the social relations of capital exploiting labour. Patriarchy as a mode of production operates at a number of levels, including the household, the workplace and the state; and as such it may exist in conjunction with modes of production other than capitalism.

This type of dualistic perspective on women in the workforce tends to see sex segregation in the labour market in terms of the patriarchal activities of employers (through skill designation, the gendering of different tasks within the occupational structure, and exclusion of women from particular types of work); and in terms of the activities of the male workers themselves: on the shop floor and in trade unions (Gannage, 1986). Heidi Hartmann has been instrumental in developing a dual-systems theory of women in the labour market. Her work began as a critique of segmentation theories for failing to acknowledge the role that male workers had alongside male employers, in structuring women's workforce participation (Hartmann, 1976). Using a variety of historical examples, in her study she argues that women occupy a particular position in the structure of the labour market that has arisen through the patriarchal activities of male employers and male workers which worked against the logic of an otherwise gender-blind capitalism.
As Coyle suggests, often the short-term interests of male employees coincided with the long term interests of the employers (Coyle, 1982). Male workers felt that their jobs were threatened by low-paid women whose claims for employment or higher wages were continually undermined by the idea that they were dependent, or at least, secondary wage earners. Male workers thus organised to control women's labour by excluding women from particular protected occupations. Hartmann shows that regardless of whether it was of advantage to capital as a whole, women were excluded from primary occupations, and their position as secondary workers was reinforced and entrenched: with the result that women were paid less, their work was considered to be less skilled and they were more vulnerable to unemployment. Allegience to Hartmann is given by Thorbek who in her analysis of women in the Bangkok labour market, argues that the specificity of women's position is partly explained by the common patriarchal interest "shared by most men and capitalist enterprises in favouring men on the labour market" that relegates women to their position as secondary workers in both the formal sector and in informal sector employment (Thorbek, 1987:71).

The notion of exclusion from employment has been extended to include "skill" and "technology" as ways in which women can actively be excluded from particular occupations (Rogers, 1980; Dauber and Cain, 1981; Coyle, 1982; Cockburn, 1983; 1986). Cockburn stresses that skill definition and technology are political issues: they are essentially patriarchal and are
controlled to the detriment of women. A principle factor in excluding women from particular occupations in the labour market is what Cockburn refers to as a "process of appropriation of (the) physical and mental properties and technical hardware" by men, which in itself has created gender hierarchies in the workplace (Cockburn, 1986:100). Important in her analysis is the relationship between gendered technology and physical properties of males (e.g. muscular strength), indeed she argues that technological development exacerbates physical differences between men and women, although it need not necessarily do so. In essence, therefore, technology is political: it ultimately divides the workforce into skilled men and unskilled women, through the patriarchal control of technology by both men as men and by men as employers.

This type of explanation has, to some degree, been used to explain women's concentration in informal activities within the urban labour market; occupational segregation may in part result from the exclusionary activities of male workers and employers with respect to the skills and technology associated with particular occupations in the formal sector (Heyzer, 1981). As Coyle points out, definitions of skill are fluid and can be changed through the process of "deskilling", in which jobs are redefined as unskilled by employers, to justify the employment of lower paid female workers. The reaction of organized male workers in the west has been to prevent this from occurring:

it would seem that organised male labour was content to see women contained within
an unskilled low-paid and subordinate female ghetto and to defend skills on the basis of the preservation of masculine skills

(Coyle, 1982:24).

Hence occupational segregation is created and recreated in the workplace as capitalism articulates with a pre-existing structure of patriarchy in what Phillips and Taylor call "the sexualization of skill labels" (Phillips and Taylor, 1986:63). Capitalism is seen as being sex-blind, but through its relationship with patriarchy in the workplace it leads to the segregation of women into low-paid, unskilled and poorly unionized employment. Dual systems theorists thus tend to stress the importance of processes of gender inequality as they occur in the workplace. Because patriarchy is accorded autonomy, it is possible to locate the causes of women's position in the labour market within the workplace, and not necessarily in the family/household. This has been an important insight in the literature on women in the labour market.

Though dual-systems theory has certainly produced some helpful insights that concern gender inequality in the workplace, there are a number of problems that need to be considered. First, the use of an ahistorical and universal concept of "patriarchy" is problematic, given the different expressions that gender inequality takes in different places and at different times. Second, there is ample evidence that suggests that capital itself is not gender-blind as this theory assumes but is inherently "gendered" (Armstrong, 1984; MacEwen Scott, 1986b). For example, Humphrey makes the point that this
theory gives no account of how labour markets themselves may adapt to the nature of the available labour force, or how occupations can be constructed around gender or racial identities. Furthermore, the analytic dualism accorded between patriarchy and capitalism involves too stark a contrast between their respective spheres of influence (Young, 1981). This is difficult to reconcile with the fact that real life is not dualistic but an integrated whole which is suffused with multiple relations of domination/subordination based on race, ethnicity, nationality, age, etc., as well as upon class and gender (Beneria and Roldan, 1987). As Beneria and Roldan write:

Although class and gender may be analytically distinguishable at a theoretical level, in practice they cannot be easily disentangled. The problem before us is to build a unifying theory and analysis in which material and ideological factors are an integral aspect of our understanding of economic and social reality. Strategically this implies that class and gender must be dealt with simultaneously as part of the struggle towards eliminating exploitation in general and the oppression of women in particular.

(Beneria and Roldan, 1987:10).

One of the most influential contributions to this end has come from Michele Barrett who argues for considering women's oppression not as "a theoretical prerequisite of capitalism" but as nevertheless "embedded in its [capitalism's] social relations and thus material in character". The aim of her theory of gender inequality is to overcome the inherent blind spots of Marxist feminist and dual-systems perspectives in which the analysis is either ahistorical or reductionist. The
next part of this section discusses critically Barrett's theory of gender inequality, to establish whether her theory does indeed enable these problems to be overcome.

2.iii.(c) Gender in the Labour Market: Gender Inequality as Ideology.

In *Women's Oppression Today* (1980) Barrett argues against views that regard gender inequality as either a subset of capitalist relations or as a function of the operation of a capitalist-patriarchy duality. These approaches, she suggests, are unduly reductionist or ahistorical in their assumptions. Instead, Barrett argues that it is important to consider that women's position in capitalist society is the result of protracted struggle: capitalism is not necessarily patriarchal in its form, nor is patriarchy a functional requisite for capitalism, but due to a number of historical processes that were embedded in a precapitalist ideology of gender, such a situation has arisen. Barrett denies that patriarchy has any analytical weight, but suggests that it is correct to talk of patriarchal social relations. This position allows the existence of patriarchal social relations in non-capitalist societies to be entertained, and in the context of this study, this is an important point.

Fundamental to Barrett's account of gender inequality is the notion of ideology which is seen as being "an extremely important site for the construction and reproduction of women's oppression" (Barrett, 1980:253). However, she denies that
women's oppression "rests exclusively on ideological processes" as this involves making one of two assumptions: first, that ideology is absolutely autonomous of the economic relations of capitalism, or second, that "ideology is always grounded in material relations but that gender ideology is grounded in economic relations between women and men that exist independently of capitalism" (Barrett, 1980:252). Both of these positions she rejects outright as being idealist and reductionist respectively. Instead, Barrett argues for a historically bounded ideology that is materially grounded but relatively autonomous. Although she denies that gender ideology is necessarily related to economic relations, ideology must be seen as being materially grounded as no clear separation between the ideological and the material realm exists:

Ideology has played an important part in the historical construction of the capitalist division of labour and in the reproduction of labour power. A sexual division of labour, and accompanying ideologies of the appropriate meaning of labour for men and women, have been embedded in the capitalist division of labour from its beginnings. It is impossible to over-emphasize here the importance of an historical analysis (Barrett, 1980:98).

The notion of ideology that Barrett employs with regard to gender inequality is that of "familial ideology". It is important to make the distinction between "the family" as an objective reality, and "familialism" as an ideology which pervades not only the family but also other sites of gender inequality such as the state and the workplace. Familial
ideology is comprised of two principal features: first, as an ideological arena in which gender identity and its meaning is produced, negotiated and reproduced, and secondly the economic organization of the household which constitutes the material relations which, to some degree, structure women's dependence upon men.

Women's position is seen as resulting from the operation of a relatively autonomous ideology of familialism which exists within various spheres (the family/household, the workplace and the state) and is historically embedded in the relations of capitalism. Although acknowledging the importance of familial ideology in all spheres of life, Barrett regards women's labour market position as being, in most instances, structured by processes within the family/household. This, she argues, is why women's occupations in the labour market resemble the general nature of women's work in the household.

Its influence is also felt through education and training, through state ideology, through the mass media and through the activities of trade unions which are responsive to familial ideology as well as instrumental in reproducing it. Processes that operate in the workplace to structure women's position in the labour market (such as the exclusionary activities of male employers and workers) are therefore seen as an extension of a familial ideology which has a normative influence over how women's waged work should be conceived. As Barrett writes:

Even in households where women contribute considerably to the family budget, the
ideology of women's dependence remains strong


Beneria and Roldan agree with Barrett's formulation but extend her analysis to consider the structuration of women's position in the labour market as well as in the family/household. They do not agree with prioritizing either the family/household or the workplace as domains of operation for processes structuring the occupational segregation of women. Instead, both are seen as being important, depending upon the context (Beneria and Roldan, 1987). In addition, as recent work in Asia has shown, the contemporary state in many countries plays a central role in conditioning women's experience in society in general, and in the labour market in particular (Afshar, 1987).

Barrett's theory which emphasizes ideological processes and the interaction of sets of social relations within a particular historical context, seems able to transcend some of the problems that were identified earlier with the other feminist perspectives on women in the labour market. However, three issues need to be addressed. First, attention must be given to the problems that are associated with transposing conceptual categories derived from western empirical work to other non-western contexts (Tinker, 1985; Ong, 1988). Of these, the centrality of the family in explaining gender inequality and the concept of familial ideology as a factor that structures women's labour market position need to be unpacked. The degree to which something akin to familial ideology exists in different
places must be understood, by sensitizing the assumptions that underlie theories of gender inequality to the specificities of women's experience if they are to have any analytical capability in non-western contexts.

A second issue that needs to be addressed concerns the role of the state with respect to women. Given the variations in the form and functions of the state in different parts of the world, the relationship between the state and women's position needs to be theorized in a manner that is sensitive to historical and geographical specificity. Third, and again related to the issue of historical and geographical specificity, the nature of capitalism in different places needs to be given due attention, given the importance of this in shaping people's experience in all aspects of life. With these three issues in mind, the following section explores the problem of ethnocentrism generally in existing theories of women in the labour market. Three themes are considered: first, gender inequality and the problem of "familial ideology", second, the role of the state with respect to women, and third, the nature of capitalism in different places.

2.iv. Theorizing Women's Work: Capitalism, Gender Inequality and Ethnocentrism.

In any understanding of female labour force participation in the contemporary world, the themes proposed above must be conceptualized with a sensitivity to historical and
geographical specificity. In most discussions, there is a recognition that the forms taken by capitalism and the state vary from place to place, but less recognition that the nature of gender inequality may likewise vary. The importance of recent critiques of western feminist perspectives on gender inequality becomes evident when the universality of gender inequality is problematized, which, it is argued here, is necessary when examining gender relations in non-western contexts. This section discusses the issue of ethnocentrism in socialist feminist theory, with particular reference to Barrett's work. Second, theories of the state and its relationship to gender inequalities are outlined, and third, perspectives on capitalist development are briefly sketched out, in order to highlight the importance of contextualizing women's experience in a conceptualization that recognizes the importance of geographical and historical difference.

2.iv.(a) Ethnocentrism and Feminist Theory.

The ethnocentrism of feminist theory has been pointed out by feminists from two main camps: Black feminists in Europe and North America (see Carby, 1982; Parmar, 1982; Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1983; Barrett and McIntosh, 1985; Bhavnani and Coulson, 1986), and second, from women in non-western countries together with "women-in-development" groups (Tinker, 1985; Moore, 1988; Ong, 1988). There are four main points that need to be raised when considering the utility of exported gender theory: first, the heterogeneity of the category "woman";
second, how notions of the family and the reproductive sphere vary across cultures; and third, societal variations in women's experience of oppression. Finally, as feminism is ultimately a political movement, the relationship between the aims of feminism and the struggles and goals of particular women in particular places must be given due attention. Each of these has, in the end, a significance for women's position in the labour market through the way in which women's acquiescence and struggles with gender inequalities is manifested.

Recent post-structuralist feminist perspectives have begun to raise questions about the construction of different subjectivities of women (i.e. ways of being an individual) which, it is argued, suggests that there is no universal category "woman". Although constructed around the same biological reference of "female", femininity and womanhood embrace quite different meanings and manifestations across time and space, which shape (and are shaped by) other factors such as class, race, ethnicity and so-forth, and that together comprise the subject position of a particular individual (Weedon, 1987; Fraser and Nicholson, 1988). Thus, Spivak argues that the claims of western feminism to speak for all women are fundamentally misplaced. Rather than emphasising some sort of homogeneous "global sisterhood", perspectives on gender inequality should recognise the heterogeneity of the category "woman" and construct theories of gender inequality that are sensitive to the differences that this might imply (Spivak, 1987).
A second point concerns the question of the centrality of the family and the reproductive sphere in explanations of gender inequality, which should be problematized in contemporary Third World settings. Carby makes this point when she argues that the concepts of the family and the reproductive sphere become problematic when applied to non-white, non-western women's lives. She argues that the idea of a universal "familial dependence" should be questioned, and that, for a variety of reasons, women's role in reproductive activities takes quite different forms and meanings in non-western settings. This leads to the construction of femininity that may differ from that found amongst white western women of various social classes. This point is echoed by Moore in her review of contemporary anthropological research on the question of gender (Moore, 1988). Given that they rest upon a set of assumptions concerning these aspects of women's lives, the concepts of "familial ideology" or "patriarchy" must be deconstructed to take account of the specificities of different groups of non-white, non-western women in other religio-cultural contexts. This has some important implications for theories that account for women's position in the labour market.

The third point concerns the way in which white western feminism has tended to underplay, and perhaps even reproduced, other oppressions such as racism and neo-colonialism that women face, and that structure their participation in the labour market. Carby illustrates one instance of this point by referring to the many discussions that have emerged that
concern the employment of Third World "nimble-fingered oriental women" in world market manufacturing (e.g. Grossman, 1979; Elson and Pearson, 1981). Within these discussions, attention is focussed upon gender and the relation that is implied by the adjective "oriental" is ignored (Carby, 1982). The marginalization of racially-demarcated processes in such analyses means that the specificity of non-western women's situation is eclipsed.

Also significant in considering the use of feminist concepts in "other" settings is the degree to which women's struggles against their oppression can be universalized (Ong, 1988). This point is of importance to the extent that women's struggles both reflect and structure gender inequality in the labour market and elsewhere. Ong questions the monolithic representation of "Third World Women" that is evident in some of the neoclassical and socialist feminist "women in development" literature which assumes a common bond between western and non-western women. These perspectives tend to present a traditional/modern dichotomy onto which is grafted either some notion of the liberating potential of modernity or the idea of women being acted upon by abstract forces of capitalism and patriarchy, and subjected to "super-exploitation". Within either of these perspectives Ong argues that there is a tendency to "encode a belief in their [white western feminists] own cultural superiority" which faces the concerns of "feminism" but not of the women themselves (Ong, 1988:85). Universal feminist concepts should be problematized,
given their propensity for ignoring indigenous meanings and concerns. This point is also made by Tinker who takes issue with the exportation of "theory that does not accord with the reality of women's lives in developing countries as seen from these women's own perspective[s]" (Tinker, 1985).

Despite the concerns that are raised here, it is unhelpful to jettison attempts at theorizing women's position in the labour market or elsewhere by claiming that they are racist, ethnocentric or orientalist. The importance of these critiques lies in their capacity to sensitize western feminist theory to the concerns of women beyond the white western middle class. Of the feminist perspectives considered in this chapter, Barrett's ideas seem to have the most utility in seeking to understand the processes that lead to gender inequalities in different societies, providing that a sense of the specificity of the nature of gender inequality in particular settings is retained.

In responding to criticisms of her "ethnocentric" assumptions, Barrett suggests that her "characterization of the family as the major agency of women's oppression" perhaps underestimates the role of state coercion and violence in oppressing black and Third World women in contemporary Britain, for which concern should be shown (Barrett and McIntosh, 1985). Her concern might be extended in order to include the role of processes operating in the workplace as well as in the state, and to the role played by different religious orthodoxies such as Islam or Christianity in both western and non-western settings. Women's position is not only structured by unilateral processes within
the household/family, but by something akin to "familial ideology" (the nature of which must be specified in particular contexts) as it operates in the workplace and the state. It makes more sense to talk of women's labour market position as arising from the dialectical relationship that exists between the household/family and the workplace, both of which are conditioned by the activities of the state. The next part of this section considers the importance of the state in shaping women's experience, as a step towards a theory of gender that is sensitive to the factors that shape particular women's positions in particular settings.

2.iv.(b) Women and the State.

The state plays a central role in regulating the conditions of people's lives in a variety of situations. As Dahlerup observes,

> it seems mandatory to include the role of the state, since the state is now integrated into all social relations in modern society

(Dahlerup, 1987:103)

A conceptualization of the state in this discussion is necessary for two reasons: first, because of its role in regulating the conditions of capitalism and the contours of economic restructuring, both of which have a significant impact on the nature of the labour market. Second, the state plays an important role in shaping social relations between different groups of people, again, with ramifications for the position that particular groups hold within the labour market, and in
society in general. A number of theories of the state based upon perspectives as diverse as classical liberalism, structural functionalism, Weberian perspectives, and elite theory have emerged (for an overview of each of these, see Knutilla, 1987). Central to analysing the state in capitalism, however, are Marxist theories.

The following discussion outlines some of the more important features of three Marxist theories of the state, which have been important in shaping the manner in which the relationship between women and the state has subsequently been theorized. It is suggested that the relationship of the state with women in particular is eclipsed in many of these perspectives, and that this has given rise to a number of feminist theories of the state that aim to specify the role played by the state in structuring and reinforcing gender inequalities. Finally, and in keeping with the need to avoid ethnocentrism, the issue of women and the state in non-western contexts is addressed in theoretical terms in order to specify the nature of their relationship, and to outline the manner in which the state fosters gender inequalities, at different historical and geographical conjunctures.

Within Marxist theories of the state are a number of quite different perspectives, each highlighting a different aspect of the state's role. Beyond the Classical Marxist notion of the state as "a committee for managing the affairs of the whole bourgeoisie", (Marx, cited in Miliband, 1969:7) three main theories of the state can be recognized (Clark and Dear, 1984).
First, "instrumentalist" views regard the state as actively serving the interests of a monolithic capitalist class. The form and functions of the state reflect the accumulation motives of the capitalist class, and the political and economic dimensions of capitalism are collapsed into one another.

Second, structuralist perspectives on the state, associated with the work of Poulantzas consider the state to be relatively autonomous to the capitalist class but to guarantee the long term interests of the capitalist class as a whole, instead of individuals within the state, thus protecting it from various divergent interests that exist within the bourgeoisie (Poulantzas, 1975). The role of the state is to alleviate class contradictions, to generate accumulation, and to accommodate other contradictions that exist within society.

Third, "ideological perspectives" on the state emphasize the state's ideological role. Through what Althusser terms "ideological state apparatuses", such as education, the family and so forth, the state pursues class exploitation and control, in order to reproduce conditions for capitalist production (Althusser, 1971). Gramscian perspectives also emphasize the political aspects of the state, in particular, its role in fostering active consent to ruling class ideas. However, the state is seen as operating, not in a top-down manner, but on and through the prevailing system of beliefs, values, commonsense assumptions and social attitudes to organize popular culture in its broadest sense and adapt it to the needs of the dominant mode of production (Jessop, 1982:148)
The role of the state in the regulation of class relations to serve the interests either of the capitalist class, or of the capitalist system, provides the basis of an analysis of both the form and the function of the state under capitalism (Knutilla, 1987). While empirical observation of the operation of the state suggests that indeed the state does appear to regulate conditions for capitalist accumulation, it is apparent that because of their somewhat narrow definition of politics, Marxist theories of the state are unable to deal with the role played by the state with respect to systems of domination and subordination that are based upon criteria other than class. More recently, therefore, a number of feminist perspectives on the state have attempted to conceptualize the relationship between women and the state. Although each of these theories differ in important respects, in general the role of the state is seen as a medium for creating and maintaining conditions that are appropriate for capitalist accumulation.

In general, feminist theories of the state have focussed on the role of the state in reproducing women's inequality in a capitalist system, either from a marxist perspective in which the state is viewed as capitalist, or from a dual-systems perspective, in which the state is viewed as mediating between capitalism and patriarchy. Thus the state is seen either as serving the interests of capitalists, or else as serving the interests of men. Either way, the state has had a profound effect upon women that is felt most directly through the way in
which the state conditions the labour market, the family and gender relations.

In early Marxist feminist conceptualizations of the state, the state's role in maintaining conditions for capitalist accumulation was given analytical primacy, and its role in reproducing gender inequalities was through the preservation of women as either a reserve army of labour, or as domestic labourers, subsidizing the reproduction of labour power and ameliorating the alienating effects of wage labour (Jones, 1988). The relationship between women and the state was thus subsumed under a more general discussion of the capitalist state and the family. The implicit reductionism of this type of analysis has since been challenged by approaches that accord some sort of autonomy to "patriarchy": as a system of subordination along the lines of gender.

Although there are some differences within dual systems perspectives, in general the state is seen as both capitalist and patriarchal. The state is concerned with mediating relations of production, and also relations of reproduction, which might include control of women's sexuality and so forth. Its role is chiefly as a mediator between the possible contradictions that arise between capitalism (production) and patriarchy (reproduction) (O'Brien, 1986). Eisenstein argues that the state is relatively autonomous to patriarchal interests, and also to capitalist interests, but in general it is instrumental in maintaining women as a secondary workforce,
and also in maintaining women's position in the family (Eisenstein, 1984).

Radical feminist approaches are critical of dual-systems theory for continuing to analyse the relationship between the state and gender in terms functional to capitalism. Instead, Mackinnon regards the state as an expression of the institutionalization of male power, and its norms and policies are reflective of men's control over women's sexuality. Gender inequality is thus privileged as the fundamental division in society, and the division upon which the form and function of the state is premised (MacKinnon, 1982).

Although certainly the operation of the state in various spheres would suggest that control of women's sexuality and reproductive capabilities is an objective of the state in certain instances, MacKinnon's approach cannot account for other aspects of female subordination that the state appears to reproduce, for example, in the workforce. Not all aspects of women's position are reducible to control of women's sexuality.

In order to counter on the one hand, the reductionist tendencies of both radical and Marxist feminist approaches, and on the other hand, the functionalism of dual-systems theory, a number of socialist feminist approaches have emerged that emphasize the ideological role of the state. Of these, the most influential have been the discussions of the state by McIntosh (1978) and by Wilson (1977). Briefly, both of these perspectives emphasize the role of the state in supporting a specific family/household form ostensibly to serve the
interests of capital. This occurs through the ideological apparatuses of the state: for example, education and state policies. Indirectly, however, the family and also the mechanisms by which this situation is achieved, support the oppression of women. In a somewhat contradictory manner, the state also supports the entry of women into the workforce, albeit as secondary workers.

Despite the intentions of avoiding crude reductionism in this theory, the state is still regarded as an entity which oppresses women in order to serve the interests of capital. Ultimately, therefore, the position of women is predicated upon the function of the state in ensuring capitalist accumulation. At some point, the role of the state in controlling women and its role in capitalist accumulation need to be theorized together, to avoid the duality that is inherent in dual-systems accounts of women and the state.

Barrett conceptualizes the state in a manner that owes much to the work of Wilson and McIntosh, but by stressing the importance of historical analysis, she attempts to overcome functionalism and reductionism. She argues that the state does not necessarily serve the interests of men or capitalists, but that historically the state's interest in subordinating women so as to preserve the moral order, has somehow converged with the interest that the state has in maintaining conditions for capital accumulation. Thus, in particular instances the state operates in an ideological manner to promote a particular image
and role of women, that effectively conditions women's existence.

Following Barrett, but taking the analysis a stage further, Burton also focusses on the ideological aspects of the state, but in addition she stresses the role of agency: through contestation and mediation, and in particular through the effects that the women's movement has had upon the relationship between the state and women (Burton, 1985). According to these views, therefore, the state appears to maintain and reinforce gender inequality through its ideological role, and also through particular types of legislation that have implications for women.

A number of commentators have raised questions over whether existing theories of the state are able to engage with the problem of the state in countries outside Europe and North America, in the absence of liberal democracy and social welfare programmes. In general, in the Third World, the state operates less by consent than by coercion, the state is not dependent upon public fiscal support, and in addition, international capital has historically tended to play a particular role in the form and function of the state (Taylor, 1985). Recognition of this has led to specific conceptualizations of the state in "dependent" or "peripheral" situations.

Although broadly-speaking, the state is viewed as an entity that ensures capital accumulation, perspectives on the state in the Third World have emphasized, on the one hand, external forces and relations of exchange, and on the other, internal
forces and relations of production. More recently, a number of approaches have emerged that emphasize the dynamic interaction of internal and external forces; together with the role of struggle and contestation in particular historical and geographical situations. Of the first view, Dependency theorists consider the form and function of the state to reflect the position of a particular nation-state within the global economy. Dependent states are conditioned by the demands of metropolitan capitalists and the local comprador bourgeoisie, in whose interests the state operates.

By contrast, orthodox Marxists emphasize local class relations: the state is viewed less in an instrumentalist vein, and more in a structuralist manner, as the state maintains conditions for accumulation by a variety of means, including, in some instances, coercion and repression. The third view, which is most consistent with the analysis that is pursued here, considers the state as a historically specific entity concerned with maintaining conditions for capitalist accumulation, but that is responsive to both internal and external pressures (Cardoso and Faletto, 1979). In addition to the importance of local conditions of existence, this perspective emphasizes the role of struggle and human agency in creating a particular form and role of the state.

Commonly, what has emerged in many Third World contexts is what has been termed "bureaucratic authoritarianism": a state which is characterized by an authoritarian form and a developmentalist role. Park follows this perspective but
loosens the relationship that the state has with the economic realm by pointing out the institutional self-interest that the state has in expanding and reproducing the material base of its political power (Park, 1988). Park therefore conceptualizes the state as being formed by the dynamic interaction between external and internal forces, and between the economic-social sphere and the political-state sphere in the context of historically specific structures of domination such as class, religious identity and ethnicity. To this might be added gender. Under situations of bureaucratic authoritarianism, the state need not be predicated only on class, but also on gender relations in particular ways. As Agarwal points out, along with western liberal democracies, Third World states are also concerned with issues such as the domestication of women and the control of female sexuality through a range of policies and ideologies which may serve the interests of capital, but not in any necessary way (Agarwal, 1988). Unlike the state in liberal democratic situations, however, the role of struggle is somewhat truncated: mechanisms of repression and coercion mean that bureaucratic authoritarian states are affected in fairly limited ways by contemporary grass-roots women's movements. The state, therefore, is seen as having no single overarching purpose but rather as a crystallization around a range of issues such as accumulation, distribution of wealth and the preservation of a "moral order" in particular ways in particular contexts.
2.iv.(c) Manifestations of Capitalism in Different Places.

There are a number of different theories that are concerned with the nature of capitalism in the Third World. Rather than examining the intricacies of these theories and their attendant critiques and counter-critiques, the purpose of this section is to point out that from both an empirical and a theoretical point of view, and for a variety of hotly debated reasons, capitalism is manifested in quite distinctive ways in Third World countries. Here I wish to point briefly to the implications that this has for the nature of the labour market, and how this leads to certain misgivings about the applicability of western-based feminist theories of women in the urban labour market in other places. The form taken by capitalism structures income-generating possibilities in different places, as well as being itself structured by the types of processes that are at play in these different places. This has implications for the nature of the activities in which men and women are engaged. Corbridge effectively summarizes four influential perspectives that have dominated radical development theory, and which, despite certain epistemological similarities, differ in the way they conceptualize capitalism in the Third World (Corbridge, 1986).

The first of these is the neo-Marxist or Dependency theory of underdevelopment (associated with Frank, 1969; Baran, 1973; Wallerstein, 1979) which conceives of a capitalist world economy divided into a developed core and an "underdeveloped" periphery: a situation which is structured and maintained by
asymmetrical exchange relations between core and periphery. This leads to a situation in the periphery which is described by Corbridge as a "morphology of backwardness" (Corbridge, 1986:40), wherein the income-generating possibilities of people in the periphery reflect the neo-colonial relationship between core and periphery. The claim is that dependency relations preclude independent industrialization in the periphery. Following this thesis through, it would seem that this is reflected in the nature of the labour market in a peripheral context where production is either geared towards primary commodities for exchange on the world market, or is subsistence production for use at home. This perspective has been subjected to major criticisms: the most important of these comes from the second perspective that Corbridge identifies.

This second body of development theory arises from what has been referred to as the return of classical Marxism, in which production relations are re-emphasised at the expense of exchange relations. This perspective, originally associated with Rosa Luxemburg, suggests that in dealing with turbulent labour relations in the core, and in an effort to secure surplus value, "capitalists must seek new ways of restructuring capitalism, and this may involve the export of capital to the colonies" (Corbridge, 1986:47). The periphery thus becomes assimilated into the capitalist world economy. Differences in the periphery result from the limited expansion of capitalism into the periphery at particular historical moments: again this has implications for the nature of the labour market. This
perspective leads into the third view that Corbridge mentions, that is, Structural Marxist development theory.

While acknowledging that capitalism is a force for development, Structuralist perspectives account for the specificity of the nature of capitalism in the periphery by reference to an "articulation of modes of production" within a given social formation. In the periphery, the capitalist mode of production articulates with a pre-capitalist mode, giving rise to a dualistic economy made up of, on the one hand, "modern" banking, "modern" industry and commercial agriculture; and on the other hand, "informal" activities such as money-lending, handicrafts and subsistence agriculture. Clearly this has implications for the nature of the labour market in peripheral situations (Corbridge, 1986:59). It is argued that the maintainence of pre-capitalist forms effectively subsidizes the cost of reproducing the capitalist mode of production in the core. Thus, while this perspective is more sensitive to specificity and local struggle, it assumes that the form of the periphery is conditioned by the "needs" of capitalism in the core.

These three perspectives are criticised by Corbridge for what he terms their "spatial over-aggregation", which conceives of the capitalist world system as comprised of two types of area: the core and the periphery, or North and South (Corbridge, 1986:11). While recognising international asymmetries of power and wealth, Corbridge argues that this type of generalization obscures more than it reveals. Instead
he advocates a concern with "relations of production and conditions of existence". Following Cardoso (1979), he suggests that this framework allows a sensitivity to diverse outcomes in the capitalist world economy by giving conceptual weight to the role of agency through the struggles, strategies and histories of people in particular places; and to conditions of existence (resource endowments and climatic variation, population growth rates, state policies, for example) that place ever-varying boundaries on the possibilities faced by different groups of people in particular places at particular times. In addition to this, recognition should be given to the role of consumption practices, to what McGee has referred to as a convergence in consumption patterns (consumerism) that is evident in many Third World contexts. The relationship between this type of convergence in consumption practices and divergence in terms of a country's relationship with the international capitalist system varies from one situation to another (Armstrong and McGee, 1985).

This recognition of difference within the periphery, as well as between the core and the periphery means that it is important to specify the nature of capitalism in a particular context, and the implications for that this has for income-generating possibilities that are open for particular groups of people. For the purposes of specifying the labour market situation of women in Indonesia, the next chapter is concerned with contextualizing the Indonesian labour market. In order to hold any utility in different contexts, feminist theories
concerning gender inequalities in western labour markets must be sensitized to two main concerns: first, the relations of domination that exist generally between the "core" and the "periphery"; and second, in recognising the heterogeneity of the periphery, the multiplicity of different relations of production and conditions of existence that exist within the world economy. This, together with a culturally and historically specific conceptualization of gender inequality, must underlie interpretations of women in the labour market.

2.v. Conclusions.

Feminist perspectives on women in the urban labour market have problematized many issues which underlie women's position in the workforce, in particular, the ways in which unequal relations of gender are expressed in the family/household, the workplace and the state. Attention has been directed at the position of women in the labour market as secondary workers: their predominance in low paid, part-time work, in the informal sector and their segregation into particular occupations. This situation has been considered in terms of its relationship with capitalism, patriarchy and gender ideologies that operate in the family/household, in the workplace and in the state.

Problems arise, however, when the conceptual categories associated with white western feminism are transposed into other contexts. Recent critiques have suggested that the universalistic, ahistorical and reductionist assumptions of
much feminist theorizing on women (in the labour market and in society in general) are misplaced.

This chapter has explored two issues which need to be problematized when theorizing women's position in the labour market in different places. First, the manner in which gender inequality is constructed and expressed in different situations, based on the subjectivity of particular women in different contexts, their struggles and their aims. It has been suggested that familial ideology is constructed and contested in culturally specific forms, and is extended through historically and culturally specific forms of the family/household, and the state. The second issue concerns the manner in which capitalism is manifested: through the relationship between global processes and local conditions of existence.

The purpose of the next two chapters is to follow up these issues in the Indonesian context, in order to construct a framework with which to analyse the position of women in the labour market in the context of particular patterns of economic restructuring within local conditions of existence, and under the influence of a historically and culturally specific ideology of gender.
CHAPTER THREE

CONTEXTUALIZING WOMEN'S WORK: STRUCTURAL CHANGE, CONDITIONS OF EXISTENCE AND THE INDONESIAN LABOUR MARKET.

3.i. Introduction.

In Chapter Two it was argued that in order to understand women's position in the labour market, it is necessary to build analyses upon a historically and culturally-specific conceptualization of gender inequality. This approach should be combined with a recognition of the specificities of the political-economic context within which the labour market is situated. This chapter considers aspects of Indonesian political economy in so far as they structure the labour market in Indonesia. By focusing on the interaction of global and local processes of change that are operating in the context of specific conditions of existence, this chapter emphasizes the special characteristics of the labour market in Indonesia. In addition, the aim is to outline some of the changes that have been taking place in Indonesian political economy in recent years to give an overview of the implications that these changes have for labour markets in rural and urban areas of Indonesia, and thus for the income-generating possibilities that different groups of men and women are presented with.

The chapter is divided into four main sections. The first section is concerned with global economic change, and in
particular with changes that have taken place in the geography of production, circulation and consumption that have had major implications world wide, and not least, for countries in Southeast Asia. The position of Indonesia in this macro-economic scheme is sketched out in the second section of the chapter which deals explicitly with the Indonesian context in three ways: first, in terms of changing ecological and demographic conditions; second, in terms of the struggles, strategies and histories of the people in the face of macro-level change, and third, through the nature of, and the role that, the state has played in mediating economic change in Indonesia. Having set the canvas of Indonesian political economy thus, the third section of this chapter paints a more detailed picture of economic restructuring in Indonesia by discussing the shifts of emphasis occurring between the three principal economic sectors: agriculture, manufacturing and services, in terms of labour and capital investment, and their relationship to the state. The final section of the chapter discusses how the contours of Indonesian political economy and conditions of existence underlie and give shape to the labour market, and effectively structure (and are structured by) income-generating possibilities in Indonesia.
3.ii. Changes in Global Patterns of Production, Circulation and Consumption.

It is clear that there have been some quite striking changes in the capitalist world economy in recent decades. The internationalization of capital, the control of large sets of resources by corporations whose affairs transcend the boundaries of nation-states and changes in processes of production, circulation and consumption have been described by a number of writers (Frobel et al, 1980; Nash and Fernandez-Kelly, 1983; Lipietz, 1984, 1987; Harvey, 1985; Peet, 1987). Although there are differences in opinion as to how these processes are alleged to be operating, among these views it is generally accepted that the changes in the nature of the world economy that have so far been apparent have arisen (but not in a "necessary" sense) as particular efforts to ameliorate the crisis that has been brought about by falling rates of profit in the production and realization of surplus value in the developed countries.

The changes that affect the Third World in particular ways can be conceptualized as operating in three related spheres: production, circulation and consumption (Armstrong and McGee, 1985).
3.ii.(a) Production.

One of the ways in which shifts in the geography of capitalism has been discussed is in terms of the New International Division of Labour (NIDL) (Frobel et al., 1980; Nash and Fernandez-Kelly, 1983), in which throughout the 1970s certain aspects of the production process were increasingly being relocated to the Third World. Gilbert identifies four (not necessarily successive or exclusive) NIDLs (Gilbert, n.d.). Of these, the first NIDL involves the incorporation of colonial regions as suppliers of basic commodities to core regions. The second involves the industrialization of peripheral regions, either by a national bourgeoisie or by foreign enterprise or both, the third NIDL is characterized by globally integrated production by multinationals that is facilitated by the collapse of time-space in the world economy (McGee, 1987). Gilbert argues that all three of these processes have had an uneven spatial impact within regions such as Asia, and thus in some countries patterns of production correspond to NIDL(3) at present (e.g. Malaysia with its emphasis on export-led growth) while within others NIDL(3) seems to be apparent only to a limited extent, for example in Indonesia — this will be discussed further below. To this it might be added that a so-called new wave of industrial restructuring is becoming apparent. As circulation technologies improve, there has been a significant flow of investment back to the old industrial
centres as advantages associated with location in the Third World are outweighed (Robison et al, 1987).

Though it is clear that in a general sense such processes have been in operation in the capitalist world economy in recent years, what should be stressed is the variation that exists between different Third World countries in the way that they have been affected by and have responded to the internationalization of production (Lipietz, 1984; 1987; Corbridge, 1988). Lipietz argues that it is important to retain a sensitivity to variations in techniques and relations of production in global accumulation, and to different regimes of accumulation and associated modes of regulation. He identifies two "typical schemas" to suggest the variation that is apparent in the outcomes of macro-level processes (Lipietz, 1984:100).

In many parts of the Third World, the internationalization of capital saw a growth in investment from the centre to the periphery in labour intensive production ("Taylorization"), specifically this mainly involved the production of textiles and electronics. A second schema concerns the increasing occurrence of what Lipietz terms "peripheral fordism" which has become apparent in some Third World countries. This involves the production of consumer products oriented towards a domestic market (and also, but to a lesser degree, export-oriented) in the periphery, based on a strategy of "intensive accumulation" analogous to metropolitan fordism but peripheral in the sense that on the whole it does not involve aspects of production that are related to skilled work processes (Lipietz, 1984).
Whatever variation of these two schemas has come into being in a particular place is related to the activities of the state (as a regulator) in its relation to international capital, to local struggles along class, gender and ethnic fault-lines, and to the specifics of development and crisis in a particular context. So although some general trends in the geography of the production sphere in the world economy can be identified, it is important to recognise that there has been a multiplicity of outcomes between different regions, and between different countries.

3.ii.(b) Circulation.

The second sphere in which notable changes have occurred in the last decade or so is that of circulation. It has become apparent that a process of "time-space collapse" has had significant effects upon the circulation of people, commodities and information in the world system (McGee, 1987). Movement of each of these has been enhanced by a series of technological developments in transportation (air, sea and road), electronic and tele-communications (satellite, television, and electronic mail systems), and education (in English language and homogenized "science"), that enable people, commodities, information and credit to be transferred quickly between places, at a relatively low cost. Effectively what this has led to is a situation of greater global interdependence, which has facilitated some of the changes in production noted above, and
moreover, has also facilitated the changes in patterns of consumption noted below.

3.ii.(c) Consumption

In the consumption sphere what has been apparent in the world economy in the last couple of decades is a growing convergence of both collective and individual consumption styles between different countries (Armstrong and McGee, 1985). This is most apparent amongst urban elites in most countries where modern sector consumer items and the life-styles more usually associated with those of the West are becoming increasingly prevalent. In part this has been fueled by the necessity to create markets in the Third World for mass produced items: a process that has been facilitated by the circulation of information in the form of advertizing, Third World and Western film, television, journalism, popular literature and music.

The growth of elements of western-style consumption patterns puts greater onus on the necessity of obtaining discretionary income. In some instances this may lead to increased levels of entry into wage work. In addition, Armstrong and McGee recognise convergence in the built environment and in transport, mostly focussed on urban areas, although the life-styles of the middle class that are associated with these changes are being rapidly diffused to areas beyond the city (Armstrong and McGee, 1985).

In the above discussion local mediation of the processes of change that are occurring in the world economy has been mentioned. The importance of local processes is emphasized by a number of writers: by the French Regulationists who emphasise the role of the state in regimes of regulation (Lipietz, 1984; 1987), by Corbridge who emphasizes the mediating effects of conditions of existence (Corbridge, 1986; 1988) and by Armstrong and McGee who emphasize the role of cities as "theatres" in which external and internal processes interact to give rise to a particular experience of capitalist development. These themes are important in the Indonesian context, and have quite profound implications for the Indonesian labour market.

Local-level processes are comprised of a number of factors which Corbridge collectively refers to as "Conditions of Existence" (Corbridge, 1986). These include the ecological-demographic situation that exists, in this case, in Indonesia that presents particular conditions of existence for capitalist development, and the interaction of other historically-situated internal forces (such as the state, local class, gender and ethnic relations). Together these give rise to particular outcomes of the broad structural changes that are taking place in the world economy in general. In this section, therefore, four (related) aspects of the conditions of existence that play a definitive role in shaping the nature of contemporary
capitalism and the labour market in Indonesia are outlined. These are (a) ecological factors, (b) demography - population growth and movement, (c) historical aspects of class and ethnic relations (gender relations will be discussed in Chapter Four), and (d) the state. In addition, this section is concerned with illustrating the overall effects of the interaction of internal and external factors upon the nature of economic growth in Indonesia.


Any overview of the ecology of Indonesia must begin with the observation that Indonesia is a diverse archipelago comprising some 13,000 islands. Within this archipelago there are definite contrasts between upland and lowland eco-systems, between alluvial plains and volcanic peaks. However, many commentators dichotomize the Indonesian ecological context along what Geertz refers to as "the fundamental axis of ecological contrast in Indonesia" that is, between "inner" (i.e. Java, Bali, Madura and west Lombok) and "outer" Indonesia (Geertz, 1963:13). Between these two regions, Geertz recognises two ecological systems. In inner Indonesia "sawah" or wet rice predominates, whereas in outer Indonesia, "swidden" or shifting cultivation is prevalent. The basis for such a differentiation lies in the relative fertility of the soils, and the type of agriculture that is sustainable therein (Hugo et al., 1987). The main characteristics of swidden ecology are first, the close relationship that the system has to the ecology of the tropical
rainforest's delicate equilibrium; and secondly, the very low population densities that the swidden system is able to sustain. By contrast, the principal characteristics of sawah ecology and the wet rice terrace are first, the stability and endurability of the system given the fertile volcanic and alluvial soils upon which it rests; secondly, the importance of the supply and control of water in the wet rice ecosystem; and thirdly the need for significant inputs of labour into the system: to the point where quite astounding levels of labour absorption may be observed, and thus, high population densities prevail.

Although within this two-fold schema there are many variations, as Geertz's critics have pointed out (White, 1976; Alexander and Alexander, 1982), his contention that the differences between sawah and swidden "have set the framework within which the general agricultural economy of the country has developed" is plausible, given the regional differences that can be observed in Indonesia today (Geertz, 1963:37).

This dichotomy is echoed also in terms of non-agricultural resource endowments, including oil. Most of Indonesia's mineral resources are located in and around the outer islands: Kalimantan, Irian Jaya, Sulawesi and Sumatera. This has created particular patterns of investment and regional development in Indonesia. Besides their role in shaping regional development, mineral endowments present important "conditions of existence" in the international context also, and this is particularly true of oil resources which have, through the state, played a
major role in the relationship between external processes of change and Indonesian political economy. In sum, the ecological conditions of existence in Indonesia have given rise to, or rather, facilitated the development of a strongly dichotomized regional development. This is characterized on the one hand by a particularly labour-intensive form of wet rice production, which in spite of various changes in its labour-absorptive capacity (which are discussed later) continues to absorb a large number of the rural workforce in Java, and continues to support (albeit, tenuously) high population densities in most areas in inner Indonesia. On the other hand a situation in outer Indonesia which by contrast is characterized by mineral extractive activities and industrialization associated with the resources found therein. In terms of its position in the world economy, prevailing environmental conditions create a situation in which the political economy of Indonesia is particularly responsive to fluctuations in commodity prices. In recent years this has been starkly illustrated by the decline in world oil prices, a discussion of the importance of oil to Indonesia is presented later. The next sub-section, however, discusses a second "condition of existence" in Indonesia, that is, demography.

3.iii.(b) Demographic Conditions.

The previous section made several oblique references to population in Indonesia; indeed in any consideration of the Indonesian context, consideration must at some point be given
to the important role that demography has had to play in Indonesia's specific conditions of existence (Hugo et al., 1987). Three points must be made about the demographic situation of Indonesia. First, Indonesia's total population is large - around 165 million. Secondly, the structure of the Indonesian population is an "archetypal expansive distribution" across ages, in which the largest cohorts are those that represent the younger elements of the population. Thus in Indonesia, 39% of the population is under 15, and although the population growth rate is decreasing, this structural situation means that pressure on education and employment resources is likely to persist for quite some time (Hugo et al., 1987). A third point relates to the distribution of the population throughout Indonesia. Broadly speaking, regional densities reflect the schematization of inner and outer Indonesia that was discussed in the previous section. According to Hugo et al. in 1980 the population of Java and Bali represented 63.4% of the total Indonesian population, on only 6.9% of the country's total land area. Within Java there are considerable differences in population density ranging from less than 200 per square kilometer in parts of rural South West Java, to over a thousand in parts of rural Central Java (White, 1976; Hugo et al., 1987). Within this broad pattern of population distribution, urbanization and migratory trends are also of significance, although owing to the relationship between migration, urbanization and economic restructuring, a more detailed discussion of this facet of Indonesian demography will be
reserved until the next section. With respect to the political economy of Indonesia, the most salient point to make concerns the fact that Indonesia has a substantial labour surplus which is concentrated in inner Indonesia, and that this surplus, while it is by definition predominantly rural, is characterized by a high degree of mobility between rural, urban and peri-urban areas of Indonesia.

3.iii.(c) Class and Ethnic Relations in Historical Perspective.

The third "condition of existence" concerns social relations and is comprised of two elements: ethnicity and class relations. Here I deal briefly with both of these, the aim being to suggest the effect that these relations have upon the nature of capitalism while recognising that they themselves are structured by capitalist forces: both internal and external.

(1) Ethnicity and Religion

Indonesia is characterized by a particularly rich cultural heterogeneity that has been enhanced by successive migrations of people, goods and ideas from places as diverse as China, South Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. Today there are alleged to be over 300 ethnic groups, and 250 distinct languages (Hugo et al., 1987), of which the dominance of the Javanese ethnic group (from central Java), both in terms of size and politically is notable. Of the other major ethnic groups in Indonesia the Sundanese of West Java comprise the next largest group. Other groups originating in Java are the Madurese (some of whom are resident in Java and in Kalimantan);
the Orang Betawi (Jakartans), a group made up historically from the intermarriage between indigenous groups, and Chinese, Arab and European migrants.

For the rest of Indonesia, the main ethnic groups are the Balinese (on Bali), Sasaks (on Bali and Lombok), Bataks and the matrilineal Minangkabau on Sumatera, the Bugis, Torajanese, Minahassan, Makassarese and Mandarese in Sulawesi, the Banjarese, coastal Malays and the Dayak from Kalimantan, and finally the Moluccans, Timorese and Papuans in the rest of Indonesia. Other smaller, albeit distinct groups also are to be found (Hugo et al., 1987). In addition to the indigenous groups of Indonesia a significant ethnic Chinese population reflects the introduction of Chinese immigrant workers brought in by the Dutch colonial administration.

In addition, the significance of religious identity in Indonesia should also be mentioned. Indonesia is considered to be Islamic, indeed Indonesia holds the world's largest Islamic population. Nominally the majority (87%) of the population adheres to Islam. However, the nature of Islam in Indonesia varies - from the more fundamentalist to forms infused with local cultural beliefs. Islam tends to be strongest in western areas such as Acheh (in Sumatera) and West Java, which in part reflects isolation and the history of Islamic permeation through Indonesia. Other religions are embraced also, especially Christianity (9%), Hinduism (2%) (Bali), and Buddhism (1%); and a host of indigenous animistic beliefs in the more remote areas (Geertz, 1961).
There are two important points to note about ethnicity and religious difference in Indonesia. The first concerns the different relationship that each group historically has had with capitalist development: there exists a wide variety of responses and resistances, which are not necessarily common to all in Indonesia. Most significant are the relationships between the Javanese and the state, between fundamentalist Islamic forces and the state, and between the Chinese and the state. For the former, it is clear that Javanese capitalist elements within the state have had quite an impact on industrial development strategies in which the Javanese have sought to preserve their own interests. In addition, the dominance of the Javanese has resulted in the development of a particularly Javacentric view of Indonesian development (Prindiville, 1985). With respect to Islam in Indonesia, the reticence of the state towards being associated explicitly with Islam has been a further source of division, particularly with respect to the infusion of western (consumption?) values into Indonesia. For Chinese groups, significant racist elements within the state have conditioned somewhat ambivalent attitudes towards Chinese investment. The second point with respect to ethnicity in Indonesia concerns the strength of identity for each group which tends to influence the labour market structure. This will be discussed further in a later section.
(2) Class Relations in Contemporary Indonesia.

Pre-colonial power relations among different ethnic groups, colonial history and contemporary power relations have given rise to extremely complex crystallizations of power in Indonesia. Partly these reflect ethnicity and economic class, as well as cultural ideals, but precisely how is unclear and varies between different contexts.

Interpretations of class (in the broadest sense) have varied between "culturalist" interpretations which stress indigenous meanings and power in the context of "shared poverty" (Geertz, 1961; 1963), and more structuralist interpretations which emphasize access to and control of economic resources and the decline of the peasant "moral economy" (Stoler, 1977; White, 1979; Hart, 1986; Robison, 1986). Structuralist accounts offer a less optimistic view of both rural and urban class relations than Geertz's culturalist arguments. With respect to rural areas (in Java) it is suggested that access to land has been of a highly differentiated nature, indeed the landless have always been significant in number. For the most part, interpretations of this kind have stressed the significance that a number of historical moments have had upon class formation. First, colonial relations intensified differentiation, in particular through the relationship that the rural elite - lurahs etc - had with the Dutch colonial administration (Robison, 1985). Second, the failure of the communist party in Indonesia in the 1960s to gain a foothold illustrated the unwillingness of small
peasant (abangan) farmers to concede relations of patronage with larger landowners, from whom subsistence security was derived (Hart, 1986), thus intensifying the power of the elite. Third, more recent processes of change such as the Green Revolution in rural Java has further stratified villagers into those with access to an agricultural livelihood and those without, those who can benefit from participation in off-farm petty commodity production and trading, and those who cannot (Stoler, 1977; White, 1979).

In urban areas, in Java and elsewhere, non-agricultural class differentiation suggests the existence of urban elites, a growing middle class, a small (proletarianized) working class, a large group of petty commodity producers and informal sector workers, and the disenfranchised urban poor. The urban orientation of the dominant class in Indonesia (Hart, 1986) suggests significant class tensions in urban areas: for example, between the state and informal sector workers (Jellinek, 1987), and also in the tight control that is exerted over trade unions and other social movements (Southwood and Flanagan, 1983; Marlow, 1989). Even within the capitalist class, Robison argues that there is significant differentiation between the indigenous bourgeoisie, civil bureaucrats, military bureaucrats and Chinese capitalists (Robison, 1978). The relationship between each of these elements is wrought with tensions and has given rise to the particular form that the state takes in Indonesia. This will be discussed below. In areas outside Java, class formation corresponds closely to the
type of capitalist penetration that has prevailed, rather than to the co-existence of pre-capitalist power relations. For the most part, a process of proletarianization has occurred, associated with the labour that has been employed in resource-extractive industries (Robinson, 1986).

In sum, the class structure that is apparent in Indonesia seems to vary between rural and urban areas (though in the 1970s and 1980s this has blurred), and between areas outside Java and Java itself. The relationships between different classes underlie the role that the state plays in Indonesia in mediating, coopting and consolidating. In structuring the nature of capitalism in Indonesia (as well as being structured by it), a consideration of the role of the state in conditioning the existence of capitalism in Indonesia is central. It is to this that I now would like to turn.

3.iii.(d) The State.

The importance of the state as a conditioning factor in Indonesian political economy cannot be over-emphasized. The particular form of the state in Indonesia today owes much to the historical antecedents of both Dutch colonial rule as discussed earlier, and Sukarno's Guided Democracy of the 1950s and early 1960s (Bulkin, 1984). In the era of Sukarno's "Guided Democracy" state nationalism was established with commitment by the state to control all sectors of the Indonesian economy to ensure the development of greater self-sufficiency.
The replacement of "Guided Democracy" by Suharto's "New Order State" in the mid-1960s has continued this trend, albeit with a greater technocratic commitment to the establishment of political order and economic growth. Until very recently the military has played a strategic role within the state (Hein, 1989), and the state has continued to be representative principally of the Javanese elite in a form which appears to exist in a relative vacuum of class-based power. As Robison writes:

in western capitalist societies the relationship between state and capital is one in which public policy creates the general conditions for capital accumulation and normally does not discriminate between different firms, in the Indonesian context the relationship between state and capital is also exercised on the basis of specific and personal relationships between individual capitalists and individual politico-bureaucrats. The latter are able to appropriate the power to allocate licences for import, credit, forestry concessions, construction and supply contracts; and the emergence of domestic business groups in the post-independence period has been largely based on their ability to gain access to these appropriated concessions.

(Robison, 1986:392)

Part of the explanation for the ability of the Indonesian state to operate in this manner lies in the fact that at least until the early 1980s, the fiscal basis of the Indonesian state was in part derived from foreign sources, either in the form of petroleum tax (in particular) or foreign aid. Furthermore, the state in Indonesia is underpinned by two complimentary ideologies: first, Pancasila - the state ideology which
designates nationalism, humanitarianism, representative government, belief in one god, and social justice that effectively confines policy debates within narrow limits; and secondly, a technocratic ideology which presents the state as an instrument of developmentalism, dedicated to a scientifically-conceived strategy for the development of Indonesian society and the economy (Southwood and Flanagan, 1983; Robison, 1986; 1987). The state therefore has been able, to some degree, to avoid the issue of legitimation among working people, as it has been relatively independent of their electoral and fiscal support.

For the labour market the most important issue has been the centrality of the state in conditioning the local response to global economic restructuring, in the form of the industrialization strategies that the state has been pursuing over the last twenty or so years (Robison et al., 1987). The keystone in the relationship between the state, global economic change and the labour market has been the attitude of the New Order Government towards foreign investment and industrialization. As Lipietz writes, the state is the "archetypal form of regulation" within a regime of accumulation (Lipietz, 1984:88). Effectively, by adopting one or the other of two broad industrial strategies, at a macro-level the state has conditioned the nature of capitalist development in
Indonesia.

(1) Import Substitution in the 1970s.
The New Order government's policies in the 1970s were aimed primarily at import substitution, and the availability of oil-derived financial resources enabled and encouraged massive public sector investment for this purpose (Roepstorff, 1985). Thus, much of the industrial development occurring in Indonesia over this period was oriented to the domestic market in a nationalistic effort to increase self-reliance and to reduce dependency on the world economy. Although foreign investment was allowed, it was heavily regulated: licences from the state were difficult to obtain, and many sectors of the economy were reserved for domestic capital investors only - particularly those that were clients of the state (Robison, 1987). ISI strategies retained a foothold in Indonesia due to the composition of interests within the state which were predicated on earnings from the direct capital investments of the state. In addition, during the 1970s the availability of domestic and overseas finance capital for large scale capital intensive ISI projects maintained this particular strategy. Finally, and most importantly, oil and gas export earnings and corporate taxation have cushioned Indonesia from external economic pressures to abandon ISI strategies in favour of more liberal export-oriented industrialization strategies (EOI). This stands in contrast to other Southeast Asian countries, such as Malaysia, where in the 1970s export-oriented industrial growth and foreign investment have been actively pursued. In this way, the
form taken by capitalism in Indonesia was closely regulated, and foreign investment and effectively foreign-owned industry discouraged.

(2) Oil Prices and Fiscal Crisis in Indonesia in the Early 1980s.

The decline in Indonesian oil prices has been continuous since 1982, when oil prices reached a peak price of U.S.$36.15 per barrel. By January 1985 the price had dropped by 18% to $29.50, by December of that year, by another 14% and by January 1986 the price had fallen yet another 16%. Glassburner estimates that each one dollar drop in the price of a barrel of oil represented a loss of roughly $400 million dollars in export earnings, together with a loss of 300 billion Rupiah in oil tax revenues (Glassburner, 1986). For the state, these declines represented a significant fiscal crisis, as much of the state-led industrialization over the 1970s had rested upon the availability of revenue from oil. The origins of the shift in the relationship of the Indonesian state as a regulator of capitalist development and global economic change can be located thus, and most observers agree that these changes represent an important watershed in the industrialization strategy of the Indonesian government. Fiscal crisis in Indonesia has enhanced the impact of global economic forces upon the Indonesian economy, reformist moves were advocated by the World Bank in the early 1980s, and gradually the state has, to some degree, contracted in an effort to reduce government expenditure (Robison, 1987). Overall, the impact of these
changes has been to bring about a shift towards a new strategy of industrialization, based to some degree on export-oriented growth (EOI).

(3) Export-Oriented Industrialization.

The kernel of export oriented industrialization (EOI) lies in the move towards "allocative efficiency" within the world economy, in order to take advantage of what are perceived as being Indonesia's "comparative advantages". In general, these relate to the conditions of existence discussed above, namely the natural resources (e.g. minerals, timber and palm oil), and human resources (i.e. a large pool of labour in both rural and urban areas of Java). Instead of state-funded growth, export earnings and the private sector are intended to be the new engines of growth. Early efforts at encouraging export-oriented growth among state enterprises have included "the adoption of a counter-purchase policy in 1980, designed to promote non-oil exports by linking contracts with suppliers of capital equipment for overseas-financed development projects with equivalent purchases of Indonesian exports".

Successive devaluations of the rupiah have been aimed at encouraging export-oriented growth, emphasizing labour intensive industries, export promotion, and small-scale enterprise (Roepstorff, 1985:47). In addition, there has been a change in attitudes towards foreign investment characterized by an open door policy towards international capital in which the state has relaxed the stipulations that foreign investors are required to meet, and has made more sectors open to foreign
investment. Also, capital and ownership requirements for joint ventures have been relaxed, and in an effort to attract foreign investment, efficiency and competitiveness have been promoted by moves towards deregulation and liberalization (Hein, 1989).

Despite efforts to increase the level of foreign investment in Indonesia, commentators have noted considerable resistance to the EOI strategy in Indonesia: figures show that at least in the mid 1980s estimates of new foreign investments show a decline from U.S.$2.9 billion in 1983, to U.S.$852 million in 1984 and U.S.$699 million in 1985 (Hainsworth, 1987). So although EOI strategies invoked in the 1980s have had an impact on the political economy of Indonesia, evidence suggests that due to factors such as the persistence of certain interests in the government, problems of bureaucratic inertia, lack of infrastructure and low capital-output ratios that are apparent in the Indonesian situation, the impact of foreign investment is quite different from that experienced in other Southeast Asian countries.

To conclude this section, the operation of conditions of existence are best seen as internal factors which condition the effects of external relations, i.e capitalism. Central to an understanding of the interaction of external and internal factors is a consideration of the state, which, given its historical and geographical situation, has played a major and pivotal role in conditioning the nature of economic growth in Indonesia particularly in the 1980s. The next part of this chapter considers the impact that the relationship between
global and local patterns of change and conditions of existence have had upon the structure of the Indonesian economy in the 1970s and early 1980s, with the aim of suggesting the implications that restructuring has for the labour market at large.


This section of the chapter considers structural change in the Indonesian economy by focusing upon aspects of change within and between three major economic sectors: agriculture, industry (including manufacturing, resource extraction and construction) and services over the 1970s and early 1980s. The focus is primarily upon shifts in the relative contribution of each of these sectors to Indonesia's G.D.P., and as recipients of foreign and domestic investment (from the state and from the private sector). In addition, changes in labour and capital intensity in each of these economic sectors are considered. First, however, this section begins by describing aggregate economic growth and changes in gross domestic and foreign investment in Indonesia in the face of declining oil revenues in this period.

(1) Gross Domestic Product.

Most commentators agree that the 1970s was a period of economic growth characterized by rapid rates of industrialization, capital investment, and high revenues from oil. According to BPS figures, GDP growth over the 1970s (from 1973 to 1981) exhibited an average annual rate of 7.5%, which stands in contrast to the relative stagnation of the 1960s when between 1960 and 1967 average annual GDP growth was only 1.7% (Hill, 1987b). However, economic growth in the 1980s suggests a reversal of the trends exhibited in the 1970s. GDP growth rates more than halved: from 1980 to 1986 the average annual rate of growth was only 2.9%.

(2) Oil Revenues

There is a close relationship between GDP growth in Indonesia and growth in oil revenues. Although oil revenues increased rapidly over the 1970s (with a slight recession in the mid 1970s that resulted from the Pertamina crisis of 1976), a similar watershed can be observed. As discussed earlier on in the chapter, rising oil prices reached a peak in 1982, but since then have undergone a rapid decline. As a large proportion of Indonesia's GDP is directly and indirectly associated with oil revenues, changes in aggregate GDP in the
1980s are not surprising.

(3) Gross Domestic Investment

Figures concerning gross domestic investment in the economy reveal a similar trend. The table shows Indonesia's gross domestic investment from the 1974/75 fiscal year to 1984/85 in billion Rupiah, broken down into public and private investment.

TABLE 3.1: INDONESIA'S GROSS DOMESTIC INVESTMENT, 1974-83
(Rp billion)

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<td>64.1</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>1339</td>
<td>2433</td>
<td>5584</td>
<td>5191</td>
<td>4690</td>
<td>4945</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(% GDI)</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td>58.9</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>35.9</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: adapted from Robison (1987), page 27.

Robison suggests that gross domestic investment in Indonesia, particularly from the state, continued unabated in the first part of the 1980s despite falling revenues from oil. Mostly this was an effort to prevent the collapse of an oil-dependent economy. However, reformist pressure from the World Bank in the early 1980s led Indonesia to reduce public sector project investments by a substantial amount in 1983 (Robison, 1987), and this is revealed in the table. Private sector investment...
declined faster, both in absolute terms, and as a percentage of gross domestic investment.

(4) Foreign investment.

Foreign investment in the 1970s generally increased, and this intensified in the early 1980s prior to the oil price collapse, reaching a peak of US$2882 million in 1982. By the following year this had halved, and by 1985 foreign investment was US$859 million - its lowest since the mid-1970s. The table shows foreign investment in Indonesia and in selected Developing countries to further illustrate this trend. Within ASEAN, only the Philippines has a lower rate of foreign investment in the 1980-84 period.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>sub-periods</th>
<th>Total, 1970-84</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>1560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>1051</td>
<td>2128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>1385</td>
<td>3277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this sketch of declining aggregate rates of growth the relationship between changes in GDP, levels of investment and the oil crisis reveal a slowing down in overall growth rates and, seemingly, a crisis of investment that has become apparent in the early 1980s, despite the efforts of the state to bolster and diversify the economy. The next section turns to consider the relationship that this has with changes in different sectors of the economy.

3.iv.(b) Sectoral Shifts in the Economy

In absolute terms there has been a fairly substantial shift in GDP share from agriculture to the industrial and service sectors. World Bank figures suggest that since 1965, agriculture's share of aggregate GDP declined by over 50%. Throughout the 1970s (1973-1981), the contribution of manufacturing to GDP was most striking, but in more recent years (1981-1986) the service sector and the agriculture sector have begun to play a much greater role in generating GDP (though it must be remembered that the aggregate GDP figure for the latter period is less than half that of the earlier period considered here). The table below shows the dominant trends in each sector over the 1970s and early 1980s.
Hart suggests that manufacturing was hit hardest by the
recession that the oil crisis in Indonesia generated —
agriculture and services have proved to be more resistant to
the overall changes that this has entailed (Hart, 1986).

Shifts in investment reveal slightly different trends. The
biggest recipient of government investment has been in
manufacturing, particularly in the oil industry, primarily to
cushion the negative effects of oil price increases and
disinvestment from other sources. Throughout the 1970s and the
early 80s, government support for agriculture was fairly
substantial, but more recently the state has scaled this
support down, in favour of rural industry and services
(Manning, 1988). Two distinct patterns emerge for the two
periods considered (1973-1981 and 1981-1986). Initially, the
importance of agriculture is succeeded by the industrial sector

---

**TABLE 3.3: GROWTH OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT BY SECTOR, 1973-86.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agric</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>59.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Hill (1987b) page 3.
in GDP and investment terms, but later, services assume a much greater relative importance, and agriculture has shown significant resilience (particularly in the production of food crops) to the ensuing recession of the 1980s. Caution should be maintained when drawing associations between GDP, investment and employment. For this reason, the following sections consider each economic sector in more detail, paying attention to trends in state support and capitalization.

(1) Agriculture

The relative decline in the contribution of agriculture to GDP in Indonesia is related primarily to structural changes in food crop production - more specifically, rice production - in the 1970s. Although agriculture has declined in its relative share of GDP, over the 1970s and the early 1980s agricultural expansion continues to be a chief component of GDP in Indonesia (Hart, 1986). In the seventies, the struggle for self-sufficiency in rice production was realised and Indonesia became a net exporter of rice, instead of a net importer (Birowono and Hansen, 1981). Increasing and sustaining rice production was one of the key goals of the New Order government in the seventies through the Indonesian translation of the Green Revolution; namely the Bimas Program (Bimbingan Massal) which involved the provision of the necessary inputs needed to cultivate the new high yielding rice varieties, and basically saw the consolidation of two main processes of change in agricultural production (at least in rural Java).
These were commoditization and technological change - both of which were in operation in conditions of dense population and labour surplus (White, 1976; Stoler, 1977; Pearse, 1980; Hayami and Kikuchi, 1981; Hart, 1986). Generally, the types of changes that have been noted are labour-saving technological changes, and the use of high-yielding varieties of rice in some cases. This has occurred in tandem with institutional changes associated with the commercialization and adaptation of "traditional" patron-client relations in order to mesh with the requirements of capital accumulation.

As Hart argues, structural changes in Javanese rice agriculture coincided with the transformation of the entire political economy of Indonesia under the New Order, and partly has been associated with the state's increasing interest in securing the political patronage of rural elites (Hart, 1986).

More recently, structural changes in the agricultural sector have been affected by the state in new ways, in particular, by the replacement of the BIMAS credit programme with a more general credit programme aimed at economic activity as a whole in rural areas. This is the KUPEDES (Kredit Umum Pedesaan) which was implemented in early 1984, to make credit available to merchants, builders and cottage industry as well as to agriculture: according to Glassburner, initially more than 70% of the credit went to the trade (service) sector (Glassburner, 1986). In the estate crop sector, figures show that the relative contribution of this sector to GDP has declined since the 1970s, to the point that in the early 80s its contribution
was negligible. In sum, although agriculture remains an important component of growth in GDP figures, it is clear that some substantial structural changes such as commercialization/commoditization and capitalization underlie this, and together have significant implications for the labour market.

(2) Industry

The decline in the relative contribution of agriculture to GDP growth in Indonesia is largely due to the relative increase in the importance of the industrial sector in the 1970s. This trend, however, has slowed in the more recent period, following the decrease in oil prices. This section considers some of the more salient features of the restructuring of the industrial sector in the 1970s, and particularly in the 1980s. According to Hill (1988), figures showing manufacturing growth suggest that from 1971 to 1981, real output almost quadrupled. After 1981 this decreased, he argues, because of a fall in the growth of domestic demand. From a slightly different angle, Roepstorff points out that the highest growth rates in manufacturing value-added occurred in the 1970s, but that the 80s saw this growth decline (Roepstorff, 1985). When broken down further, the increase and then decline in output or manufacturing value-added growth rates of this sector exhibit particular features according to whether production is of upstream or downstream goods, and export or domestic oriented. In addition, changes in the structure of these industries have particular implications for the Indonesian space economy.
In the 1970s industrial growth was primarily in intermediate goods, (e.g. iron and steel, electrical machinery, cement, rubber products, wood products and fabricated metal products) (Roepstorff, 1985). In this period there was a marked decline in the importance of industries associated with the agricultural sector, e.g. tobacco, food-processing and beverages. This corresponds with a general shift over the 1970s from the production of consumer goods towards intermediate and capital goods. Roepstorff reports that from 1971 to 1980 the m.v.a. share of consumer goods declined from 80% to 47% (not necessarily consumer durables), intermediate goods rose from 13% to 35% and capital goods share of manufacturing value-added rose from 6% to 16% (Roepstorff, 1985). Since around 1980 real growth in the production of capital goods has dropped off, and much of the output growth in the industrial sector has been in the production of intermediate goods, in industries that are associated with state support and that are generally acknowledged as being capital intensive (Robison, 1987; Hill, 1988). More importantly from an employment perspective, Hill suggests that in the mid-1980s, one of the major growth areas has been in the consumer industries that have been able to penetrate export markets, for example kretek cigarettes, garments and furniture: labour-intensive operations, many of which are in the private sector.

In addition, restructuring has involved several shifts between the relative importance of capital intensive and labour intensive production. While the 1970s were characterized by
growth of capital intensive production methods, in the 1980s there has been a growth in the importance of labour intensive production processes involving the production of consumer goods and resource processing for the domestic market. In part, the growing importance of petty commodity production accounts for the apparent growth of importance in these types of industry. A second point to make concerns the impact that this restructuring is having on the Indonesian space economy. The main implications of this industrial structure for regional patterns of industrialization are that manufacturing growth in the 1970s was relatively concentrated spatially around cities in the form of assembly operations, and other comparatively labour-intensive types of production (Hill, 1987a; Manning, 1988). By contrast, resource processing (capital intensive) has tended to be located in the outer islands, though some smaller operations are found in rural areas of Java. More recently, certain footloose labour intensive industries, particularly those that are export-oriented and foreign-owned through joint ventures (e.g. electronics, textiles, cigarettes and so-forth) are to be found in rural and peri-urban areas (Wolf, 1986), but their importance is still relatively limited (Jones, 1984) and urban concentration is still the predominant pattern. In sum, over the 1980s there appears to have been a change in emphasis from capital intensive state-owned production of capital goods for the domestic market to an emphasis on labour-intensive production of consumer goods for the domestic market, and more recently, for export. Resource processing has been enhanced by
the relaxing of controls on joint venture operations: such industries tend to be capital intensive and export-oriented.

(3) Services

Included in the service sector are trade, transport, finance, public administration and other services (see Hill, 1987b). In addition to these sub-sectors, the service sector is comprised of state sector services, private but formal sector services, and a host of informal services of various types. The heterogeneity of the service sector, like the manufacturing sector, means that it is difficult to disentangle the various threads of the restructuring process and make any general statements, as clearly different aspects of the service sector are affected by and respond to economic changes in different ways. In the 1970s the service sector grew rapidly in GDP terms, as the table showing GDP by sector above suggests. The contribution of the service sector to economic growth as a whole was about 45.9% from 1973 to 1981, the majority of which came from trade and public administration. Some of the main structural changes that were apparent in the service sector during this period were related to prevailing government policies, and also to changes in demand - in which the rising incomes of the middle class in Indonesia was a significant factor (Jellinek, 1987). Thus, underlying patterns of growth in services in this period is a shift towards the formalization and commoditization of trade, transport and other services which related mostly to the new demands of the wealthier middle class (Dick, 1985). The second feature that underlies overall
growth rates in the service sector in this period is its direct and indirect support by the state. The rising price of oil in the 1970s secured sufficient revenue for the state to expand investment in teaching and health programmes (Oey, 1985), and the strengthening of the state generally in fiscal terms meant that the public administration sector flourished as the state expanded. In rural areas of Indonesia, growth in the service sector over the 1970s was associated with government penetration into the countryside through rural credit programmes (Hart, 1986), through the so-called Bemo Revolution in transportation services (Hugo, 1982), and through the expansion of marketing and trade. For the most part, however, the growth in the service sector can be attributed to the relative decline in the agricultural sector in employment absorption, and the shift of people into this sector, which in itself generated much of the restructuring that was in evidence over this period.

Over the early 1980s a change in restructuring trends can be recognised. Not surprisingly, this relates to the impact that recession and fiscal crisis have had upon consumer demand, and upon the role of the state. Figures suggest that the annual growth rate of the service sector GDP in this period halved. However, in terms of its contribution to aggregate GDP in Indonesia it became significantly more important (contributing 59.3% of growth from 1981 to 1986) (Hill, 1987b:3). What these figures hide, or perhaps implicitly suggest, is the relative informalization of the service sector. Although there continues
to be a formalization (of trade) and expansion of certain services such as teaching and health, there has been a decline in the service sector within public administration (Hill, 1987b); and there has been a change in the attitude of the state to the informal service sector. Whereas legislative pressure on informal transport services in cities continues, certain other informal sector activities are deemed as being a way of dealing with unemployment that the contraction of the state implies (Jellinek, 1987 citing Hidayat, 1986). Thus there are two seemingly contradictory trends over the 1980s. First, the fiscal crisis of the state that has resulted from declining oil revenues has led to a significant change in the relationship between the state and the service sector, with many government-related services being pruned down in the 1980s, and the relaxing of government attitudes to certain aspects of the informal service sector. Paradoxically, there has also been an apparent intensification of the formalization process in certain aspects of the service sector, particularly in trade in both rural and urban areas. Other trends from the seventies continue unabated, such as the expansion of rural transport, and other rural services, particularly through shifts in state credit programmes that serve rural areas.

3.iv.(c) Summary.

Summarizing this section, throughout the 1970s a number of trends emerged that have implications for the nature of the labour market. First, in this period the Indonesian economy was
buoyant and exhibited rapid GDP growth. In sectoral terms, a shift in emphasis from agriculture to import substitution manufacturing and services emerged, characterized by state support for capital-intensive production of intermediate and capital goods. Secondly there was an expansion of the state service sector oriented to the domestic market, and particularly to a growing population of middle class consumers.

In the 1980s aggregate GDP growth slowed down quickly, and in sectoral terms, industry became less of an engine of growth, as the service sector became more important. The restructuring of agriculture continues in the 1980s through mechanization, institutional change, commercialization and commoditization. Industry has increasingly become characterized by the production of intermediate goods and consumer goods for export, while in relative terms, capital goods production has decreased in importance. Labour intensive export-oriented production has become more apparent, but remains dominated by small-scale and informal production units. Services have grown rapidly, some such as transport and trade, have become increasingly commoditized, while for others (e.g. vending), decreased state interference has maintained (and perhaps even increased) informalization. The next section considers the importance that these trends have for the labour market as a whole in Indonesia in the 1980s.

The above section has described the ways in which the economic context of the labour market has changed in the last few years. This section considers the nature of the labour market from three angles. First, the general situation for earning an income in Indonesia is considered: the processes at play, their effects on employment possibilities, and the relationship of these with population. Second, this section outlines the differences in the way that the labour market is manifested in urban and rural areas in Indonesia, and in the light of recent changes, the blurring of the distinction between these, particularly in Java. Finally, this section presents an overview of labour market segmentation within the formal sector, and between formal and informal labour markets. The aim is to suggest the limitations on income generation for different groups of people and to uncover some of the changes that have been apparent in the form taken by different aspects of the labour market in the 1970s and early 1980s.

3.v.(a) Income-generating Possibilities and Structural Change: Some General Comments.

(1) Processes of Change.

Previous sections have identified the importance of state industrialization policy in shaping sectoral shifts in the
economy and the labour market in Indonesia. To this might be added two other consequential processes of change: patterns of demand (for particular goods and services) and urbanization. Each of these processes is considered in turn. Government industrialization strategies have had two pervasive influences on the labour market. The first of these is the capacity of the state to bolster growth within particular economic sectors which, by extensively increasing the size of a sector, effectively expands opportunities for employment: occasionally this might be in spite of increasing capital intensity.

The second is the effect that investment has in determining the relative factor intensity of an activity (in this case, capital or labour intensity) and therefore its capacity to absorb labour. In the 1970s, extremely rapid growth, increased state penetration and a general shift towards capitalization in both the agricultural and industrial sectors shifted employment possibilities away from agriculture and towards industry to some degree, but more importantly towards services (Oey, 1985; Manning, 1988). In the 1980s, industrialization strategy was characterized by a substantial slowdown in the growth of the economy, a slowdown in the trend towards capitalization, associated with a shift towards labour intensive production methods.

In addition to the impact that macro-level government policy has had, a second manner by which the state has conditioned the general nature of the labour market is through local-level legal restrictions, which in a number of instances have had
severe (and often contradictory) influences on employment possibilities, particularly in the informal sector.

A second process concerns changing patterns of demand for particular goods and services: a process which has far-reaching implications for income-generating possibilities. In Indonesia changing patterns of demand correspond closely to the convergence in consumption patterns that is in evidence throughout the world economy. This is a process that is spearheaded primarily by urban elites, and is consolidated by the middle class. It is clear that over the past few decades a sizeable middle class has been emerging in Indonesia who comprise an amorphous group of people from a variety of occupations, who hold in common certain consumer preferences, and who share a particular life style (Dick, 1985). The implications that the growth of this group has for employment possibilities stem from the specificities of their consumer preferences which tend to be oriented to imported or commoditised goods: in general, consumer durables are an important component of their expenditure patterns.

Jellinek suggests that the growth of this consumer culture has inadvertently eclipsed many informal sector and labour intensive industries and services (Jellinek, 1987). Important examples include the replacement of market trade with western-style supermarkets, the purchase of commercially produced rather than indigenous goods, and the use of private cars rather than becaks or other informal sector transport services. Although this process has been most prevalent in cities, in
particular in Jakarta, it is, as Dick suggests, "being diffused rapidly throughout the country by the powerful media of education, television, and magazines", indeed, it "is becoming the national culture", though it is still a predominantly urban phenomenon (Dick, 1985:74). It is likely that this process of convergence in patterns of demand will continue to expand, despite the banning of commercial advertising on television in Indonesia in 1981. Prior to this, the impact of the advertising of foreign-produced goods had quite an impact on wealthier elements of the population as 73% of television advertising in 1976 was for imported products (Lent, 1987).

The power of television to influence lifestyles continues, and the Indonesian government's commitment to developing a domestic satellite system is likely to speed up and extend the circulation of such information - with a further impact on patterns of demand. Patterns of demand have, however, been tempered in recent years by the economic slump that Indonesia has been experiencing, and increasingly industries have had to seek export markets. For certain industries this has not been possible and employment possibilities have been reduced as some industries have had to disinvest.

Finally, spatial processes associated with restructuring and urbanization are regarded as being important in structuring the labour market. Although there are a number of problems associated with defining "urban areas", particularly in Indonesia (for a discussion of these, see McGee, 1984), it is clear that urbanization of the Indonesian population continues,
and that various processes associated with this have had a significant effect upon overall employment possibilities in urban areas of Indonesia.

(2) Structural Change and Demand for Labour.

The three processes outlined above, together with the changes in Indonesian political economy sketched out earlier have given rise to a pattern of demand for labour that as Juoro suggests, is characterized by a decline in employment elasticity in general (Juoro, 1985). In the 1970s, economic growth was underpinned by a declining capacity for labour absorption in most sectors as capitalization became more widespread, and the development of government policy, changes in demand and urbanization precluded the operation of certain labour intensive activities. However, the growth in size of the government bureaucracy (resulting from increased oil revenues) created more than 1.5 million administrative jobs within the public service sector (Oey, 1985). Despite increased capitalization of the industrial sector, the aggregate growth of the sector was sufficient for the creation of manufacturing employment, mostly in urban and periurban areas, at least in this period (Jones, 1984).

In the 1980s, the conflict between GDP growth and employment opportunity has continued, although growth has slowed down considerably. The nature of capitalization and commoditization in agriculture has meant that relative labour-shedding has continued, but at a slower pace, and in industry there has been some growth in small-scale labour intensive operations, but
capitalization continues and employment is still being squeezed. Within the service sector, the changing role of the state has meant that certain elements of this sector have shed opportunities, but that the labour absorbing capacity of the service sector as a whole has meant that it has been able to provide some opportunities for employment (the mechanism by which this is occurring is the subject of much debate and will be discussed below). In general, therefore, in the 1980s in absolute terms there has been a squeeze on employment possibilities in the labour market as growth slows down, despite a relative shift to labour intensive forms of production.

(3) Structural Change and Demography.

Changes in the labour market over the 1980s - a continuation of a trend in employment demand that was apparent in the 1970s, albeit underpinned by different processes - should be placed within the context of the shifting "supply" of potential workers. The table below shows changes in the working age population over the two time periods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>1971 (000)</th>
<th>1980 (000)</th>
<th>1985 (000)</th>
<th>1971-80 r1</th>
<th>1980-85 r2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>80246</td>
<td>104353</td>
<td>120380</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban</td>
<td>14617</td>
<td>24091</td>
<td>32515</td>
<td>5.49</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural</td>
<td>65809</td>
<td>80262</td>
<td>87864</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java</td>
<td>52314</td>
<td>66129</td>
<td>74929</td>
<td>2.58</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban</td>
<td>9780</td>
<td>16946</td>
<td>23105</td>
<td>6.04</td>
<td>6.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural</td>
<td>42534</td>
<td>49184</td>
<td>51823</td>
<td>1.60</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Java</td>
<td>28112</td>
<td>38223</td>
<td>44997</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban</td>
<td>4837</td>
<td>7145</td>
<td>8499</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>3.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural</td>
<td>23275</td>
<td>31078</td>
<td>35588</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>2.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


- r1 is percentage average annual growth from 1971 to 1980, calculated using the exponential formula \( r = \ln(p[1]/p[0])/t \); where \( t = 9.1 \); and r2 is average annual growth using the same formula but where \( t = 5 \).

In the 1970s, the working age population grew quite rapidly, suggesting an average annual growth rate of 2.86% (Oey, 1985). The average annual growth rate of the working age population was considerably higher in urban areas (at 5.49%) than in rural areas (at 2.18%); particularly urban Java (6.04%). Over the second period, from 1980 to 1985, working age population growth...
rates continued to be high in urban areas in Java, but in other areas, urban and rural, growth slowed down. Indonesia, particularly Java, continues to display a "labour surplus" (Jones, 1984). This situation of "labour surplus" is also shown in the figures describing the size of the workforce. In the Indonesian census, the workforce is defined as those working, and also as those seeking work, sick, or on leave. It is indicative of the number of people available for work, and thus of labour supply. Changes in the size of the workforce are shown in the table below.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>1971 (000)</th>
<th>1980 (000)</th>
<th>1985 (000)</th>
<th>1971-80 r1</th>
<th>1980-85 r2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td>39201</td>
<td>51553</td>
<td>62457</td>
<td>3.01</td>
<td>3.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban</td>
<td>5796</td>
<td>9726</td>
<td>13482</td>
<td>5.69</td>
<td>6.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural</td>
<td>33414</td>
<td>41827</td>
<td>48974</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>3.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java</td>
<td>25757</td>
<td>33026</td>
<td>38956</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>3.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban</td>
<td>3983</td>
<td>7142</td>
<td>9920</td>
<td>6.42</td>
<td>6.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural</td>
<td>21775</td>
<td>25883</td>
<td>29035</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Java</td>
<td>13453</td>
<td>18527</td>
<td>23238</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>4.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>urban</td>
<td>1813</td>
<td>2584</td>
<td>3561</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>6.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rural</td>
<td>11639</td>
<td>15944</td>
<td>19677</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>4.21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: AS TABLE 3.4.
As Oey suggests, changes in the size of the workforce primarily reflect population growth rates: both natural increase and increases resulting from migration or transmigration (Oey, 1985). In absolute terms the workforce exhibited significant growth in the 1970s: increases were particularly significant in urban areas throughout Indonesia, and especially in urban Java.

In the second period, from 1980 to 1985 average annual growth has increased to some degree. This trend was most discernable in urban areas outside Java which to some degree reflects the transmigration of 0.5 million households through 1979 to 1984 during Repelita 3, and in rural areas throughout Indonesia. Although as Manning suggests, analysis of these patterns should be tempered by the fact that unusually high rates of female labour force participation reported in the 1985 census have caused an upward "bias", these figures suggest that the situation of "labour surplus" continues to predominate labour market conditions throughout Indonesia, and patterns of growth seem to indicate that it is rural Indonesia in which this surplus is most evident.

When juxtaposed with the constrained employment possibilities discussed earlier that are evident in Indonesia in both periods, and particularly in this period, it seems that Oey's observation that "creation of new employment opportunities has been rather limited relative to the size of the expanding labour force" holds true in the 1980s also (Oey, 1985:24).
3.iv.(b) Spatial segmentation: changes in rural and urban labour markets.

The above section has presented an overview of changes in the broad employment possibilities that exist in Indonesia, in general terms. However, the uneven spatial impact of processes of change, and the nature of localized conditions of existence has led to a wide variety of labour market conditions throughout Indonesia. While recognising the significant complexity of this, and at the risk of spatial over-aggregation, this section considers the effect of processes of change on the nature of rural and urban labour markets, and also the blurring of the rural-urban labour market distinction that is becoming increasingly evident, particularly in Java. This section is concerned with discussing the employment possibilities that structural changes imply for the Indonesian population as a whole. In a later chapter, the specificity of women's position in this situation will be examined.

(1) The rural labour market: diversification or marginalization?

Much has been written on the nature of the changes that have been apparent in the rural labour market in Indonesia, in particular in rural Java. Many writers have made the observation that there has been fairly substantial labour-shedding over the 1970s from agriculture, and a shift towards off-farm economic activities underpinned by structural changes
that have been evident in Indonesia over the 1970s and early 1980s.

Hart suggests that there have been two main controversies surrounding the impact of structural transformation on women and men in rural Java (Hart, 1985) which echo a debate that has been resounding throughout Asia (Islam, 1984). The first view contends that the agricultural labour force has declined in its growth rate due to the buoyancy of the Indonesian economy over the 1970s and the subsequent increase in opportunities in rural off-farm employment. Effectively, this has "pulled" people out of agriculture. The second point of view challenges this idea by suggesting that in fact people have been "pushed" out of agriculture as a result of the structural changes that have been apparent in Indonesian agriculture, and increases in the growth of rural off-farm employment reflect a process of marginalization.

Sympathizers of the first view point to the rapid increases in investment and output that occurred over the 1970s (as described in an earlier section). They argue that the rural economy has diversified and that the labour market acts in a competitive manner, drawing people out of low-paid agricultural jobs and into better paid employment in rural services (often in government related jobs) and in rural manufacturing (Leiserson et al., 1978). Hart concedes that there have been some gains in employment opportunities in rural Java, particularly in the late 1970s and very early 1980s during the so-called oil bonanza, but that these opportunities were
restricted to certain groups within the rural population. To some degree the same can be said for recently created opportunities in the 1980s, though these are even smaller in impact because of an overall slowdown in general growth.

The second view seems to be more plausible in the Javanese context, however. Amongst those who suggest that labour market changes in rural Java result from marginalization there is considerable debate as to how this process has occurred. Agricultural labour-shedding is seen as the result of the polarization of rural people during the Green Revolution in Java, the combination of technological changes and population growth (Collier et al., 1973; White, 1976, 1979, 1984), or as a result of population pressure and the introduction of technology into unsuitable areas (Hayami and Hafid, 1979; Hayami and Kikuchi, 1982). More recently, Hart has placed emphasis on changes in the labour process in Javanese agriculture, associated with the transformation of the whole political economy of Indonesia in the late 1970s and early 1980s that together have had an impact on the rural labour market (Hart, 1985, 1986). Her analysis focuses on the replacement of relatively egalitarian access to agricultural employment in the village by exclusionary modes of labour recruitment, some of which are pre-capitalist in origin but which have been adopted and adapted in order to limit the size of the workforce of particular landowners so as to obtain better profits yet to also maintain political patronage, at least from a proportion of the village population.
Increasingly, bawon harvesting arrangements are being replaced and augmented by either waged tebasan modes of recruitment, or kedokan. The general significance of these changes for the rural labour market vary between each labour system. Under the tebasan system, opportunities in agriculture are limited to a small group of proletarian waged workers, often from outside the community. In the kedokan system, the situation gives rise to differentiation within the village workforce between a group of middle income people with privileged access to employment and in contrast, a group of under employed workers who must seek a livelihood outside agriculture. In addition, the decline in the elasticity of agricultural employment in rural Java is gender-specific: as a result of the changes outlined above the workforce has become more masculine. This will be addressed in a later chapter.

According to Manning, in the 1980s agricultural labour-shedding has become less acute: rather than an overall decline, the changes suggest a redistribution of agricultural opportunities among different groups of the rural population. Over the 1970s and 1980s, the marginalized agricultural population has moved into the industrial and service sectors in occupations related to trade, transportation, small-scale manufacturing, and larger scale foreign and pribumi manufacturing in rural and urban fringe areas. For the most part, these occupations are poorly remunerated in comparison to agriculture. Research on rural industrialization in Java has revealed that wages are sub-subsistence in many instances and
the workforce (often young single women) is effectively subsidized by the income generation of other family members (Wolf, 1984; 1986). For many people, occupational multiplicity is necessary for survival, and there is substantial stratification between the poor and landless, and wealthier "middle income" people (Soetrisno, 1985). Most studies do seem to give credence to the marginalization hypothesis although clearly there have been "real" off-farm opportunities created that are related to government expenditure in education and health facilities in rural areas. However, such opportunities are open to people on the basis of social class and education, and are of little employment benefit to the majority of rural dwellers in Java or elsewhere (Hugo et al., 1987). Another facet to the rural labour market in Java that is in some ways related to the marginalization issue is the degree to which rural inhabitants participate in the urban economy. This issue will be taken up below.

In rural areas outside Java, there is less possibility for participation in activities outside agriculture. In addition, the labour market is oriented more to the production of industrial crops and therefore the workforce is much more proletarianized than the Javanese equivalent. In recent years there has been a decline in opportunities in cash crop production owing to shifts in world demand. In some areas, agricultural work is augmented by employment in rural based industries, usually resource extraction such as the Soroako Nickel mine in Sulawesi described by Robinson (1986). In her
discussion of the labour market in the mining community, Robinson makes the point that for many, work in the mining company (and associated activities) is augmented by earnings from petty trade and agriculture, which suggests that wages are subsistence level or below, and that occupational multiplicity is commonplace among poorer elements of the community, in other words, it is a situation not entirely dissimilar to that in rural Java. Again, the labour market is characterized by unequal access to employment and by significant class differentiation.

(2) The urban labour market: growth, industrialization, conservation or dissolution.

In Indonesia the urban labour market has been less systematically analysed than the rural labour market. There have, however, been a number of case studies in various cities in Indonesia and these, together with studies of economic change in Indonesia as a whole, suggest that despite some blurring in the distinction between urban and rural, the urban labour market differs from the rural labour market in a number of important ways. This section outlines the nature of the urban labour market in quite general terms, and identifies some of the changes that have been taking place in response to the structural changes of the 1970s and early 1980s that were discussed earlier.

Manning suggests that there are four main differences between the rural and the urban labour market in Indonesia (Manning, 1988). In part, these differences help account for
the differences in the response to economic change that is evident between rural and urban contexts. The first of these is the urban bias that is evident in employment creation in off-farm economic activities (in both the service sector and the manufacturing sector). Over the 1970s the import-substitution strategy of the New Order government tended to intensify the urban bias of industrial location, such activities tended to locate in kotamadya or in kabupaten close to major urban areas (Jones, 1984). In the 1980s this has continued although it has been tempered by the rural location of some types of industry in Java, as part of a new pattern of urbanization in Java which will be addressed later. The concentration of control and production in urban areas has led to increasing specialization in the workforce, speeded up proletarianization, and the parallel growth of the informal sector (Forbes, 1988).

A second distinguishing feature of urban labour markets is the relative "labour surplus" which is even more intense than that found in densely populated areas of Java. Patterns of natural increase in population are augmented by rural to urban migration of a temporary and a permanent nature, and this together with the limited number of employment opportunities in urban areas means that employment elasticities are comparatively low (Harriss, 1987). Thirdly, within the urban labour market there is substantial segmentation. While the trichotomized model of the Indonesian labour market discussed by Speare and Harris (1986) is over-simple in distinguishing only between rural, urban formal and urban informal labour
markets when clearly the informal/formal split is evident in rural areas also, it is nevertheless fair to suggest that segmentation is more prevalent in urban areas. The final point concerns the difference between rural and urban labour markets in areas of Indonesia that lie outside Java. In the outer islands, the distinction between rural and urban labour markets is much more clear-cut; partly this is due to the nature of the rural labour market in the outer islands, and the fact that agriculture (rather than off-farm employment) plays a much more important role generally in the rural economy (Hugo et al., 1987).

In studies of the urban labour market in Indonesia, attention has tended to focus on ways of conceptualizing various types of employment, and on how each of these are affected by structural changes. The following discussion considers these issues, focussing on the structure of employment opportunities, and the changes that have been in evidence over the 1970s and early 1980s. The urban labour market in Indonesia is characterized by the distinctive patterns of employment that are evident in many Third World countries, and that were alluded to in Chapter Two. Characteristic is the predominance of informal, petty or small scale economic activities, that stand in contrast to the larger scale organized or formal sector activities. Although there is much debate as to the precise characteristics of each side of this dichotomy (see for instance McGee, 1978; 1979; Santos, 1979; and the discussion in Bromley and Gerry, 1979), their
relationship and whether this simple dichotomy even exists; as a taxonomy of activities within the labour market this characterization has tended to dominate descriptions of the urban labour market for, as Jellinek ruefully observes:

Scholars continue to use the dichotomy, whilst criticising it, because they can think of no better way of conceptualizing urban economies undergoing rapid change.

(Jellinek, 1987:171)

In this discussion, and in recognition of its limitations, this dichotomous conceptualization of the urban labour market is deployed, for the sake of simplicity of exposition. In general, the formal sector of the urban labour market in Indonesia is comprised of employment opportunities in industry and, more importantly the service sector. Of the former, the majority of opportunities are in labour intensive types of manufacturing that are usually located on the periphery of the urban areas, although there are some in capital intensive manufacturing and in construction also. The service sector, however, has demonstrated the greatest capacity to absorb labour, at least over the 1970s, and to some degree this is primarily related to the expansion of the government bureaucracy. In addition, labour absorption in this sector is comprised of employment in formal trade (e.g., supermarkets) and services (e.g., transportation systems). What is notable about the formal sector is its relatively limited capacity to offer employment opportunities for the majority of urban residents in Indonesia. As Harriss suggests, despite the economic boom of the 1970s, employment elasticity of the formal
sector in urban areas was cut by 30%: a figure which is likely to be even higher in the 1980s, given the impact that recession has had on manufacturing (Harriss, 1987).

In contrast to the formal sector, the informal sector in Indonesia is characterized by a high degree of labour absorption, largely because of the nature of the activities therein. The informal sector is composed of a wide variety of small-scale informal activities: petty commodity production (repairs, clothing, food, and so forth), and services (street vending, household services, "illegal" services, transportation) (Forbes, 1980; Moir, 1981; Jellinek, 1987). Although these occupations differ in terms of their employment opportunities, commonalities that exist between them are their flexibility, transience, instability, and unpredictability; their low returns and low hours, and the resultant tendency for participants to hold multiple occupations; and the tendency for this section of the labour market to be associated with patterns of rural to urban migration. Although this sector of the labour market is often associated with marginalization, this is too simple an analysis. For some, the informal sector offers better income-generating opportunities than the formal sector; as unionization and minimum wage legislation are minimal in Indonesia there is no clear-cut division between the benefits of one over the other.

Two main processes of change in the urban labour market can be identified in the 1970s and early 1980s. The first of these is the growth of labour supply (by natural increase or by
migration from rural areas) relative to growth in labour demand through changes in employment opportunities in different sectors of the economy. The second type of change concerns the changing relationship between informal and formal sectors of the labour market in a process that Armstrong and McGee refer to as conservation and dissolution. In essence this process describes how in periods of economic change, certain activities in the urban economy are restructured and conserved in a subordinate relationship to capital, or are dissolved entirely.

To this might be added the idea of self-preservation, in which participants in certain activities are able to elude forces of change and hence preserve their existence (Forbes, 1988: see also the discussion of this in other contexts by Clark, 1988).

Throughout the 1970s, the relative boom in the Indonesian economy facilitated the growth of certain aspects of the formal sector. Increasing construction and industrial development created a limited number of employment opportunities though for the most part these developments were capital intensive and thus of little consequence for employment and the buoyancy of this sector in terms of growth and output cannot be said to have drawn people out of other sectors of the economy to a significant degree (Jones, 1984; Manning, 1988). By contrast, the service sector, particularly the public sector, expanded very rapidly and there was a considerable absorption of labour into this type of labour intensive employment. In addition, other commoditized services grew rapidly, eg transport, sales (supermarkets, and department stores). In conjunction with
other political economic changes, the growth of this sector of the economy had a fairly dramatic effect on the informal sector in the 1970s. Jellinek's description of life in a Jakarta kampung in this period gives a good impression of what undoubtedly was happening in many parts of urban Indonesia, for example in Ujung Pandang, Sulawesi (Forbes, 1981). During the 1970s, many informal sector activities became obsolete and were dissolved. For example, the petty commodity production of certain goods was superseded by the production (more cheaply, with less labour) of commoditized equivalents, street vending opportunities were increasingly being curtailed by competition from modern stores (in addition to legal restrictions), employment in repair shops became more untenable as cheap imports replaced the need of customers to repair old items. In tandem with these changes, however, some activities were conserved: those that could readily be formalized: e.g. sweat shops, that could feed into the formal sector through subcontracting arrangements. Hence some employment possibilities remained intact and even expanded. Generally, it seems as though in this period, the relative success of the formal sector eclipsed the employment generation capacity of the informal sector.

In the 1980s many of these trends have continued, but there are some important differences. In the formal sector, the shift towards export orientation has generated an increase in employment opportunities in labour intensive manufacturing, primarily on the fringes of urban areas (Mather, 1983; Jones,
1984; Manning, 1988). In addition, some employment has been created in free trade zones, albeit to a limited extent, that specialize in labour intensive production of textiles and electronics for export (Warr, 1983). This should be seen however, in the context of much slower overall growth in this period. By contrast, the declining capacity of the state to create administrative and other service sector employment has meant that there are much fewer opportunities in this sector: as a result, much of the young educated workforce is under or unemployed (FEER, 1988 October:39).

In general, the squeeze on the formal sector has not directly stimulated the informal sector in the 1980s. Many activities have been dissolved entirely in certain places, and although certain new vending opportunities have arisen (e.g., selling books, magazines, plastic toys, kitchen utensils), and some activities have been preserved through their incorporation into the formal sector, much of the employment growth is a result of marginalization in a similar manner to that of rural areas: as commoditization renders certain activities obsolete, certain groups of people are obliged to find other ways of getting by. It could be argued that the development of small-scale labour intensive manufacturing, sub-contracting arrangements and so forth, particularly on the urban fringe, together with the retreat of the state in providing administrative jobs has meant that the distinction between formal and informal has become even more blurred in urban areas, and that perhaps it is not over stating a point to
suggest that a degree of informalization of the urban labour market has occurred as more people are marginalized, and as urban employment opportunities shrink in response to recession.

(3) Circular migration and the formation of desakota.

Earlier in this section the degree to which rural inhabitants participated in the urban economy was mentioned. This section considers two issues concerning the labour market that cast doubt on the traditional dichotomy between urban and rural labour markets. The first of these concerns circular migration, that is, the temporary circulation of people between spatially separate areas—seasonal or otherwise—which has been the focus of several studies in various parts of Indonesia (Hugo, 1978; 1982; Jellinek, 1978; McGee, 1982; Lerman, 1983; Hetler, 1989).

Circular migration is a relatively recently observed type of movement which appears to be gaining significance in Java in particular. It is associated with the movement of males (and to a lesser degree, females) from rural areas on a temporary basis during the slack periods of the agricultural cycle, or otherwise, in order to subsidize theirs and their household's income with remittances from (usually) informal sector employment in urban areas, and, more specifically on the fringes of urban areas. Effectively, the process of circular migration has contributed to the blurring of the rural-urban distinction, as more rural dwellers are involved in the urban economy. It may also account for the large number of urban
inhabitants in both the 1980 and 1985 census who reported their principal occupation to be agriculture.

The second issue is one that has emerged in McGee's analysis of urbanization trends in Java (McGee, 1984; 1987). Having examined data on non-agricultural employment in Indonesia he supports Collier's conclusion that Java is becoming a semi-urban population, in which owing to a variety of changes, (including circular migration) rural inhabitants are establishing and maintaining close employment ties with urban and peri-urban areas (Collier, 1978). Thus, while by census definitions Java is a predominantly rural area, the importance of non-agricultural employment for rural residents in the rural areas themselves, and the close links between urban and rural areas that enable rural dwellers to participate in the urban labour market suggests that this conceptualization may be misleading. Instead, McGee identifies new regions of economic interaction which he terms "desakota". These regions are characterized by a mix of agricultural and low-income non-agricultural activities, industrialization that may be related to local agriculture, and increased spatial mobility. They tend to lie outside urban core areas of Java, often in transportation corridors such as the road between Jakarta and Bogor, and between Surabaya and Sidoarjo (McGee, 1987). These conclusions are strongly supported by a number of observations from a variety of sources (eg Jones, 1984; Harriss, 1987; Hugo et al., 1987). In addition, research on factory employment in rural and peri-urban areas has shown an increasing propensity
for footloose manufacturing outfits to locate in such areas in order to take advantage of the possibility of paying subsistence wages which are supplemented by the agricultural activities of the worker's family/household (Mather, 1983; Wolf, 1984; 1986).

Finally, and in sum to this section, it is clear that general restructuring processes in Indonesia have varied in their impact on rural and urban labour markets. Within these, the gains from new employment opportunities that seemingly have been created in the 1970s and to a lesser extent in the early 1980s are limited, and there has been fairly substantial marginalization occurring. The final section of this chapter focuses on the nature of, extent of, and changes in other forms of segmentation that cross-cut urban and rural labour markets in order to suggest the limitations upon access to income-generating activities that are posed for various groups of people in Indonesia in the context of macro and local level changes under particular conditions of existence.

4.v.(c) Labour Market Segmentation and Circumscribed Employment Possibilities.

The aim of this section is to examine some aspects of labour market segmentation within and between formal and informal labour markets that seem to be in evidence in the 1970s and the 1980s. It is suggested that far from being competitive and undifferented, the labour market is segmented on a number of grounds, related to local level processes and conditions of
existence that effectively circumscribe the employment possibilities of particular groups within the workforce as a whole. As the focus of this study is on gender in the labour market, a discussion of the specificities of women's position in segmented labour markets is reserved for a later chapter. The purpose here is to consider the ways in which the labour market is cross-cut by other factors, such as ethnicity.

Besides the frequently discussed segmentation that is apparent between formal and informal labour markets, this section addresses the issue of segmentation within each of these sectors also. In conclusion, the specificity of labour market segmentation in Indonesia is discussed.

(1) Theories of labour market segmentation.

Labour market segmentation theory has sought to jettison the notion that the labour market operates competitively, and instead argues that certain groups within the workforce are confined to participating in one of the two (or one of several) distinct segments within labour markets, each with boundaries determined by geographical, occupational and institutional factors. Within the segmentation literature there are two broad views as to how this situation has arisen; on the one hand there are those that emphasize differences between the segments on the grounds of institutional factors such as level of unionization, wages, and job stability that are derived from technological factors in capitalist development, and the necessity of maintaining skilled workers in particular technology-intensive sectors (Doeringer and Piore, 1971).
On the other hand there are those that emphasize capital's "need" for control over the labour process: thus segmentation is often based upon pre-existing divisions between groups of people, and is used as part of an effort to divide and conquer workers (Gordon et al., 1982). While these theories have been devised largely in western contexts, they are nevertheless useful tools of analysis in Third World settings where in addition to the above, the conservation and dissolution of pre-capitalist and informal edifices also creates and maintains segmentation (Jelin, 1982). Labour market segmentation takes many different forms in urban and rural areas of Indonesia. In different instances it would appear that each of these rationales for segmentation are plausible: segmentation becomes apparent for a whole host of reasons, which may not necessarily be mutually exclusive. Rather than focus on the process by which segmentation appears, this part of the chapter accepts segmentation as given and seeks instead to describe how segmentation along a number of criteria effectively precludes entry into particular aspects of the labour market, and thus curtails employment possibilities for different groups of people in different ways. The criteria which appear to be important include gender, class, ethnicity, education and skills; as they are manifested in Indonesia.

(2) Segmentation between formal and informal labour markets.

The most obvious and widely commented upon type of segmentation in Indonesia is that which exists between formal and informal sectors, particularly in urban areas. The basic
characteristics of each of these sectors in the Indonesian context have already been sketched out in this chapter. The task here is to outline on what basis individuals are able to gain entry into one or the other of these sectors. Education, migration or residency status, contacts and patronage, and class position comprise the four basic criteria of segmentation that exist, albeit in slightly different forms, in urban and rural areas in Indonesia, and that serve to curtail entry into (usually) the formal sector of the labour market. Many comparisons of formal and informal sector occupations have observed the difference in educational attainment between participants in these sectors (Papanek, 1976; Moir, 1981; Jellinek, 1977, 1978, 1987). This has been marshalled as evidence that education is an important factor in inhibiting occupational mobility between the formal and informal sector. In addition, studies that have focussed on the recruiting strategies of different formal sector activities have supported this: in general studies such as Wolf's research in factory employment in rural Java, Jellinek's study of the employment of poor urban dwellers in Jakarta, and Manning's research in manufacturing segmentation in Indonesia as a whole, has tended suggest that formal sector employers seek employees with at least 3-4 years of primary schooling (Manning, 1980; Wolf, 1986; Jellinek, 1987). This is not just confined to higher scale service sector occupations, but also to relatively low-skilled manufacturing employment. Educational requirements of different formal sector occupations, therefore, have tended to
preclude the employment of certain individuals in the formal sector of the labour market. The second criterion of segmentation between formal and informal sectors, that is, migration and residency status, is of more consequence in urban than in rural areas. Research by demographers such as Crockett (1983), Shah and Smith (1984), and from an anthropological perspective by Jellinek (1987) has highlighted the importance of this in structuring entry into various parts of the labour market. Considerable work status differences have been found between different individuals on the basis of duration of residence in urban areas — in general, longer residency implies a greater propensity or ability for entry into formal sector employment. In part, this criterion is related to the third, that is, contacts and patronage. Throughout all aspects of life in Indonesia, contacts and patronage form an important element of transactions of a whole range of types. In rural Java, Hart has shown how contacts and lines of patronage between particular groups of workers and the rural elite, usually on the basis of ownership of land, are an important element in structuring access to the more lucrative and secure types of agricultural employment which might be conceived of as "formal" (Hart, 1986). In rural and peri-urban areas, entry into manufacturing employment is very often on the basis of contacts: either directly (through the village lurah - headperson), or indirectly, through networks of knowledge about the availability of various types of employment and about how to apply (Mather, 1983; Wolf, 1986).
By contrast, in urban areas, kinship, neighbourhood and area of origin contacts provide the basis for entry certainly into manufacturing employment, and in the 1970s, for entry into formal sector government services. In the latter case, the decline in growth and the restructuring of this sector have meant that less personalized modes of segmentation such as education have become of greater consequence (Jellinek, 1987). Finally, and underpinning many of the criteria thus far discussed is the issue of social class. Given that education, migration status and contacts are closely related to the social class of an individual, this is clearly an important factor underlying segmentation between formal and informal employment. In addition, in many instances, class has a more direct effect. In order to obtain employment in the formal sector, considerable time and effort must be put into looking for employment. Few can actually afford the time away from other income-generating activities to do this (Jellinek, 1987).

These segmentation criteria provide some explanation for why the labour market in Indonesia does not operate competitively, and why certain possibilities are obscured from particular elements of the workforce. Although these criteria certainly divide extremes between the formal and informal sector, it is clear that the nature of labour market segmentation in Indonesia is more complex than a simple dualistic model would imply. As Kannappan suggests, the labour market in rural and urban areas comprises

a spectrum of capital-widening activities and variations in ease of entry, earnings,
and labour quality that are not necessarily related to formal sector/informal sector classifications.

(Kannappan, 1985:705)

The next section examines how segmentation criteria serve to cross-cut and divide the formal and informal sectors themselves, thus precluding the participation of certain individuals even within each of these broad sectors. (3) Segmentation within formal and informal labour markets.

Studies of labour market segmentation in Indonesia have revealed that far from the formal labour market operating in a competitive fashion, there is a high degree of segmentation between different aspects of the formal sector. This is most noticeable in the industrial sector. Manning's (1980) discussion of labour market segmentation in Indonesian manufacturing suggests that employment in this sector should not be regarded as homogeneous, but rather is segmented across four main sectors: domestic non-mechanized industry (employing mostly young, relatively uneducated females with some work experience), domestic low capital intensive industry (employing young males with little education), domestic high capital intensive industry (employing young urban educated males), and finally, foreign-owned industry (employing skilled educated urban males). Using evidence from his studies of the weaving industry, and the manufacture of kretek (clove cigarettes) and cigarettes, he shows the degree to which the formal sector is segmented among these four sectors on the basis of wage levels, management and control of labour, technological
differentiation, and the role of foreign investment. The characteristics of the workers in each of these segments suggests that similar criteria of segmentation of workers are in operation within the formal sector as were in operation between formal/informal sectors.

In this study, education, skills and gender differences were brought into play, confining certain groups within the workforce to certain activities in particular sectors. It is notable that there is very little differentiation between formal and informal employment in terms of unionization. Throughout the formal sector unionization is of minimal consequence, largely due to the successful efforts of the state in curtailing labour unrest by a series of laws (pancasila labour relations) that have effectively criminalized most union activities (Marlow, 1989). In addition to these criteria might be added the role of ethnicity which, through the mechanism of statistical discrimination based on proxy indicators such as place of origin, ethnic, kinship group membership, and spoken language, plays a role in the recruitment strategies of individuals within the formal sector. A second mechanism that effectively segments access to formal sector employment concerns the impact of contacts and patronage. One example of how this operates is found in research on the employment of young women in factories in rural and peri-urban areas in Java. Mather (1983) found that local Islamic leaders played a major role in the recruitment of employees to the factories: this process was found to be operating in rural Java where the
village head (lurah) played a similar role (Wolf, 1986). Effectively this structured access to this type of employment as well as providing an effective means of labour control.

In the agricultural labour market, segmentation criteria play an important role in structuring access to agricultural employment possibilities. Though in general, skill is an important factor, of much greater consequence are relations of patronage and access to agricultural land in structuring access to paid agricultural work. Hart's studies of exclusionary labour arrangements, which have been discussed at length in earlier sections, suggest that marginalization in the labour process is structured by the nature of relations that are fostered between particular members of the rural elite (who can provide employment opportunities) and particular groups of the peasantry, based on patronage and political allegiance. Access to agricultural employment of groups who do not meet these criteria is severely curtailed. In addition, access to agricultural land appears to underpin this relationship - the landless are placed at an even greater disadvantage in the rural labour market than are those with access to sawah (rice paddy). As with segmentation in industry, this can be regarded as an effective means of social control.

Within the informal sector, segmentation is important. Harriss points to the highly differentiated nature of the informal sector in general terms, on the basis of the structure of wages, types of economic units, relative subordination or autonomy, protection or lack of protection, irregularity or
regularity and in terms of the particularization of search procedures and access to employment in different aspects of this sector (Harriss, 1987). There is much evidence to suggest that access to income-generating possibilities in this sector is not entirely free, and that there is distinct segmentation around these issues. There are four related criteria by which certain groups get channeled into particular segments and occupations is within this sector. First, education levels tend to structure entry into particular occupations, particularly those that require some level of literacy. Second, and more importantly, the possession of particular skills is of great consequence. Often skills are derived from contact with family or friends and are passed on in this informal manner. As Moir points out, the possession of particular skills, or lack thereof tends to preclude occupational mobility or mobility between different segments of the informal sector (Moir, 1981).

A third factor which to some degree comprises a criterion of segmentation in the informal sector is that of migration. The obligation for many urban workers to return periodically to the natal village may confine workers into particular parts of the informal sector - some occupations are more flexible than others, and thus more conducive to combining with circular migratory patterns, for example, the ice cream sellers of Jakarta described by Jellinek (1978). Finally, and probably most importantly in this context, is the role of contacts in defining the boundaries of employment possibilities in the urban informal sector. Within this criterion are included
factors such as kinship, place of birth and ethnicity. To this might be added neighbourhood contacts within the city as these tend to overlap with the factors such as place of birth. This, as Forbes suggests, accounts for the "closed shop" nature of much small scale enterprise on the basis of place and ethnic links (Forbes, 1988).

There are many examples of this type of segmentation in urban and rural areas of Indonesia. Studies in Jakarta reveal certain regional specializations such as the Batak bus drivers of Jakarta (Papanek, 1976), and the tendency for most domestic servants to originate from Central Java. In cities elsewhere in Java, examples from various research projects suggest that in Semarang, Solo and Jakarta, female jamu (traditional medicine) and male bakso (soup) vendors tend to originate from Wonogiri in Central Java (Hetler, 1989), and elsewhere vegetable and fruit sellers come from Klaten in Central Java (Speare and Harris, 1986). Often, these regional specializations relate to the system of contacts that exist between city and village. As Kannappan writes,

the labour market is blanketed by a network of formal and informal channels that transmit information about jobs and workers, desired and available attributes, and costs and benefits of search.

(Kannappan, 1985:713)

These patterns also reflect a continuation of regional specializations that originally were based on the procurement of localized raw materials, and historical patterns of production (Sutoro, n.d.). It is evident that place and
ethnicity play a significant role in prescribing the nature of employment of particular groups of the workforce.

In part, the manner in which criteria of segmentation cross-cut the formal/informal dichotomy is associated with the general blurring between the two that seems to be becoming even more apparent in the early 1980s. As employment possibilities become even more restricted in the formal and informal sector, labour market segmentation seems increasingly to be based upon criteria such as class, ethnicity, place of origin - factors that relate directly to conditions of existence in Indonesia. In sum, this is suggestive of the specificities of the Indonesian situation: while the mechanisms of conservation and dissolution of different possibilities within the labour market is similar to that which is apparent in other places, the form that this takes in this instance is quite specific to Indonesia, and reflects the operation of macro-level processes with local processes and conditions of existence.

3.vi. Summary and Conclusions.

This chapter has presented an overview of the context within which women's labour force participation is situated. In particular, attention has focussed on the implications that shifts in macro and local-level processes and their relationships have for the labour market, under particular conditions of existence. It is clear that over the 1970s and early 1980s, global changes have had a profound impact on
economic restructuring in Indonesia. The specificity of the way in which these changes have been manifested in Indonesia is related to the role played by the state, and by overlapping relationships based on class and ethnicity. Together, these have forged the texture of the labour market in Indonesia. In addition, the particularities of employment are conditioned by labour market segmentation which is itself related to prevailing conditions of existence in Indonesia. The result is a series of distinct employment possibilities for particular groups of people in Indonesia that over the 1970s and early 1980s appear to be changing. In the next chapter, the specificities of gender inequality in Indonesia are sketched out, in particular, the construction and extension of familial ideology in Indonesia in the 1970s and early 1980s. This comprises the second step in the analysis of changes and continuities in patterns of women's employment throughout Indonesia in this period.
CHAPTER FOUR

WORKPLACE, STATE AND HOUSEHOLD:

THE CONSTRUCTION OF FAMILIAL IDEOLOGY IN INDONESIA.

Not all women become mothers, but all, obviously are daughters, and daughters become mothers. Even daughters who never become mothers must confront the issues of motherhood, because the possibility and even the probability of motherhood remains.

(Signe Hammer, 1986. Cited in Maroney, 1987)

The role of women in development should increase harmoniously with their role in creating healthy and prosperous families, guiding the young generation, the youth and under fives, in the context of the development of the total Indonesian Man.

(Repelita III, 1978-1983)

4.1. Introduction.

The issue of gender inequality is central to any understanding of the position of women in the labour market. In order to analyse women's work in a particular context, it is necessary to examine first, the nature of gender relations: their historical construction and negotiation, and second, the manner in which gender inequalities create and dismantle particular forms of workforce participation. This chapter is concerned with examining the nature and operation of a particular ideology of gender in Indonesia: its historical and cultural specificity, and its influence upon women's position in the labour market.

The chapter is composed of five main parts. The first part of this chapter returns to Barrett's formulation of "familial
ideology" as an explanation of the means by which women's position in the labour market is structured. In an effort to counter some of the problems that Barrett's conceptualization encounters, her theory is extended into a framework, which, it is hoped, allows a broader and less ethnocentric interpretation and analysis of gender inequality to be conducted.

The second part of this chapter discusses the nature of "familialism" within a particular historical and cultural situation: Indonesia. Attention is drawn to contested and negotiated historical processes in Indonesia that have led to the emergence of particular notions of gender identity and appropriate roles for men and women, that together constitute what might now be termed "familial ideology" in contemporary Indonesia. The third part of the chapter is concerned more directly with the operation of this particular ideology as a means of structuring women's employment possibilities in Indonesia, and especially its mode and spheres of operation. Emphasis is placed upon the role of the state in extending a particular version of familial ideology throughout Indonesia.

Finally, part four considers the ways in which familial ideology has influenced (in a reciprocal manner) women's position in the labour market in Indonesia, the aim being to develop a framework for interpreting the specificities of women's labour force participation which will provide a focus for Chapter Five of this thesis.

The discussion of feminist analyses of gender inequalities in the labour market in Chapter Two emphasized the importance of avoiding on the one hand, the inherent reductionism common to marxist feminist theories of gender inequality, and on the other hand, the ahistoricism and universalism that pervade dual-systems theories of gender inequality. This has steered the theoretical orientation of the discussion towards Michele Barrett's theorization of gender inequality, in which unequal relations between men and women are seen to rest upon the operation of a materially-grounded but relatively autonomous ideology of familialism. The purpose of this section is first to critically sketch out in more detail, the architecture of Barrett's theory, and second, to raise some of its inherent difficulties. Having done so, an extended version of Barrett's theory will be used as a template for a framework which, it is hoped, is able to counter some of the more salient limitations of her theory, and that, in addition, is useful for conceptualizing gender inequality in the contemporary Indonesian context.

4.ii.(a) Familial Ideology and Women's Oppression Today.

In Women's Oppression Today, Barrett proposes that gender inequality in contemporary capitalist society is rooted in the operation of a particular "family/household system". This
comprises the conjuncture of two distinct but related elements that together are mutually-reinforcing: the gender division of labour, and an ideology of familialism. Barrett argues that although a division of labour is an integral part of the logic of capitalism, the segregation of men and women into particular parts of this division is not. For historical reasons, however, women have become responsible for particular activities, for example, child care. This allocation of labour, she suggests, is reflective of a pre-capitalist gender ideology that has been incorporated in a manner that benefits capitalism. It is not capitalism per se that subordinates women, nor any "natural" role of women, but the manner in which a particular gender ideology has become associated with and incorporated within the material relations of production under capitalism.

This ideology, together with the constraints posed by the gender division of labour, serves to structure women's participation in the workforce first by ascribing particular gendered identities (subjectivity) to individuals, and second, by the ideological ascription of particular tasks as appropriate for men or women in the family/household. Familial ideology is recreated and endorsed by various ideological state apparatuses such as education, the media, and other ideological aspects of the state, for example legislation concerning the workplace and "the family".

The notion of ideology employed by Barrett owes much to Althusser (1971), first, through her emphasis on the relative autonomy of familialism to the material; and second, in terms
of the manner in which its extension through the social formation is conceptualized. In addition, the influence and operation of this ideology is conceived as a "top down" process: the central role of the bourgeoisie in articulating familial ideology is noted in particular. In essence, therefore, her discussion of familial ideology suggests that she conceives of it as a class-related process, which, she maintains, accounts for the apparent disjuncture that exists between the ideology and the realities of the lives of people from different class positions. Despite the parentage of her theory, Barrett distances herself somewhat from an Althusserian position by emphasizing the historical underpinnings of the relationship between the material and the ideological.

As was suggested in Chapter Two, two sustained critiques of the position taken by Barrett in theorizing unequal gender relations have emerged: first, with respect to the ethnocentric assumptions that underpin much of her analysis, and second, for her conceptualization of ideology. Critiques of Barrett's ethnocentrism by both Black and Third World feminists have tended to revolve around the issue of the family, in particular, her conception of it as the locus of women's oppression. It is argued that while this may be true for white women in the West, for other women, oppression may be felt primarily through other spheres such as the state. Although Barrett considers spheres other than the family/household as also being important in structuring women's oppression and reinforcing gender inequality, she does, somewhat
problematically, assume a common experience of the family/household nexus cross-culturally (Carby, 1982).

In addition, and related to this point, is the cross-cultural validity of her analysis of "gendering" of individuals, given that the meanings ascribed to "female" are not necessarily the same either temporally, or across cultures (Fraser and Nicholson, 1988). Although subjectivity may be built around the same concrete reference, i.e. women's biology, "womanhood" and what it means to be female varies. To illustrate this point, in her introduction to the second edition of Women's Oppression Today, Barrett cites the example of black women's work. Despite being characterized as heavy physical labour, in black women's terms it is given a "feminine" ascription, contrary to that which would be given, for example, to a white middle class woman in a western context (Barrett, 1988).

The second source of criticism concerns Barrett's use of ideology as a basis of gender inequality. In their discussion of Barrett's ideas, Brenner and Ramas are critical of Barrett's incorporation of ideology into her argument: they see it as Barrett's "deux ex machina, her means of escape from the vexing dilemma of the Marxist-reductionist/dual systems-idealist impasse of socialist feminist thought" (Brenner and Ramas, 1984). Their position is, in part, reflective of a general suspicion in the mid-1980s of any analysis that was presented in Althusserian terms. This aside, the problems that Brenner and Ramas identify concern what they see as Barrett's somewhat
static depiction of familial ideology that is couched within an already defined set of ideas about women and men.

In Brenner and Ramas's discussion, Barrett's concept of familial ideology is characterized as

a mysterious, powerful, unchanging phenomenon - one that imposes itself upon individuals who accept it passively and for reasons that are really not very clear

(Brenner and Ramas, 1984:69)

To some degree, this is an accurate depiction: there is a static element to Barrett's notion of familial ideology, and her emphasis upon the "top down" operation of a pre-capitalist familial ideology effectively negates the possibility of human agency in the creation and contestation of that ideology. To counter the problems that are inherent in Barrett's analysis, Brenner and Ramas advocate jettisoning "ideology" as a basis for analysing unequal gender relations, and instead call for a reestablishment of explanation based upon the material, in particular, the gender division of labour as conditioned by women's biology. This position is overly reductionist for two reasons: first, it is problematic to reduce women's inequality to a biological explanation. Second, their theory effectively reduces women's experience to capital-labour power relations. However, their advocation of an analysis that regards the construction of ideology as a mediated process in which individuals actively engage, has the capacity to overcome the static conceptualization of ideology that is evident in Barrett's account.
To counter the inherent problems of Barrett's notion of ideology: its universalism, its static nature, top-down operation, and the manner in which it is in part premised on the capital-labour relation, a number of issues need to be dealt with in order to construct a concept of ideology that has the analytical capacity to deal with unequal gender relations in varying historical and cultural contexts. A more fluid concept of ideology would be one that incorporates first, as Brenner and Ramas suggest, the view that ideology is a contested process, and second, the idea that identities and roles, as well as ideology itself, are not premised on any fixed meaning, but instead are socially-constructed within given historical and cultural contexts, and are therefore changeable, albeit, within the confines of material power relations. Third, the material basis for a more fluid gender ideology need not necessarily be rooted in the capital-labour relationship: other forms of power relation need to be given recognition also. Throughout the 1970s, and more recently in the 1980s, a series of complex debates concerning issues of subjectivity and ideology have emerged that address the three themes outlined above. The following section sketches aspects of these debates that are pertinent to the reconstruction of a theory of familial ideology that is suggestive of processes of negotiation and change, without being ethnocentric or necessarily reducible to class relations.
4.ii.(b) Perspectives on Ideology, Subjectivity and Gender Inequality.

In the 1970s, debates surrounding the issue of ideology among Marxists were concerned in general with replacing the Classical Marxist notion of "false consciousness" in which ideology is seen as class-based mystification, with a theory of ideology that was less reductionist, and that had greater analytical capability. Among Marxists, two strands developed: Althusserian approaches to ideology, and those related to the work of Gramsci. Althusser's theory of ideology, upon which Barrett's theory of gender inequality is based, emphasizes the role of a relatively autonomous ideology in sustaining the reproduction of capitalist relations of production (Hall, 1988). The ruling ideology, it is argued, is extended through the activities of what are termed "ideological state apparatuses": education, family policy, and the media, to name but a few. Besides its class connotations, the material base of ruling ideology is located in the "interpellation of individuals as subjects", whereby subjectivity is constituted by the ruling ideology. An individual thus becomes an agent of that particular ideology (Weedon, 1987). Although Althusser's theory of ideology has been very influential, particularly his notion of subjectivity, the implicit functionalism with which the theory is imbued, led in the 1970s to a rekindling of interest in the work of Gramsci, in particular, with the concept of hegemony.
By emphasizing the "struggle and contestation for the space in which to construct an ideological hegemony", Gramscian approaches aim to cut through the functionalism and static "top-down" notion of ideology that characterizes many Althusserian approaches, including the work of Barrett (Hall, 1988:48). According to Gramscian perspectives, the hegemony of a particular ideology is the outcome of a historical process of struggle between formally-articulated belief systems and popular knowledge. The advantages of this less static type of conceptualization lie first of all in the emphasis on history and struggle, which counters, to some degree, Althusserian functionalism. Second, this particular emphasis enables a more fluid conceptualization of ideology to be entertained, which is open to negotiation, and not pre-ordained. From the point of view of the argument being advanced here, Gramscian approaches to ideology which emphasize ideology as a contested process are helpful in countering overly static and top-down concepts of ideology. However, like other Marxist theories of ideology, it is by definition premised on the capital-labour relation and other forms of power are ignored (Hall, 1988). Although in many instances, class-based power relations are important in structuring people's lives, this is not necessarily the case, and often other forms of power are present also. Such a focus therefore tends to eclipse other important power relations, for instance, those between men and women.

More recently, a variety of post-structuralist perspectives on ideology and discourse have been developed in an effort to
consider other forms of power, and also to problematize the issue of meaning and subjectivity (Weedon, 1987). A preliminary consideration of some of the ways in which post-structuralist theories have attended to the issue of ideology may be helpful in reconceptualizing analyses of gender inequality that are based on some notion of ideology. A central theme in post-structuralist theory is a denial that the world is composed of fixed intrinsic meanings or subject positions (i.e. ways of being an individual). Meaning itself is not inevitable, but instead may be accepted, negotiated or rejected (Weedon, 1987). Thus, prevailing ideologies may be based upon meanings and subject positions that themselves are able, indeed liable to shift. According to Weedon, however, the range of subject positions that are open to individuals, together with the ability to negotiate meaning, is related to prevailing power relations which may be based on class or on some other form of power, as this operates in a given historical and cultural context.

For the purposes of reconceptualizing familial ideology, some of Gramsci's notions of the construction of ideology, together with some of the insights of post-structuralist theory are useful for four main reasons. First, by suggesting that subjectivity and meaning are not fixed, but are fluid, this type of approach is able to some degree to counter the implicit ethnocentrism that more essentialist accounts of ideology contain. Second, and following on from this point, is the idea that the meanings accorded to the category "woman" (or
"femininity") and to "appropriate" roles for women are mutable, temporally and culturally. This enables a less static conceptualization of familialism to be forged, in which women's roles and identities are current and culturally-specific definitions only, that have emerged from a hegemonic gender ideology that in some instances warrants the term familialism. Third, this position effectively "loosens the class basis in favour of a more general idea of domination or power, which can take a variety of forms and agents" (Barrett, 1988:xviii). By suggesting that the basis of ideologies and the social power which they legitimize are not necessarily reducible to the capital labour relation, this perspective opens up other possibilities, such as the role of relations of gender or race, as part of the formation of particular ideologies.

Finally, the notion of an ideology of familialism that is fluid and open to change, is enhanced by the processes that underlie its formation: the contestation and coercion that takes place between different ideological positions. A dominant and hegemonic ideology of familialism is extended and reinforced through reasoned accounts by powerful forces such as the state, the media, and formal education practices (Hall, 1988), to create a general acceptance of gender norms. Through subject formation, these may be embraced as common sense notions of acceptable gendered behaviour, but they are not static, or universal (Fraser and Nicholson, 1988).

With these points in mind, it is possible to modify Barrett's theory in order to problematize familial ideology: to
establish whether it exists as such, and if so, how and when it came about. By emphasizing culturally-defined historical processes, and shifts in the meanings accorded to social categories such as women, and women's work, an analysis of the formation and operation of a fluid but hegemonic familial ideology through contestation and coercion between genders and classes, may facilitate an understanding of the shifting position of women in the labour market in Indonesia.

4.ii.(c) Familial Ideology in the State and the Workplace.

According to Barrett's original formulation of familial ideology, emphasis is placed upon the family/household as the arena within which this particular ideology is fostered and developed. The manner in which this has taken place comprises two main elements: first, the formation of gender identities through the psychology of parenting, and second, through the allocation of particular tasks to particular individuals on the basis of gender. The gender division of labour and other forms of gender inequality that exist outside the family/household are seen to result, albeit in a reciprocal manner, from processes that originate in the family/household nexus. As has been remarked, this type of conceptualization is problematic in that it assumes a universal meaning and central role to the family/household, while ignoring, or at least, playing insufficient attention to ideological processes that are in operation in different spheres. This section extends Barrett's theory to take account of two important sites for the
construction and contestation of gender ideologies, and in particular, a version of gender ideology that might be termed "familialism".

The first site in which the construction of gender inequalities is very important is the state. Feminists have drawn attention to the fact that the state operates to reproduce gender relations as well as relations of class. In terms of the construction and reproduction of familial ideology in western liberal democracies, the welfare state has been cited as a prime arena through which a particular view of women's identities, their roles and their domains is extended. Through legislation and state benefits, therefore, a particular family/household comprising a male breadwinner and dependent wife is promoted. Historically, this has served the interests of capital accumulation, and patriarchal interests also. In addition, familial ideology is reproduced and extended through ideological state apparatuses, such as education, the national media and so-forth. The issue of the state and familial ideology will be taken up with respect to Indonesia in a later section.

A second site which is of importance is the workplace. In Chapter Two, Marxist and dual-systems theories of women in the labour market were outlined. Some of these emphasized the way in which processes operating in the workplace structured women's labour force participation. Most often, this was conceived of as a process of exclusion of women by male workers (Hartmann, 1979), and also through the gendering of particular
tasks and skills (Cockburn, 1983). The insights that these analyses have yielded can be brought to shed light on the construction of gender ideology in the workplace, in particular, an ideology of familialism. In this section, therefore, one particular approach which is useful to this end is considered: the work by Humphrey on gender divisions in Brazilian industry (Humphrey, 1987) which is suggestive of the manner in which individuals acquire particular subject positions while in the workplace, and second, the manner in which particular tasks and occupations become "gendered".

Humphrey argues that in the workplace, individuals do not only acquire identities in an androgenous sense, but as males and females. To some degree, the identities of male and female workers are related to constructs of masculinity and femininity in the wider society. However, Humphrey also maintains that specific work identities are also constructed and recreated with respect to work, along lines such as skill, strength, competence and discipline. As with the acquisition of gender identity in other spheres, there is a constant redefinition of this identity and the appropriate roles for men and women in the course of social practice, through the activities of both employers and employees (Humphrey, 1987). Humphrey's theoretical orientation seems implicitly to be quite consistent with the manner in which ideologies of gender are conceptualized in the analysis in this study. The ascription of subjectivity and the meaning of the roles of men and women are constructed, contested and reproduced in culturally and
historically specific forms in the workplace, as well as in the state and the family/household.

In sum, while moving away from Barrett's rather static and ethnocentric concept of familial ideology, in this analysis the emphasis on ideology is retained, although it is viewed as a fluid process, incorporating shifting subjectivities and meanings. Nevertheless, familial ideology is tied to materially-based power relations, although these are not necessarily based upon the capital-labour relation. Gender inequality may not necessarily be "familial" in nature, but in instances where it is, it needs to be specified and analysed as a particular moment in the development of gender relations. In addition, attention needs to be directed towards sites of gender subordination in which gender inequality is produced and reproduced that are beyond the family/household, for example, in the state and the workplace. The next section of this chapter takes these theoretical concerns to the substantive realm, in order to consider the nature of familial ideology in Indonesia.

4.iii. The Nature of Familialism in Indonesia.

This section considers the issue of "familialism" in Indonesia as a process that in part is rooted in, albeit relatively autonomous to, the economic organization of the family/household, but that is also comprised of an ideological arena within which gender identity and its meaning is created
and recreated in forms specific to the Indonesian context. Over time, gender ideologies and "familialism" have shifted, as prevailing practices and relations of production, circulation and consumption have altered, and as relations of power between men and women have changed. The aim is to analyse this process while remaining sensitive to the fact that the "images, attributes, activities and appropriate behaviour associated with women are always culturally and historically specific" (Moore, 1988:5). It is necessary, therefore, to identify what is meant by familialism in a particular context, in this case, Indonesia: i.e., its historical and cultural specificity, its manifestation in the family/household, in the workplace and the state, and the implications of its operation for the lives of different groups of people in various parts of Indonesia.

Besides its relationship to the gender division of labour, gender ideology is premised on four major factors that have successively defined its form and meaning in Indonesia as a "familial ideology". The role of adat, or customary law must be seen as a precursor of contemporary familial ideology, as must the role of Islam. A third influence is that of the Indonesian women's movement during the struggle for National Independence, and more recently also. Finally, familial ideology in Indonesia owes much to the way that the state has interpreted and projected men's and women's respective roles in society. Here, each of these factors is considered in turn. To some degree, the historical precedents of "familial ideology" in Indonesia lie within precapitalist notions of "male" and "female", and
within a precapitalist gender division of labour. In establishing the roots of "familialism" in Indonesia, two issues need to be borne in mind. First, it is important to avoid making the assumption that prior to the advent of capitalism in Indonesia, either of these elements were universal, historically or geographically. There were significant differences between family systems in different parts of Indonesia as a comparison of the bilateral Javanese family described by Geertz (1961) and matrilineal Minangkabau kinship described by de Jong (1951) suggests. Second, in using published ethnographies as a basis on which to rest an argument concerning relations of power between men and women, it is necessary to be aware that although these studies yield many insights, the frame of reference from which research questions were devised has changed. In other words, the types of questions that are of interest to feminists in different cultural settings today are not necessarily the same as those posed from within anthropological discourse in the 1950s. It is therefore likely that some important issues are obscured.

Familial ideology has grown out of the history and struggles around gender relations in Indonesia over a long period of time. Its construction has involved the interaction of four elements: (i) Adat or customary law, (ii) Islam, (iii) the Indonesian Women's Movement and (iv) The contemporary state. These are considered in turn.
4.iii. (a) Familial Ideology and Adat.

Adat refers to ancient local customary laws in Indonesia which reflect local conditions of life. Adat continues to influence people's lives through its primary concern with the regulation of kinship and inheritance in locally-specific ways. One of the best analyses of the role of adat in this context is that by Cora Vreede de Stuers (1960), in which she identifies kinship, marriage and inheritance laws as being fundamental to an understanding of "womanhood" and women's position within different groups. Adat has evolved "in a constant and supple fashion with the local and regional conditions of life" in Indonesia, and thus varies both between different ethnic groups and geographically (Vreede de Stuers, 1960:22). Nevertheless, observers have identified three principal systems of adat associated with kinship in Indonesia that have implications for the position of women: the patrilineal system; and more commonly, the matrilineal system and the bilineal system, each of which influence kinship, marriage and inheritance. The latter two are considered briefly here, rather than the former which embraces only a small proportion of the Indonesian population.

Hildred Geertz's ethnographic account of the Javanese family is based on field work conducted in one area of East Java in the 1950s: prior to the New Order and prior to the rapid social and economic changes that have subsequently been experienced in Indonesia (Geertz, 1961). A comparison of her work on the
Javanese family and that of studies conducted more recently (e.g. Wolf, 1986) suggest both continuities and changes in terms of the form of the family/household, the division of labour and power relations. The form of the Javanese family/household described by Geertz as largely nuclear and based on a bilateral kinship system similar to that described by Wolf today (Wolf, 1986). Also consistent with the contemporary period, Geertz notes a high rate of divorce between men and women, though it is unusual for either sex to be unmarried for a long period of time.

Within the division of labour, women are responsible for all domestic activities but these extend to the agricultural sphere and to the market. According to descriptions of the division of labour today, women continue to be responsible for all domestic tasks, but their capacity to participate in extensions of this sphere has been curtailed as the split between the domestic labour and "paid" work has deepened. Thus, women's domestic work, although involving similar tasks within the home, has been redefined. As is the case today, women's power in the family/household is a function of life-stage: unmarried women are protected, women that are married are largely in charge of the domestic sphere, and older women have a relatively strong position in decision-making processes within the family group.

In contrast to Geertz's description of the Javanese family, de Jong's study of the Minangkabau of West Sumatra in the late 1940s/early 1950s, considers matrilineal kinship and
inheritance patterns. It is argued that men are defined as visitors in their wife's homes. This has implications for relations of power, and in this particular group it is suggested that women hold considerable power over life and economic decisions. However, in terms of the domestic division of labour, there is no doubt that this sphere is largely women's responsibility. Indeed, in his study of Minangkabau in the 1970s, Kahn notes that there is no doubt that effectively authority rests with the male outside the domestic realm, and perhaps even within it (Kahn, 1976).

Despite differences between these systems in terms of post-marital residence and inheritance patterns, the centrality of women's wife-mother role in general is notable. Baried suggests that this is reflected in legends from most areas of Indonesia, in which women are depicted as pre-requisites for the survival of the group (Baried, 1986). In addition, it is worth noting that

in order to appreciate fully the position of the woman in traditional circles, it is necessary to remember that adat never protects individual interests but guarantees in the first place interests appertaining to the group...Marriage and issue do not exist to further the happiness of the individual; they have a very different meaning: they are institutions which help to maintain the existence of the clan...A woman proves her true worth and comes into her full rights only on becoming wife and mother.

(Vreede de Stuers, 1960:31)

Owing to the fact that adat reflects local conditions of existence and the nature of production and subsistence, it
seems that women's roles as co-partners to men, and familial ideologies have reflected this variety also.

It is the wife's importance as an active element in rural economy that has determined her importance as a member of the community, where every action is guided by tradition and where everyone fulfills a function with regard to the economy of the group. Her other function, wife and mother, essential to the survival of the group and correlative to the first, determines her position in public and private affairs.

(Vreede de Stuers, 1960:43-44)

Although women appear to have been relatively empowered within Indonesian society through their participation in economic life and through the communal nature of adat, despite some regional and ethnic variations, women were, by and large, identified with the domestic sphere (which here embraces subsistence activities including agriculture) and with motherhood.

4.iii.(b) Familial Ideology and Islam.

In many ways, gender ideologies associated with Islam in Indonesia are consistent with those of adat, to the point where it is difficult to disentangle the relative influence of either system. However, although the emphasis on women's roles as wives and mothers, and their general association with the domestic sphere has continued under Islam, the manner in which Islamic ideology conceptualizes womanhood and women's roles is somewhat different. First, Islam in Indonesia, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, conceives of women as being equal to, but different from men. Women have special duties to perform in
life which separate them from the world of men, although this
in itself does not necessarily imply inequality (Salyo, 1985).
Second, and related to this point, is the fact that women are
regarded as "naturally" weaker than men: their physical
attributes (delicate, weak, gentle and caring) mean that they
excel in matters pertaining to love and affection, and thus to
a role as home makers. Conversely, men are regarded as being
strong, decisive and able to cope with the harder aspects of
life, and are thus considered to be naturally suited to being
breadwinners (Raliby, 1985). A third point concerns the
idealization of women as wives and mothers: Islamic familial
ideology exalts this role as being a woman's duty, not just to
the community, but to God.

Women's obligation to wife- and motherhood as purported in
adat and Islamic familial ideology, has ensured the de jure, if
not the de facto inevitability of domesticity for the majority
of women in Indonesia and the shaping of gender identity and a
culturally-specific notion of motherhood. It is important,
however, to recognise that there was no fundamental and pre-
existing Indonesian familialism but instead a fluid, ever-
changing, negotiated ideology that accompanied the emergence
and dissolution of different historical conditions of
existence.

4.iii.(c) Familial Ideology and the Women's Movement.

In addition to the role that adat and Islam have played in
shaping familial ideology in Indonesia is that played by the
women's movement in Indonesia. Familialism in Indonesia today reflects the demands of women that were brought onto the agenda during the struggle for Independence in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, during which time nationalist interests took on board the concerns of an emergent feminism in Indonesia (Vreede de Stuers, 1960; Jayawardena, 1986). As the feminist movement was comprised almost entirely of aristocratic or middle class women (particularly Javanese women) it tended to reflect their concerns and their demands. This is neatly illustrated by reference to Raden Ajeng Kartini, a young aristocratic Javanese woman, whose pioneering efforts on behalf of "Priyayi" (Javanese aristocracy) girls and women has led to her becoming a celebrated symbol of the Women in Development rhetoric as purported by the state in Indonesia (Manderson, 1980). Through her correspondence with a number of Dutch women during an era when the European suffragette movement was blossoming, Kartini developed a feminist consciousness that encouraged her to struggle against the confinement that was the fate of all aristocratic Javanese women prior to marriage, to fight for the right to a meaningful education for girls, and to initiate the struggle against polygamy for a marriage system in which women were involved as partners, not subordinates of their menfolk.

Amongst other notable aristocratic women, the early twentieth century saw the emergence of a number of women's organizations, that were concerned with issues such as access to education, in particular, vocational training for girls in order that they be competent mothers; and family law, in
particular, polygamy and divorce (Baried, 1986). Women's struggles against these issues were embraced by the nationalist movement, in which the women's organizations played an important role. Women's duties as "mothers of the people" were incorporated into nationalist sentiment. When in 1945 Independence was achieved, women's status as equals of men was written into the Indonesian constitution (Manderson, 1980).

However, perhaps inadvertently, the struggles of middle class Indonesian women together with the prevailing conceptualization of women in adat and Islam brought into focus a particular vision of Indonesian womanhood and of the contribution of women to the development of the Indonesian nation. Once again, the view of women seeking glory as daughters, wives and mothers (i.e. in relation to men) was reinforced. As Vreede de Stuers notes, this was in part consistent with the ideas of the post-independence women's movement which was committed to the rights of women within their role as wives and mothers (Vreede de Stuers, 1960). It did, however, subsume the concerns of women as individuals under the concerns of androcentric development.


Since National Independence, and increasingly since the advent of the New Order in 1965, the state's interest in women's organizations has continued in a particular manner which collapses "women's issues" into the issue of "the family and development", and into the centrality of women's role
within the family (Hull, 1979; Sullivan, 1983). Although women's organizations continued to have some influence on the state and upon Indonesian development during Sukarno's presidency, this was quickly cut short by Suharto's New Order government which restructured women's organizations so as to preclude any form of social criticism or threat to the stability of an authoritarian regime. The women's organizations that were associated with the rights of working class women in Indonesia were effectively made illegal by the state. The best known of these associations, GERWANI, which was concerned with working women's rights and was linked with the Indonesian communist party (PKI). Owing to the events surrounding the so-called attempted coup in 1965 GERWANI was dissolved by the New Order and has been wiped from written history in Indonesia (Wieringa, 1988).

According to the state's version of developmentalism, women's identities thus were formed around their contribution to the spiritual, moral, mental and physical welfare of their families, and in producing good future citizens. Women were seen in purely relational terms: as mothers, daughters, sisters and wives. Through the Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga movement (PKK) which implements all government programmes for women at the grass-roots and village level, five major roles for women were conceived, in the following order:

(i) As loyal backstop and supporter of her husband.
(ii) As caretaker of the household.
(iii) As producer of future generations.
(iv) As the family's prime socializer.
(v) As an Indonesian citizen.


This prescription was built into the second Five Year Development Plan (Repelita II) which covered the 1974 - 1979 period. The state has restructured the Indonesian women's movement so that in effect, the different organizations have become parallel but subordinate to a set of equivalent male organizations, so that the concerns of women are commensurate with the broad rubric of Indonesian national development. A number of groups have been formed which may be regarded as semi-governmental machineries. Examples include Dharma Wanita (wives of the civil service), Dharma Pertiwi (wives of the military) and KOWANI (Kongress Wanita Indonesia, or Indonesian women's congress). Although these groups have responsibilities, they are of a supportive nature only. As Wieringa suggests, since the dismantling of the women's movement by the New Order in the late 1960s, although women's organizations exist, they are middle class in orientation, and operate within strictly defined parameters. Indeed, "there is no organization at all in Indonesia dealing with feminist concerns" (Wieringa, 1988:85).

In addition, the women within them are volunteers and their work is not remunerated. More particularly, the role of these organizations in reproducing familial ideology is through the activities of "femocrats" and the wives of government officials who regard themselves as exemplary figures in the production
and reinforcement of a concept of women as the "pillars of the family unit, who must make every effort to develop the social, educational and religious lives of themselves and their children" (Price, 1983:104). Indeed, women's role in nation-building should come second to family tasks. Gridjns illustrates this with an anecdote of an incident that took place during her fieldwork in West Java. During Hari Ibu (Mother's Day) preparations, the wife of a managerial staff member of the tea plantation said to the members of the women's organization:

Ladies, before we start playing volley ball we must first finish our work at home. By no means should we leave our husbands and children just like that!

(Grijns, 1987:113)

The ideology of familialism and the stereotypical view of women purported by the state is not remotely progressive nor reflective of reality for the majority of women who are not in a position economically to leave productive work in order to create and educate good Indonesian citizens. Instead it is based (ironically) on a Euro-American conceptualization of the family and of domesticity, it appears to be independent of ethnic and class differences and is far-removed from the every day existence of the majority of Indonesian women, despite being originally rooted in local expressions of both adat and Islam. As Sullivan remarks, this homogenizing ideology of familialism that is reflected in the rhetoric of the state puts a firm official stamp on the belief that women's place is in the home, not in
the fields or in any other influential sphere of economic activity.

(Sullivan, 1983:156).

The development of a hegemonic familial ideology in Indonesia has thus culminated in two related images of women, first, as mothers and secondly, as "housewives" which generally ascribe women to the ultimate destination of wives and mothers. This aspect of familial ideology affects women of all ages: as potential mothers/wives, and as current mothers/wives. Adat ideology and practices suggest that this ascription has been an important part of women's lives for a long time: women only reach their full social identity on child-bearing. However, evidence from a variety of case-studies in Indonesia, particularly among wealthier women, suggests that the cultural meaning of mothering is being redefined as men play an ever-declining role in the overall parenting of small children in the family/household (Hull, 1979; Robinson, 1986; Branson and Miller, 1988). This has implications for how women's identities as mothers and as potential mothers are perceived and constructed at a variety of levels.

The second image of women, that is, as housewives or at least, as potential housewives is also evidence of the manner in which "domesticity" and its meaning is being restructured. Mies has termed this process "housewifization" (Mies, 1988). Although in Indonesia it is clear that only a minority of women fit into a western categorization of "housewife", as an aspect of familial ideology, the ascription of women to this role has a significant influence, at a normative level, upon the lives
of many women. A new ethos of domesticity is beginning to emerge in Indonesia, in which "separate spheres" for men and women are becoming part of a familial ideology, and for some, part of life. In addition, the nature of domesticity, as purported in images of family life, is being redefined as the engagement of women in manual labour outside the home is being shunned. Robinson's research in Sulawesi is suggestive of this process. The meaning imparted to "domestic" in the community that she studied prior to the development of a nickel mine differed from that of today. In previous eras, "domestic" implied all those activities associated with subsistence and self-provisioning, including participation in agriculture; today "domestic" has come to mean "housewife".

In most instances, of course, there is a gap between the values, beliefs and ideology of familialism and the actual demography and economy of the family/household, and women's lives (Gittins, 1985). However, despite being discordant with the reality of many women's lives, "familialism" in Indonesia is very influential, for two main reasons. First, it is rooted historically in adat and in Islam, and thus although the meaning of some of its main concepts has shifted, it is not entirely alien to the majority of people in Indonesia. Second, "familialism" is an essentially middle class ideology. In a period of substantial changes in production, in the circulation of goods, ideas and people, and in consumption practices, the power of middle class discourse in Indonesia has strengthened, as the priyayi or middle class world view "has become the
source and standard reference for many of the ideals and values of the larger community" (Raharjo and Hull, 1984:116).


The influence of "familial ideology" is felt in a number of spheres throughout life in Indonesia by both men and women. This section illustrates the means by which familial ideology makes its influence felt, and the manner in which it is produced and reproduced.

Familial ideology in Indonesia operates through the media, and through the state's rhetoric and policies with respect to development programmes, education and training, and workplace legislation. Within each of these, particular roles and identities are negotiated and ascribed to men and women, which have ramifications for the types of activities in which they are thus able to engage, as shall be shown in the next section. Here, the degree to which familial ideology is manifested in each of the four related arenas mentioned above is considered: the media, state development programmes, education and training, and through workplace legislation.

4.iv.(a) Familialism Through the Media.

Films, television, newspapers, magazines and advertising have, through increased literacy, and increases in the penetration of media to most areas of Indonesia, come to play an important role in generating and perpetuating a particular
form of familial ideology, in which men's and women's identities and roles are portrayed in particular ways, not always commensurate with the reality of their lives and experiences in Indonesia. Women's columns in magazines and newspapers stress a view of women that centres upon the home and the family, upon fashion, and upon notions of romantic love that suggest a particular image of womanhood in Indonesia (Manderson, 1980). In some journals, "model mother" competitions feature regularly, presumably outlining the principal features of a role to which all women should aspire (Woodcroft-Lee, 1983).

4.iv.(b) The State, Development Programmes and Familial Ideology.

Earlier in this chapter, the production and reproduction of a particular familial ideology through the activities of the state was described. Of particular importance in this respect, has been the role played by the state through its relationship with governmental and semi-governmental women's organizations, in which women's contribution to development in Indonesia is conceptualized as one reflecting their "principal role as wives and mothers". Besides having been part of the creation of a particular familial ideology in Indonesia, development programmes have served to extend this ideology beyond the urban middle class and into the urban and rural kampungs. Thus, various studies in rural Indonesia have shown how development programmes have created a normative separation of the domestic
domain, which is reflected in the division of rural extension efforts into agriculture for men, and home economics, health, nutrition and family planning for women (White, 1985; ILO, 1986). In her discussion of the "development" efforts that were being made in a Yogyakarta kampung, Sullivan suggests that the emphasis on life-style improvements by the elite women administrators (including makeup demonstrations) which were part of the PKK development initiatives in urban areas, assumed that kampung women had the necessary surplus time and income in order to be able to attain relatively unrealizable middle class goals as "wives and mothers" in the development process (Sullivan, 1983).

4.iv.(c) Familialism in Education and Training.

According to most observers, education has a tendency to perpetuate certain aspects of gender ideology in Indonesia (ILO, 1986). Its most significant impact upon women is through the way in which women are channelled into particular fields of education, both vocational and academic, secular and muslim (Raharjo and Hull, 1984). According to Manderson, at all levels of vocational training women have been steered towards teacher training and health training: reflecting an ideology in which women's role is as helpmate and server of men (Manderson, 1980). Muslim schools are usually sex-segregated, and within these women's education normally comprises areas that are consistent with familialism, such as family life education (Sudjahri, 1979), home economics, teacher-training, midwife
training, and nursing. In many instances, education concerns primarily an upgrading of the types of skills that women can use in the home, not in the sphere of waged work. It should also be emphasized that vocational schools of this type make up the largest percentage of education for women in Indonesia (Hull, 1979).


In Indonesia, there exists a variety of labour laws that relate specifically to women, and that reflect and reinforce an ideology of familialism, in terms of their image of womanhood, and in terms of what are considered to be women's principal roles in society. Four main areas of labour legislation can be identified. The first of these areas concerns paid pregnancy, nursing and menstruation leave. According to Mahnida, the aim of this legislation is to protect the health and safety of women workers and their children, but in practice, few companies operationalize this legislation: she notes several instances where women workers were dismissed upon pregnancy, and few companies grant menstruation leave in a de facto sense (Mahnida, 1982). A second area of legislation concerns equal remuneration for men and women.

In the formal sector, there is increasingly a tendency to assume that a woman's (whether as a daughter or as a wife) wage is of minor importance within the family/household, and thus despite legislation that is meant to guarantee equal pay for work of equal value, those tasks that are usually designated as
female are normally rewarded less than those that are associated with male employees. As Mather notes, there is a "tacit agreement between parents and factory managers that these young workers, especially daughters, were dependent, and this allowed the investors in the area to pay wages which did not cover the daily subsistence cost of their workforce" (Mather, 1985:159). Thirdly, women are prohibited from performing manual work in mines, pits or other places for mineral extraction. Such employment is regarded as too heavy and physically demanding for women's more delicate constitution.

Finally, legislation concerning night work prohibits women from working between 10pm and 5am (Sudjahri, 1979), ostensibly this is to uphold the "moral order" (Mather, 1985). Despite the importance of the relationship between familial ideology and labour legislation, it is important to bear in mind the fact that very few people are actually affected by any form of labour legislation: either their employment is in the informal sector and therefore lies outside this sphere of state control, or the labour legislation is simply not enacted. The role of state labour legislation in perpetrating an ideology of familialism is therefore relatively limited. It does, however, reinforce a particular identity of women as workers, and reproduces a particular meaning of "women's work".

In order to consider the effect that this ideology has had upon the position of women in the labour market in Indonesia, it is necessary to analyse the manner in which familialism operates in particular spheres: in the family/household, and in the workplace. The mediation and reproduction of familial ideology in both these spheres structures women's labour market position in a dialectical fashion. This section examines the manner in which this process occurs in the contemporary Indonesian context by considering the family/household and the workplace in turn.


In Indonesia a range of family/household systems are observable. These vary in terms of form, definition and meaning between different ethnic groups and between different classes. There is a paucity of literature concerning the household that is gender sensitive, and less still that is explicitly feminist, particularly on family/household systems outside Java. Instead, research has tended to focus upon Java, upon Javanese family forms, and upon the role played by the family/household in Javanese society (Geertz, 1961; Jay, 1969; Wolf, 1986; 1988). It is, however, worth examining in brief some of the specifics of the contemporary Javanese
family/household, as this form has had a homogenizing influence in the development of Javacentric familial ideology throughout Indonesia.

Briefly, three points can be made that serve to illustrate the features of the Javanese family/household system that distinguish it from Barrett's ethnocentric conception of "The Family/Household System". First, a distinction should be drawn between the family and the household. Among many Javanese, "the family" implies kinship, inheritance, a sense of belonging and obligation of various kinds, but not necessarily co-residence or mutual economic dependence. By contrast, "the household" holds a variety of meanings, although as Evans points out, the most commonly used metaphor defining the household is "to cook together". Although clearly this is not meant in the literal sense, it does imply some kind of de jure, if not de facto, sharing of resources. Moreover, it is a definition that has been taken up by the state for survey purposes (McGee, 1989). The household, therefore, need not necessarily embrace people from the same immediate family, although often it does.

A second point is that although the Javanese family/household system is characterized as nuclear, this is often an idealized description. Other forms are common, such as extended family/households (encompassing more distant kin, for example), and truncated households (the most common of these being female-headed family/households) (Wolf, 1986). Moreover, the nuclear family/household in this instance is based on particularly loose conjugal ties: more so than those
characterized in Barrett's discussion. Thus, divorce and remarriage are commonplace (Nakamura, 1983). In addition, loose conjugal ties both structure and are themselves reproduced through what McGee terms dispersed households, in which family/household members, often associated by kin, pool resources in the absence of continuous co-residence, for example through the remittance of income from the city to the rural family/household (McGee, 1989).

A final point to make is that unlike the situation described in Barrett's discussion of the family/household in white British society, in the Javanese situation more emphasis is placed on neighbourhood ties, both socially and economically (Jellinek, 1987). Neighbourhood organizations, rotating credit associations and so forth play an important role (Lucas, 1983). Just from this brief sketch, it seems that the family/household in Java, while nominally nuclear, may not have a similar meaning to its western equivalent as portrayed in Barrett's discussion. In addition, for areas outside Java it should not be assumed that Javanese patterns are replicated.

Although there has been little systematic research on this issue, it is necessary to be sensitive to variations in meaning and form throughout Indonesia: for instance, the prevalence of extended family/households, different notions of conjugality that influence the parenting of children and so forth. Nevertheless, it is the Javanese family/household form that has influenced the development of familial ideology and that continues to be presented as the Indonesian family/household
system, though not necessarily in accordance with indigenous meanings and forms.

Keeping this in mind, there are two principal means by which familial ideology influences men and women in the family/household: first, by the ascription of particular identities (subjectivity) to individuals, and second, by the allocation of tasks and roles on the basis of gender. Through micro-level power relations involving conflict and compromise, individuals of different genders and generations ascribe to one other (and to themselves) particular identities. In theoretical terms, there is much debate as to how this process of ascription takes place. In general terms, the ascriptions are constructed through parenting in the context of particular gender ideologies and reinforced by the interaction of individuals as spouses, parents or children. Depending on the texture of power relations within the family/household, these ascriptions have a particular influence on the possibilities that are open to different individuals.

Contemporary Indonesian familial ideology in the family/household sphere accords particular identities, depending on whether women's position is as wives or as daughters. For wives, the identity ascribed to them centres upon their image as bearers of children, as managers of the home, and as their children's chief educators (Sudjahri, 1979). The role played by husbands in this process is through their supervision, albeit negotiated, of women's sexuality and ability to bear children (Mather, 1985).
As daughters, familial ideology is felt in the family/household through the paternalism of the father, which in many instances, is backed by other family/household members. Again, central to this process is the issue of the control of a woman's sexuality, in this instance to protect her status as a potential wife. Recent studies of young women's participation in factory work in Indonesia (particularly Java) have drawn attention to the way in which these young women's identities are shaped by the attitudes of their parents, especially their fathers. Young women are not considered adult until they are married: daughters are thus ascribed identities as submissive and dependent on the family, and concomitant with this is the imperative to obey their fathers in life decisions such as marriage and employment outside the home (Mather, 1985; Wolf, 1988).

In accordance with this, certain activities are deemed appropriate and in keeping with women's ascribed traits, not just by husbands within the family/household, but also by women themselves and members of the wider community who reproduce aspects of familial ideology. Similarly, in a spatial sense, women's activities are bounded, usually to the confines of the village, and in some instances, to the domestic sphere itself.

The second means by which familial ideology affects women in the family/household is through the ascription and allocation of tasks (and roles) on the basis of gender. The prevailing image of women as actual or potential mothers, as gentle, caring, weak, and so forth, affects the gender division of
labour in the family/household by designating which tasks are appropriate for women, which tools are "women's tools", and under what conditions women should be allowed to work (i.e. prescriptions concerning work outside the household, at night or in proximity to other men). In general, appropriate roles for women in the family/household centre upon the care and nurturance of the family: mothering, cooking and domestic chores that take place largely within the spatial confines of the household itself, during daylight hours and, although this is only loosely prescribed, in the absence of men from outside the family. Domestic work outside the household that is deemed appropriate is associated with tasks such as growing vegetables for the family, washing and so forth. In sum, what has emerged is the centrality of a subjectivity for women that has been constructed around the concrete reference of women's biology in ways that have given a particular meaning and reality to "motherhood".

These ascriptions have affected women's position in the labour market in two ways. The first way is direct: through the fostering and reproduction of a familial ideology that constructs women's subjectivity as wives and mothers, and through the direct ascription of "appropriate" roles for women outside the home. One way in which this is manifested is the tendency for women's tasks, and the ways in which women are perceived and perceive themselves outside the family/household sphere, to both replicate and reinforce constructions that take place within the family/household. The emphasis upon the actual
or potential wife/mother role of women leads to women's engagement in other activities often being regarded as secondary by husbands or fathers, and often by the women themselves. This has ramifications for women's access to various types of resources such as education, in which preference is often given to male children (Rahardjo, 1980). Given the strong links between education and paid employment, this aspect of the operation of familial ideology in the Indonesian family/household is significant.

The second means by which familial ideology in the family/household affects women's position in the labour market is less direct and concerns the manner in which the gender division of labour in the family/household that has been fostered dialectically manner by familialism, effectively conditions material constraints on women's participation in work outside the family/household sphere. This is an issue that has been a central focus of time allocation studies on fertility and labour force participation, in which women's activities as mothers constrains their engagement in income-generating activities (ILO, 1986). Women's obligation to marriage and child-rearing circumscribes and defines the nature of their access to other resources, their participation in various spheres of life in Indonesia, and therefore the gender division of labour outside the family/household in terms of constraints of time, and constraints of space.

For women as wives, and for women as daughters, familial relations that are reproduced through the views and activities
of husbands and fathers, of women themselves and also in the local community, effectively shape women's "appearance" in particular domains, and therefore their access to different forms of work. This in itself plays a key role in producing and maintaining gender ideologies (Moore, 1988). Thus, together, material and ideological aspects of the family/household create a set of material and normative constraints upon the activities of women, and in particular, their participation in the labour market.

Despite the homogenizing influence of familial ideology in the family/household, it is important to recognise that the ways in which women (and men) experience and respond to familial ideology are conditioned by the material and subjective aspects of an individual's class (and ethnic) position. Effectively these factors circumscribe the ways in which gender ascriptions are expressed in reality, given that contemporary familialism in Indonesia is rooted in a Javanese middle class ethos that has been influenced to a considerable extent, by something akin to "westernization". From fairly superficial observation, it is evident that in most cases the identity and roles ascribed to women within Indonesian familialism do not necessarily accord with the reality of women's lives. Rarely are women occupied as "housewives" in the manner defined by state rhetoric. The degree to which an ideology of familialism can be realized within a particular family/household situation depends very much on the economic position of the family/household and its respective members.
Many observers make a distinction between middle class women, whose economic position (and that of their respective family/households) is such that their involvement in particular activities is not structured by economic need; and poorer women for whom participation in various income-generating activities arises out of economic necessity (Hull, 1979; Manderson, 1980; Raharjo and Hull, 1984; Robinson, 1983, 1986, 1987).

For wealthier women, adherence to the ascriptions that characterize familial ideology is stronger, partly because of the middle class influence in fashioning such an ideology. Familialism has had a powerful impact upon the identity with which middle class women have been accorded, and upon their engagement in particular activities. Numerous studies illustrate the "housewifization" of wealthier women: either their withdrawal entirely from particular activities, and relegation to the domestic sphere, or at least their participation in activities compatible with their prescribed role as wives and mothers.

Within middle class family/households, gender ascriptions are reinforced through the activities of husbands, whose "conditional approval" of women's participation in activities beyond the wife/mother role circumscribes women's open engagement in economic activities. Employment must not conflict with the care and education of children - a role which is central for middle class women. In instances where approval for women to work is given, it is often for activities that are informal, and associated with the home (Papanek, 1979). There
is therefore a tendency for husbands of middle class women to encourage a life of "leisured boredom" for these women (Robinson, 1986). This is related to the status value that a "leisured" wife accords to middle class men (Papanek and Schwede, 1988).

As fathers, the role of men is expressed in the control of their daughter's sexuality and marriage decisions: concomittant with daughters' ascription as potential wives/mothers. Fathers are thus able to control daughters access to education and involvement in activities that may take her outside the home. Women themselves play a role in reproducing familial ideology in the family/household also, as do members of the wider community. In a study of middle class women in Jakarta, women's views of their most important achievement in life centred upon husbands, children and the home (Rahardjo and Hull, 1984).

The emergent situation in the middle class family/household reveals the husband as breadwinner, supporting a wife whose activities centre upon her role as wife and mother: in close accordance with the ideology of familialism that has emerged in Indonesia. In addition, the domesticity and housewifization of middle class women is being exacerbated by a prevailing middle class consumption ethos in which the emphasis is on privacy and the separation of the home from the outside world. As Dick notes, this is symbolized by the high fences and gates that surround many suburban houses in Jakarta and in other major Indonesian cities (Dick, 1985). It is a situation that is also being exacerbated by the active exclusion of women from certain
forms of paid work: this is an issue that will be addressed in a later section.

Among poorer women a different situation emerges, in which a tension develops between the economic need to work and an adherence to the hegemonic ideology of familialism and the centrality of women's roles as wives and mothers. For most women in Indonesia, work is a way of life and the decision not to work is a luxury (Hull, 1979). Thus, in family/households where the participation of women in various paid activities is necessary, a conflict emerges, both in an ideological sense and in a material sense, between the Indonesian ideology of familialism and its associated roles, and the imperative to engage in remunerated activities. The tension between familial ideology and the realities of poor women's lives is exacerbated by the increasing prevalence of what McGee terms "dispersed household networks" (McGee, 1989), in which certain household members, often husbands or in some cases single women, live away from the family/household core in order to participate in particular income-generating activities. The implications of this for women's lives may be far-reaching but at this stage are relatively unresearched. Nonetheless, both the material and ideological aspects of familialism serve to influence the nature of the work in which poorer women are able to engage, principally because women are regarded as the focus of domestic family relations in a manner similar to that of middle class women (Mather, 1985). Thus, material and ideological constraints, although conflicting in certain ways, may
simultaneously structure the type of activities deemed appropriate for women to engage in, and that are commensurate with women's roles as wives and mothers, be this actual or potential.

For many women, care of children is accorded a high priority, and in instances where child care assistance from other family members is unavailable, poses a very real constraint upon women's lives. In her study of factory employment in rural Java, Wolf notes that the most oft-cited reason for giving up factory work was either advanced pregnancy or the lack of available child care (Wolf, 1988). This aspect of familial ideology seems to have become more pervasive in some cases where a decline in the propensity for women to entrust the care of infants to older children seems to have emerged (Robinson, 1986).

Although it would be mistaken to suggest that a woman's social class is the most essential component of her identity, economic position clearly has great implications first, for the manner in which familial ideology is expressed in women's lives, and second for the resultant activities and roles in which she thus engages. To some degree the material basis of class counters the homogenizing influence of familial ideology, but nevertheless, its influence in defining and reproducing women's subjectivity, their roles and in reinforcing as well as being reinforced by a particular gender division of labour has, through its operation in the family/household, a significant effect upon women's lives. For both poorer and wealthier women,
familial ideology in the family/household shapes the configuration of income-generating possibilities for women, and hence their position in the labour market. The next section of this chapter shows how this is bolstered by the operation of familial ideology in another sphere: the workplace.

4.v.(b) Familial Ideology in the Workplace.

Feminist studies of women's position in the labour market that lay emphasis on processes occurring in the workplace (see for example, Hartmann, 1979; Cockburn, 1983 among others), generally conceive of the workplace as either a factory or an office. As has been suggested in earlier chapters, this conceptualization of the workplace in an Indonesian context is inadequate: "workplace" is as likely, if not more likely, to be the home, a field or a street. Thus, in this section, a broader definition of "workplace" is implied. The workplace is considered to be the site of production, though clearly in many instances this overlaps with the site of reproduction, i.e. the family/household. In addition, for many women, relations of production are non-capitalist in the strictest sense of the word. Women are often self-employed or work as unpaid family workers. Any analysis of familial ideology in the workplace in Indonesia must take these issues into account.

With this caveat in mind, this section considers the operation of familial ideology in the workplace: its principal agents, and the impact that this has upon the gender division of labour. A first consideration is the construction and
reproduction of a specific gender identity in the workplace. Second, an important process is the "gendering" of particular work practices through the influence of familial ideology. Three aspects of this process are discussed: the gendering of particular tasks, the gendering of particular tools or machines (i.e. technology), and finally the gendering of particular spatial or temporal conditions of work. This section concludes by looking at how these particular aspects of familial ideology and the gender division of labour are produced, negotiated and reproduced through the activities of individuals in the workplace: by employers, employees, or by women themselves.

The construction of women's identity as actual or potential wives and mothers, and the associated meanings and ascriptions of womanhood in Indonesian familial ideology are very much apparent in the identity that women are accorded in the workplace. This is reflected in the nature of the tasks that women engage in, and also, where appropriate, in the relationship that they have with their employers. In addition, because in contemporary familialism women's role is regarded as being primarily that of a wife/mother, their engagement in employment that is non-domestic in nature is regarded as secondary: indeed, as Mather points out, often their work is referred to as "pekerjaan nanggur", literally, "the work of the unemployed" (Mather, 1985). In terms of their relations with employers, familialism is reflected in the paternalistic attitudes of employers towards female workers, in a proletarianized situation. Women workers are encouraged to be
"malu" (shy) and "takut" (afraid) of their paternalistic employers: ostensibly this is a means of labour control (Mather, 1982; Wolf, 1984, 1986) but its effect is to also reinforce a particular version of familial ideology in the workplace. Women's identity as mother figures is also drawn out in other work contexts, to recreate support and servitude to men (also to children and other women) in the workplace, e.g. as secretaries, nurses, teachers: in other words, in the so-called caring professions (Manderson, 1980). Women's identity as gentle, caring, nurturing and so-forth that is so apparent in contemporary familial ideology in Indonesia is thus recreated in the workplace also.

The significance of the production and reproduction of the female identity is brought into sharper relief when the nature of work that is ascribed to women is considered. Familialism is reflected in the ways in which particular tasks or occupations are designated as "female" or "male". In most sectors of the economy, certain tasks are deemed specifically female through gender symbolism that has historically become incorporated into current expressions of familialism, or, as is more recently the case, through the association of certain productive tasks with women's ascribed role as wives and mothers. The gender division of labour in various types of agriculture provides a good illustration of how gender symbolism has become incorporated into notions of appropriate work for women. Women's responsibility for harvesting rice relates to women's "cool" (dingin) fingers, which according to Indonesian cosmology,
appease the goddess of rice, thus encouraging higher yields (Sajogyo, 1985). A similar type of symbolism justifies women's role in the harvest of tea in West Javanese plantations (Gridjns, 1987).

Associated with this type of symbolism but incorporating more recent ideas about women's role of wife and mother is the ascription of various tasks as male or female in industries. From her research in rural Java, Sutoro suggests that tasks are ascribed on the basis of dichotomous conceptual dimensions shown below.

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These dimensions concern not only the nature of the task in question, but the skills and materials that the worker utilizes (Sutoro, n.d.). More directly reflective of familial ideology is the ascription of forms of work to women that seem to echo the de jure, if not the de facto, division of labour in the family/household. Examples of this include the manner in which the sale of food, cooked or uncooked, is deemed appropriate employment for women, women's participation in domestic service, and also women's factory work, for instance, in clothing factories or in factories producing food and beverages.
(Wolf, 1984; 1986; Jellinek, 1987). It should be noted, however, that stereotypes concerning appropriate work for women should not deceive us into imagining that there are particular areas of work which are always going to be designated as "feminine" or appropriate for women.

(Moore, 1988:102)

As tasks change, and as familialism develops in new directions, the definition of particular forms of work as male or female may shift in a variety of ways.

The gender division of labour and construction of certain tasks as appropriate for women is reinforced further by the gendering of tools and machines, particularly in the context of technological change. As Sutoro's analysis of cottage industries in rural Java has indicated, certain technologies are associated with women, others with men. Generally, there is an association between mechanization and the ascription of a particular activity as appropriate for men (Sutoro, n.d.). As Sutoro maintains, this is not naturally so, rather it is reflective of how men have appropriated particular aspects of production as their own. This is indicated also by the association of profitable forms of production with the male side of her two conceptual dimensions. It is also made apparent by the fact that these ascriptions are relatively fluid, depending on the agricultural season and the availability of labour.

A similar pattern can be observed in other industries and sectors of the economy, a good example being the effect that
technological changes in agriculture have had upon the gender division of labour and income-generating possibilities for women. The replacement of the ani-ani knife used by women in the harvest of rice by male-wielded sickles, and the replacement of women hullers by male-operated mechanical rice hullers has been well-documented in the Javanese case (Collier, 1973; White, 1978; Sajogyo, 1985; Hart, 1986), and as Dauber and Cain suggest, is an illustration of how technology, even that which is of a relatively intermediate nature, is "gendered" (Dauber and Cain, 1981). Other examples include the replacement of the "female" backstrap loom by the "male" ATBM (Alat Tenun Bukan Mesin) in the weaving industry (Price, 1983), and also the association of particular roles in the marketplace with women on the basis of the merchandise being sold (Chandler, 1985, 1986; Alexander, 1987).

Familialism operates in the workplace to designate particular activities as appropriate or otherwise for women in terms of the conditions within which the tasks are to be performed. There are two dimensions to this: first, the temporal conditions, i.e. ideologies forbidding women to work after dark; and secondly, spatial conditions, i.e. in terms of the relative confinement of women to the village, to the domestic realm, and the segregation of males and females within factory situations. Familial ideology and the perceived need to preserve the moral order mean that generally women are excluded from working at night. Indeed, this aspect of familial ideology
is encoded in state legislation which prohibits women's employment in night work.

Of more consequence in terms of women's income-generating possibilities, however, is the designation of tasks that take women beyond the confines of the village as inappropriate work for women. This has particular implications for the role of women in trade, and to some degree explains the gender division of labour in the market place (Price, 1983; Chandler, 1985; Robinson, 1985). In addition, the boundaries of the family/household are often the barrier between appropriate and inappropriate forms of work for women, and thus many women's employment activities revolve around the domestic sphere, perhaps because of the material constraints posed by their role as wives and mothers, but also because of the need to preserve the moral order and to control women's sexuality. As Branson and Miller note, prevailing ideologies of familialism appear to be leading to a contraction of the female world to the household, if not in real terms, then certainly in prescriptive terms (Branson and Miller, 1988).

The designation of activities as male or female is produced, negotiated and reproduced by the activities of three groups of people in the workplace: the employers, fellow workers (male or female), and by the women themselves, in particular ways. In certain work practices where an employer-employee relation exists, familialism may be expressed through the activities of employers in two ways: first, the recruitment and second, the exclusion of women workers into and from particular tasks. The
first of these, recruitment, is usually made according to prevailing notions concerning gendered tasks, technology, and conditions of work; in other words, according to whatever is considered to be appropriate work for women. A statement concerning the employment of women in a biscuit factory in Central Java, made to Diane Wolf by a factory manager is reflective of attitudes concerning the recruitment of women into occupations as diverse as domestic service, teaching, factory work and the civil service. When asked why such a large proportion of the workers in his factory were women, the manager replied: "It is women's work - after all, who makes the bread at home?" (Wolf, 1984:220).

Attitudes such as this are upheld and reinforced by the recruitment strategies that employers of various persuasions engage. For example, in Tangerang, as well as in central Java, factory managers recruit women workers through the village head, or through an Islamic leader (Mather, 1982; Wolf, 1984; 1986). In a similar manner, domestic servants are recruited through family networks. Effectively both these mechanisms of recruitment reflect and reinforce a familial ideology, steering women into particular forms of work that are deemed appropriate. The second means by which familial ideology is produced and reproduced by employers is through the exclusion of women from particular tasks and occupations. Usually this is associated with skill definitions, and the nature of work. In many cases, such as night work and work in mines, it is bolstered by state legislation. So although discrimination is
illegal in Indonesia, the designation of particular activities as inappropriate for women means that in reality there are many avenues that have become or remain closed to them.

In addition to the activities of employers, the activities of other workers and indeed, other members of the community are another important means by which familial ideology is produced and reproduced in the workplace. In keeping with prevailing assumptions concerning appropriate work for women, the participation of men or women in tasks that have been designated as the domain of the other gender results in derision and teasing by other workers (Sutoro, n.d.). In communities in Indonesia, this type of activity is a powerful means by which ideologies concerning the way that women and men ought to behave are upheld.

Finally, there is the question of how the activities of women themselves in the workplace recreate and reinforce familial ideology. Robinson points out the disapproval that women who veered from the prescriptions regarding women's work earned from other women in the community (Robinson, 1986). However, as O'Brien argues, women's marginalization from the centre of production, both ideologically and materially, that appears to be accompanying the development of familial ideology in Indonesia has meant that women play a less active role than men in the construction and maintenance of definitions of work as "male" or "female" (O'Brien, 1988).

In sum, the operation of familial ideology in the workplace has served to construct and reinforce women's identity and
principal role as wives and mothers. This has been achieved primarily through the construction of particular types of work as appropriate or inappropriate for women, in terms of the tasks themselves, the materials and technologies utilized, and in terms of the conditions under which particular tasks are performed. Familial ideology in the workplace is extended by the activities of employers through recruitment and exclusion, through the activities of fellow workers, through teasing and ridicule, and through the activities of women themselves, all of which serve to create and recreate shifting prescriptions concerning what is appropriate work for women as daughters or wives to be involved in. Through the operation of processes in the workplace, the net result has been an identification of women's work generally as secondary, and it tends therefore to be characterized as low-paid, unskilled, associated with low levels of technology and capital, and informal in nature. Through what might be conceived of as a dialectical relationship between processes operating in the family/household and those that operate in the workplace, there is a direct association between women's position in the labour market and women's prescribed activities in the family/household. In both instances, women's activities are defined by their identity as carers and nurturers, and indeed by their definition as mothers of the Indonesian people.
4.vi. Conclusion;

This chapter has outlined the historical development of a particular gender ideology, "familialism", in the Indonesian milieu. Through the ancient laws and prescriptions associated with Adat Law and Islam, and through the images of Indonesian womanhood that have underscored the Indonesian women's movement, a particular identity and role of women has emerged, which has coalesced with state development theory in recent years, as familial ideology. Within this ideology, women are conceived of primarily as wives and mothers, actual or potential. New meanings forged around women's domestic role, have put a stamp on the notion that women are housewives, first and foremost.

Although it is clear that this ideology has had varying amounts of influence upon women of different class positions, it is a powerful representation of womanhood which is extended through a number of channels. Through its operation in the family/household and in the workplace, familial ideology circumscribes the terms upon which women enter the workforce, and the occupations and tasks in which women are able to engage.

The next chapter considers how simultaneously this particular version of familial ideology and recent economic restructuring have influenced the position of women in the labour market in the context of global patterns of change.
and local conditions of existence in Indonesia in the 1970s and early 1980s.
CHAPTER FIVE

INDONESIAN WOMEN IN THE LABOUR MARKET: INTERPRETING CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

5.1. Introduction.

Preceding chapters of this thesis have been concerned with formulating a framework for the analysis of female employment that considers women's labour market position to be structured in part by familial ideology, and in part, by prevailing labour market conditions that reflect processes of economic restructuring in the context of a particular situation. In Chapter Three, the changing economic and social context of female labour force participation in Indonesia was outlined in a discussion of the ways in which capitalist development and local conditions of existence have given rise to the special characteristics of the labour market in Indonesia and have, in addition, led to a number of changes in the 1970s and early 1980s. Chapter Four outlined the operation of a form of gender ideology in Indonesia which has redefined women principally as wives and mothers was outlined. Gender ideology, or familialism has, in a number of ways, served to structure and maintain women's position in Indonesia in general, and in the labour market in particular. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the implications that these two themes have for women's position in the labour market in Indonesia over the late 1970s and early 1980s. These issues are explored using census data and case-study material which provide information on the
position of women in various sectors and occupations. The data reveals continuities and changes in female labour force participation over this period which are interpreted in the light of prevailing familial ideology, and in the context of structural changes in urban and rural areas of Indonesia.

The chapter is divided into five main parts. The first part of the chapter reviews a number of discussions of female labour force participation in Indonesia, paying special attention to the types of analysis and the factors that are considered to be important in explaining women's position in the labour market. Many of these studies have yielded important insights into some of the reasons why women hold particular positions within the occupational structure. In much of the literature, however, women's roles as wives and mothers are taken as given and are left untheorized, as has been the case in the non-feminist literature in general. This section outlines the manner in which an identification of the operation of familial ideology and a sensitivity to the specific conditions in which this ideology is operating, can help forge an analysis capable of theorizing and interpreting women's labour force participation in this particular milieu. This is afforded by unpacking the factors that underlie and have constructed women's roles in the labour market.

The second part of the chapter considers women's workforce participation in Indonesia in general: first, in terms of women's participation in paid work compared to their role in the family/household, and second, in terms of women's participation in formal or informal work, in both rural and
urban areas. The third part of the chapter turns to an analysis of women's position in the labour market within particular economic sectors, with an emphasis on changes and continuities over the 1970s and early 1980s. In this section, an analysis of the simultaneous operation of familial ideology and economic restructuring within particular conditions of existence is used to interpret women's situation. Applying a similar type of analysis, the fourth part of the chapter examines women's position in the labour market in greater detail and from a different angle, focusing attention on women's position in the occupational structure in the 1970s and early 1980s.

5.ii. Women and Work in Indonesia: An Overview.

Recent interest in the activities of women that has been gathering momentum in the "Women and Development" literature in general, is reflected also in the number of studies to date that have dealt with different aspects of female labour force participation in Indonesia. Substantive issues such as women's participation in economic activities as a whole, in the formal and informal sector, and the concentration of women in particular economic sectors and occupations have all warranted attention from a number of feminist and non-feminist researchers.

In acknowledging the specificity of women's position in the labour market, non-feminist studies of women in the workforce have argued that gender segregation can be explained by reference to one or more of a number of factors. These factors
variously account for women's entry into the workforce, their engagement in particular occupations, and their employment in either the formal or the informal sector. The most commonly cited factors in non-feminist accounts of labour market segmentation by gender concern what are regarded as "women's roles as mothers and wives". In many studies, these roles are commonly referred to as life-cycle factors; that is, marriage, child birth and divorce. Women's "roles" themselves are not analysed per se in most studies, but they are nevertheless considered to operate either as factors influencing women's occupational choices, or as constraints on women's entry into the workforce. In either case, these roles lead ultimately to a concentration of women in particular sectors and particular occupations.

In relation to marriage, commentators have variously suggested that married status raises labour force participation of women (Smith, 1981), that divorced and widowed women are the most likely to be "economically active" (Jones, 1977; 1984a; Oey, 1985), or that there is a bi-modal pattern of workforce participation by age, with highs among younger cohorts (aged 15-19) and among older divorced or widowed women (Jones, 1986). The constraints posed by the "wife role" are seen as a particular hindrance for middle class women (Raharjo, 1980), as for most women, employment is an economic necessity. More emphasis, however, has been placed upon women's child-bearing role as another "life-cycle factor" that women either choose to fulfil, or that places constraints upon women's engagement in the workforce (Hull, 1979). Child-bearing may not entail
withdrawal from the workforce entirely, however, but instead encourages involvement in activities that can be conducted close to home, often of an informal nature (Oey, 1985).

Women's so-called natural roles as wife and mother also underlie explanations that consider the domestic division of labour to explain women's position in the labour market. Most studies of women in the labour market cite the domestic division of labour as a central factor in conditioning the participation of women in non-domestic work. It is suggested that domestic obligations lead to the participation of women in activities that are flexible and that can be coordinated with such tasks (Manderson, 1980; Jones, 1984a; Oey, 1985; Papanek and Schwede, 1988). Women with particular domestic obligations are therefore concentrated in the informal sector, and in activities that may be combined with household duties, such as domestic out-working, domestic service and informal sector trade.

Other studies of women in the labour market in Indonesia have been concerned with showing how women's position in the labour market arises from the interplay of factors such as education, culture and religious norms, migrant status and lastly, social class. It is often noted that female participation in the workforce is closely related to the educational levels of women. When education is cross-tabulated with workforce participation, a classic J-shaped curve results, indicating that poorer educated women (usually of a lower class position) enter the workforce out of economic necessity, there is little workforce participation among middle class educated
women, and among post-secondary educated women, high workforce participation rates ensue: often involving "modern" skilled occupations (Raharjo and Hull, 1984; Hugo et al., 1987). Some commentators have used this type of correlation to suggest that women's lack of education relative to that of men explains their position in the labour market: in the informal sector, and in particular occupations (Moir, 1980; Raharjo, 1980).

Studies of women's entry into the workforce have also identified the role of cultural and religious norms in shaping women's position in the labour market. In a study of the work patterns of Jakarta women based on the 1971 census, Jones and Lucas indicate that the workforce patterns of migrant women in Jakarta resemble the work patterns of women of their respective places of origin. Thus, it is argued, women in Jakarta that are from Central Java, (where participation rates of women are high) show significantly higher rates of participation than do West Javanese migrants in Jakarta. This is because West Java is associated with a stronger Islamic conception of women's roles. From this they infer that culture and tradition "act as a screen through which the undoubtably important economic motivation for employment is mediated" (Jones and Lucas, 1979:47). The importance of Islam is echoed by Hugo et al. who suggest that though regional differences in female activity rates cannot be accounted for by cultural factors alone, there does seem to be some relationship between Islam and women's workforce participation as a comparison of the rates for strongly Islamic areas such as Sulawesi and West Java with less Islamic areas such as Central and East Java indicates. Women's
participation in the workforce is thus seen as a result of the operation of culture that places women in a different position from men, and structures their entry into particular sectors and particular occupations.

Other studies emphasize the issue of migrant status, which, as Jones and Lucas's study indicates, also has an impact upon female labour force participation. Furthermore, Smith suggests that female migrant status has an important relationship to women's position in the labour market. In a study of migrant and non-migrant women in Jakarta, he argues that migrant women are significantly better represented in the urban workforce, than are their non-migrant counterparts (Smith, 1981). It is argued that migrant women, because of their status, have attributes that allow a greater level of participation: first, their greater economic need, and second, their possession of social attitudes that encourage their participation in the workforce.

Finally, studies have considered the role of social class in shaping the position of women in the labour market. It is argued that there is a distinction between groups of women that enter the workforce out of necessity, and those who work out of choice. Status considerations are of great importance for middle class women - their activities must not be seen to humble or disgrace their husbands, and the ethos of conspicuous consumption paradoxically leads to it being considered improper for a husband to have a wife that works (Papanek, 1979; Lucas, 1980). However, studies have shown that middle class women work in a variety of moonlighting occupations, usually unenumerated,
such as brokering, catering, sewing, beauty care and tutoring, to name but a few (Papanek, 1979).

Women's position in the labour market therefore, is seen in most of these analyses as the result of women's so-called natural role as mothers which effectively structures their entry into different parts of the workforce. In addition, women's economic roles are coloured by women's experience of a number of other factors such as education, cultural norms, migrant status and social class which differentiate the position of women from that of men in the Indonesian labour market.

Although it is reasonable to suggest that these factors have an impact on the participation of women in the workforce, there are two blind spots that are not tackled in most of these discussions. First, like many studies of women in the labour market in general, women's "natural" attributes as wives and mothers (i.e. their biological role) are not problematized. Women's roles are seen as pre-existent and not within the bounds of analysis. Thus, most analyses incorporate certain assumptions about women's position in the household and their child-bearing role, both of which are left unquestioned, in a manner similar to neoclassical and segmented labour market theories. Instead, attention is directed towards economic development and women's problems that result from the incompatability of their "natural" roles with new economic conditions. Issues of gender inequality and power are thus eclipsed.

Related to this, a second point concerns the manner in which
the market (capitalism) is considered to be gender blind. This shares some similarities to the assumptions that underlie neoclassical and segmented labour market theories of women and employment, as well as some of the feminist literature. As was discussed in Chapter Two, several feminist analyses have problematized these issues and have argued that the nature of women's roles in the family/household need to be unpacked and the manner in which they affect women's position in the labour market needs to be explored more thoroughly.

In an effort to counter some of the blind spots that are inherent in the above perspectives, and with the intention of pushing the analysis further back, recent literature concerning Indonesian women has challenged assumptions about women's natural roles, questioning both this issue, and the issue of the market as gender blind. Indeed, notable within recent English language discussions of women in Indonesia is a more explicitly feminist focus: whereby gender inequality is considered to be a central concern.

Echoing some of the Marxist feminist literature on the labour market in Britain and North America, some writers have considered women's position in the labour market in Indonesia to be structured by the operation of capitalist development. Pre-capitalist gender relations are viewed as being relatively egalitarian: it is the advent of capitalism that gives rise to the separation of the private and public realm. Women's position in the private realm in this new capitalist situation thus leads to their occupying a particular position in the labour market. In Robinson's view, women's primary commitment
in life is to childcare. In pre-capitalist Soroako (Sulawesi), this was a socially-valued duty and one which did not engender inequities between men and women in economic activities or elsewhere (Robinson, 1985; 1988). In her analysis, she locates the root of women's current position in the labour market in the manner in which women's pre-capitalist role has become incorporated into the development of capitalist social relations in the community. Thus, it is capitalism which fosters gender inequalities as domestic life and worklife are increasingly separated, and as women are persistently excluded from involvement in paid work.

A similar perspective is developed in Diane Wolf's work on the employment of young women in rural factories. Wolf also considers women's position in the labour market (their entry to waged work) to be ultimately structured by capitalist relations. However, rather than viewing pre-existing gender relations as egalitarian, she considers women's employment to be conditioned by capitalist development in the context of pre-existing patriarchal relations in the household and, to an extent, in the workplace. In effect, it is domestic relations and family/household survival strategies that lead to the particular situation that young Javanese factory employees find themselves in (Wolf, 1984; 1986; 1988).

Following dualistic feminist analyses of women in the labour market in a more explicit manner, a second strand of thought in more recent feminist literature in Indonesia documents the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism which has influenced the position of women in the labour market. Mather's
research on young female factory workers in peri-urban Java considers the relationship that has developed between the Islamic patriarchy and capital, through the connections that factory managers have with village head people (Mather, 1982; 1985). This relationship serves both the interests of men in subordinating women, and the interests of capital in subordinating workers. Shifting attention away from the domestic sphere, women's position in the workforce is thus conditioned by the simultaneous operation of both sets of forces through exclusionary hiring practices, wage rates and levels of unionization in the workplace.

Finally, some researchers have placed more emphasis on ideological explanations of women's labour market position: a perspective that is in many ways consistent with that advanced by Michele Barrett. Branson and Miller discuss how pre-existing ideologies, especially those related to religion and religious ritual primarily in the domestic sphere, are reworked through their relation with capitalism in a historically-specific sense, in this case, in Bali (Branson and Miller, 1988). What this implies for Balinese women is that the subordination that previously was experienced through ritual, has been extended to the commercial sphere of which women historically were a part. Women have been relegated to an increasingly privatized family role. A pre-existing ideology has, therefore, become embedded in capitalist relations, with implications for women's position in the labour market.

Grijns also focusses on ideological aspects of gender ideology in her discussion of female tea pickers in West Java.
(Gridjns, 1987). In her study, she looks at the cultural construction of gender, particularly in the workplace, in this case in the tea plantations of West Java. Women's position is seen as a result of pre-existing and more recent culturally-specific notions of masculinity and femininity and appropriate tasks for men and women. Shifts in the gender division of labour are economically motivated, however, and not due necessarily to shifts in gender ideologies.

The emphasis on ideological aspects of gender inequality with respect to women's position in the labour market in these discussions is, to some degree, consistent with the position adopted here to analyse women's employment in general. However, there are three issues that the theoretical underpinnings of this analysis deal with more directly. First, gender ideologies are considered to be historically-produced: negotiated and extended through a variety of spheres, and have culminated in an ideology of familialism which regards women's principal identity and role to be that of a mother, actual or potential. Ultimately, the meaning accorded to this ascription implies privatized domesticity for women. Second, women's position in the labour market is considered to result from the dialectical operation of processes in the family/household and processes in the workplace. This entails the construction of women's identity and roles in both spheres, and the gender ascriptions given to tasks, tools and conditions of work in the household and in the workplace.

Finally, the position adopted here considers the range of employment possibilities for women in a given historical and
geographical context. Here, the role of economic change and conditions of existence in Indonesia are considered, particularly with regard to labour market segmentation along non-genderlines, and the relation that this has with the possibilities that are open to women in general. There is, therefore, a more explicit focus on gender inequality as ideology, more emphasis on the construction of this ideology in a capitalist context, and how this particular construction, embedded as it is in capitalist relations, has influenced the employment possibilities with which women are faced. The following section considers the nature of women's position in the labour market in the light of these issues.

5.iii. Women's Workforce Participation: Interpreting Continuity and Change.

Figures concerning female labour force participation suggest that of the Indonesian women that are of working age (i.e. ten years and over), about a third are considered to be what is defined by the census as "working" (see Appendix). The purpose of this section is to establish what type of activities working age women are engaged in, why this is so, and how this is changing, if at all. In order to disentangle the relationships between economic restructuring, familial ideology and women's participation in the workforce, this is done in three stages; first, the processes that appear to structure women's participation in the workforce in the 1970s and early 1980s are considered. The second stage looks at the distribution of
different groups of women in household labour and in the labour market. Finally, there is a discussion of women's participation in formal and informal sector activities in rural and urban areas of Indonesia.

5.iii.(a) Processes at Work.

Two types of process account, to a large degree, for the nature of women's engagement in activities outside the domestic sphere. First, the rapid growth and transformation of the economy over the 1970s brought about by increased oil revenues, state support for particular aspects of the economy and shifts in consumer demand has encouraged three main developments:

(i) Increased capitalization in agriculture including technological and institutional changes that have entailed a shift of labour out of agriculture.
(ii) An overall growth in labour absorption in industry despite increased capitalization over the 1970s.
(iii) Rapid growth in labour absorption in the service sector brought about by an expansion in the public service sector, and more importantly, by the marginalization of workers from other parts of the economy, principally from the agricultural sector.

In the 1980s, the transformation of the economy has continued, albeit, with new developments:

(i) A general slowdown in the growth of the economy as a whole, and therefore fewer possibilities for employment, particularly in the formal sector.
(ii) A decline in state subsidization of the economy,
particularly in the growth of industry and public services.

(iii) A general informalization of employment possibilities as marginalization becomes more widespread.

These changes have taken place in the context of rapid population growth, particularly in urban areas, suggesting that employment possibilities for the workforce as a whole are becoming more limited, as well as more informal and more service sector-oriented.

The second type of process that is recognizable in the Indonesian context concerns familial ideology. The emergence of a particular gender ideology in Indonesia that recognises women primarily as wives and mothers, actual or potential, has led to structural changes having a gender-specific impact, as gender ascriptions concerning women's identity and women's activities in the family/household and in the workplace circumscribe the possibilities with which women are presented. Familial ideology is also embedded in the changes themselves because much of the capitalization of various economic sectors involves the introduction of gendered technology, and also, much of the marginalization and informalization that has taken place has been constructed around particular views of women as "housewives". In the following section, the degree to which this has precluded women's participation in the workforce per se is examined.
5.iii.(b) Implications for Women's Workforce Participation.

It is important to note that structural changes and familial ideology pose different sets of implications for different groups of women, which are not identifiable within the census data itself. The experience of change varies by social class, and also by religious and cultural identity within Indonesia, both of which are obscured in available census tabulations. The following tables (Tables 5.1 and 5.2) show the proportion of women that are economically active in rural and urban areas, compared to the equivalent proportion of men over the early 1980s. The tables reveal that similar trends to those of the 1970s are apparent. To some degree, the higher proportion of women active in urban areas is explained by the underenumeration of women's work in rural areas given the blurred distinction between housework and unpaid family work in agriculture (see Appendix). In urban areas the possibility of this happening is smaller. In her discussion of women's participation rates in the 1970s, Oey suggests that the increase in the proportion of women in the workforce is related on the one hand to expanding opportunities for women in the urban labour market, and on the other, to increased poverty in rural areas which has encouraged greater participation of women in the workforce outside domestic self-provisioning (Oey, 1985). Overall, there has been an increase in the proportion of women in school, but this is explained primarily by the fact that the proportion of women in the school age cohort has increased: due to the age structure of the Indonesian
### TABLE 5.1: PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN THAT ARE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE IN 1980 AND 1985:
#### Rural Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage in Economic Activity</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Urban/Rural Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>70.13</td>
<td>71.40</td>
<td>34.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>17.77</td>
<td>20.83</td>
<td>13.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>40.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>10.26</td>
<td>6.63</td>
<td>11.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (Thous)</td>
<td>39350</td>
<td>43167</td>
<td>40912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>71.23</td>
<td>72.74</td>
<td>34.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>16.75</td>
<td>19.04</td>
<td>12.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>0.26</td>
<td>41.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>10.10</td>
<td>7.05</td>
<td>10.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (Thous)</td>
<td>23941</td>
<td>25326</td>
<td>25243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside Java</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>68.43</td>
<td>69.49</td>
<td>33.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>19.34</td>
<td>23.39</td>
<td>15.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
<td>0.98</td>
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<td>38.58</td>
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<tr>
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**Sources:** Biro Pusat Statistik Census Penduduk Seri S/2 (1980) and Supas Nomor 5 (1985).
TABLE 5.2: PERCENTAGE OF MEN AND WOMEN THAT ARE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE IN 1980 AND 1985:
Urban Areas

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<td>37.75</td>
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<td>41.82</td>
<td>37.22</td>
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<td>10.00</td>
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<td>10.62</td>
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<td>74929</td>
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<td>Working</td>
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<td>26.14</td>
<td>30.03</td>
<td>19.58</td>
<td>24.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeping</td>
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<td>0.29</td>
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<td>39.07</td>
<td>20.59</td>
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<td>Others</td>
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<td>7.73</td>
<td>10.17</td>
<td>8.2</td>
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<td>7.3</td>
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<td>4745</td>
<td>3516</td>
<td>4665</td>
<td>38223</td>
<td>45451</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Sources: As Table 5.1
population as a whole (Hugo et al, 1987).

Also significant is the proportion of women engaged in activities defined by the census as housekeeping. In the 1980s, 40% of women in urban areas in Java and in areas outside Java cite housekeeping as their primary activity. However, in rural areas throughout Indonesia a trend is emerging in which workforce participation takes precedence over domestic activities. Significantly, very few men engage in housekeeping activities in any area of Indonesia. Generally, this suggests that despite an ideology of familialism, women are not being relegated to the domestic sphere in a de facto sense, and this is particularly the case in rural areas.

The most important factor that underlies these apparent trends concerns the manner in which economic change and familial ideology are experienced by women of different class positions. As many writers have pointed out, the middle class in Indonesia is primarily resident in urban areas (Raharjo and Hull, 1984; Dick, 1985). In part, the figures here which suggest that housekeeping activities are of greater significance among urban women in the 1980s reflect the fact that domesticity and familial ideology hold a far greater influence over the activities of women in the middle class than they do for working class women. Entry into the workforce is based upon the consent of the husband and the degree to which this is likely to interfere with women's defined roles. Furthermore, familial ideology also compounds a tendency for middle class women to under report their engagement in extra-domestic activities in census surveys which may be reflected in
the figures here (Papanek and Schwede, 1988).

By contrast, for poorer women, the influence of familial ideology in domesticating women is outweighed by the economic imperative to work. In the 1980s this imperative has been intensified by the increasing marginalization of the workforce as a whole, which necessitates a high degree of occupational multiplicity, particularly among poor rural women (Hart, 1986). In addition, in rural areas, the high rates of economic activity recorded for women no doubt include women's participation in activities that are more likely to be counted in the census than is women's employment as unpaid family labourers in agriculture. However, although for many women, work outside the domestic sphere comprises their primary activity, this does not mean that women do not engage in domestic work. Indeed, the very low rates of participation of men in housekeeping activities implies that women remain chiefly responsible for this domain. In addition, the nature of domestic work in Indonesia is very labour intensive, and it is likely that this poses material constraints upon the nature of women's engagement in other types of activity. While familial ideology does not appear to preclude women's participation in the workforce per se, it is reasonable to suggest that it influences the terms upon which this is conducted. The next part of this section examines the influence of material and ideological constraints and economic change on the terms of women's employment, in particular, their participation in formal and informal sectors of the economy: an issue which to a large degree is obscured by the census.
5.iii.(c) Women in the Workforce: Formal and Informal Sectors.

The general literature on the informal sector in the Third World has frequently referred to the large percentage of women workers that engage in activities designated as informal (Heyzer, 1981; Moser and Young, 1981; Roldan, 1985). The distinction between informal and formal labour market activities is outlined in Chapter Three. Informal sector work is of particular importance in Indonesia for both middle class and working class women in rural areas, but more particularly in urban areas, though the nature of the activities in which each group of women engages is quite different (Raharjo and Hull, 1984; Jellinek, 1987; Papanek and Schwede, 1988). The discussion of the transformation of the Indonesian economy in Chapter Three together with the consideration of labour market segmentation in Indonesia as a whole, drew attention to the fact that in general, the labour force employed in the informal sector has grown. As the workforce has been marginalized from participation in agriculture, and more recently, from industry, many workers have had to resort to informal means of generating an income. This general process of informalization has been compounded by state investment strategies, particularly with respect to the public service sector. Given that women tend to occupy the informal sector of the economy in Indonesia, the implications of these changes are particularly marked for women.

The basis of segmentation between the formal and informal sectors in Indonesia rests on the fact that entry into the
formal sector for men and women is conditioned by a set of criteria: education, migration and residency status, contacts and patronage through kinship, residency and ethnic links, and class position. Intersecting with each of these criteria in particular ways are gender ideologies, such as familialism. Although many women may participate simultaneously in the formal and informal sectors, it is evident that there is a preponderence of different groups of women in each. For instance, the positions of women as daughters, and of women as mothers differs: in general, it is women as daughters who may secure employment in the formal sector, it is women as mothers who work in the informal sector.

The construction of women as daughters, de facto or otherwise, in Indonesian familial ideology characterizes women as serving, submissive, yielding to patriarchal power, and, particularly among younger women, as malu (shy) and takut (afraid) when in the company of men (Mather, 1985). Ascribing such a subject position to women is consistent with the control of women's sexuality, which for parents, is an important consideration in relation respect to a woman who is a potential wife/mother. The way in which this is manifested for particular women varies between social classes. For unmarried middle class women, familial ideology is cross-cut by education levels which enable these women to enter into formal sector skilled work and professions (Raharjo and Hull, 1984). However, the terms upon which they are able to enter are conditioned by familialism, and this is reflected in the positions occupied by such women in the formal sector.
For working class women whose identity is constructed around their "daughterhood", the ascriptions accorded to women as daughters has facilitated their entry into factory work in multinational and Indonesian manufacturing outfits. As Wolf's research in rural Java indicates for the industrial area in which she worked, 80% of the workforce comprised young, single women (Wolf, 1984). Familialism in the workplace, in the family/household and in the community ensured that women's sexuality was controlled, and in addition, that women as workers formed a docile workforce conducive to Indonesia's new export-oriented industrialization policies. In general, for women as daughters, entry into the formal sector is conditioned by familial ideology which tempers the terms under which both middle class and working class women are employed.

The ascriptions that are accorded to women as mothers surround their child-bearing capacity, and the ideological and material constraints that contemporary manifestations of this role imply for different groups of women in Indonesia. These constraints have, in various ways, led to women in Indonesia being employed predominantly in informal sector activities. First, the material constraints posed by child-bearing and nursing in its current form mean that women are placed in a position where they need to work relatively unstructured hours, where they are able to move quickly in and out of an occupation, and in activities with which they can combine childcare activities (Manderson, 1980). Second, as women's role is seen primarily as that of wife and mother, their position in the labour market has been ideologically constructed as
secondary. The implications that this has for women depends to some degree, upon women's class position. Middle class women work from the home in activities which are, by and large, informal (Raharjo and Hull, 1984; Papanek and Schwede, 1988). Such activities are compatible with their wife mother role, and are often not known about by their husbands.

For working class women, women's homes also become their workplace, albeit, in different ways. The necessity of engaging in income-generating activities is certainly a stronger influence than some of the prescriptions of familial ideology, but still the contemporary manifestation of motherhood structures the need and desire to work in activities that are compatible with child care (Robinson, 1986). Women thus engage in vending, domestic out-working (Price, 1983), domestic service and types of trading that can be combined with the material demands of familialism (Moir, 1981; Chandler, 1985; Jellinek, 1987).

In general, women are increasingly being redefined as wives and mothers, actual or potential. However, the economic imperative to generate an income for both middle class (consumption) and working class women (survival) means that this does not imply withdrawal from the workforce per se, indeed the figures suggest that the opposite is occurring. Familial ideology does, however, influence the terms upon which women are able to engage in economic activities in the context of limited employment possibilities generally. Depending on their construction as mothers or daughters, women tend either to enter the formal or informal sector. With these points in
mind, the next two sections of the chapter consider the relationship between economic change and familial ideology more specifically, by examining their influence on the sectoral and occupational distribution of women in the Indonesian labour force as revealed in the census.

The rationale for considering both sets of data is that each set focuses on a different aspect of the labour market. Data concerning the proportion of the workforce in each economic sector refers to the economic sector in which a particular activity is placed, and not the nature of the activity itself. With respect to changes in women's participation within each economic sector, sectoral data tends to reveal more about shifts in emphasis between different sectors within the economy. Thus, changes that appear in sectoral data reflect the uneven impact of economic change on industrial sectors, and the implications that this has for women who are concentrated in particular sectors of the economy.

By contrast, occupational data is more concerned with the nature of the activity itself. Occupations can cross-cut industrial sectors, for example managerial occupations may occur in any of the industrial sectors. A consideration of the distribution of women in the occupational structure reveals the sex-typing of particular occupations and suggests the narrow range of activities in which women are able to engage. Thus the two data sets compliment each other, enabling the effects of economic change and gender ideologies underlying women's position in the labour market to be considered.

The purpose of this section is to examine the implications of economic restructuring for female employment, given the influence of contemporary familial ideology on the nature of employment possibilities for women in Indonesia. Continuities and changes in the distribution of the male and female workforce throughout different sectors of the economy are considered, following Oey's discussion of employment change in the 1970s, and from what is revealed in the 1980 and 1985 census data.

Many of the changes in the sectoral distribution of the workforce as a whole over the 1970s and the early 1980s correspond closely with the contours of economic restructuring as a whole that were discussed in Chapter Three. These economic changes that have been taking place in Indonesia over the 1970s and the 1980s have particular implications for women. Before considering the specifics of women's employment by sector, this section considers Oey's discussion of the sectoral distribution of the workforce over the 1970s.

5.iv.(a) Restructuring in the 1970s: the Sectoral Distribution of the Female Workforce.

Using the World Bank classification of sectors which recognises three main sectors: agriculture (including hunting, fishing and forestry), industry (including mining, manufacturing, construction and utilities) and services
(comprising all other types of economic activity), Oey discusses changing work patterns of women in the 1970s (Oey, 1985). The tables below (Tables 5.3 and 5.4) describe the sectoral distribution of the workforce that she found, throughout Indonesia during this period for rural and urban areas.

According to these figures, between 1971 and 1980, agriculture declined proportionately in its share of overall labour absorption, although it still accounted for over 1/2 of the total workforce. Of this, approximately one third is female. Oey suggests that although this sector has grown in terms of its workforce, relative to overall population growth in this period, this is of limited significance. In addition, in rural Java the capacity of agriculture to absorb female labour relative to male labour appears to have declined over the 1970s: a fact that she relates to the gender specific nature of technological and institutional changes. By contrast, the industrial workforce increased over the 1970s, but became more masculine, particularly in the rural industrial sector. This has been determined to a large degree by trends in manufacturing, especially in Java. In urban areas, by contrast to rural areas, a trend emerged in the 1970s for the manufacturing sector to become more feminized.

Oey suggests that the growth in the service sector over the 1970s, has been particularly noticeable for women. It is argued that employment in the service sector in Indonesia is a last resort for many workers, especially in Java, as women are marginalized from agriculture, with few possibilities for
### TABLE 5.3: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SECTOR IN 1971 AND 1980: Urban Areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
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<td>10.13</td>
<td>7.97</td>
<td>7.30</td>
<td>63.18</td>
<td>56.25</td>
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<td>22.90</td>
<td>13.28</td>
<td>17.10</td>
<td>9.68</td>
<td>12.79</td>
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<td>66.97</td>
<td>78.75</td>
<td>75.60</td>
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<td>30.96</td>
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<td>581</td>
<td>13453</td>
<td>18528</td>
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</table>

TABLE 5.4: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SECTOR IN 1971 AND 1980: Rural Areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage in Economic Sector</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Urban/Rural Total</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>74.67</td>
<td>68.94</td>
<td>67.88</td>
</tr>
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<td>Industry</td>
<td>7.06</td>
<td>10.09</td>
<td>10.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>18.27</td>
<td>20.97</td>
<td>21.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (Thous)</td>
<td>21967</td>
<td>27741</td>
<td>11446</td>
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<td>Java</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>71.26</td>
<td>64.81</td>
<td>62.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>8.38</td>
<td>12.62</td>
<td>12.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>20.37</td>
<td>22.57</td>
<td>25.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (Thous)</td>
<td>14229</td>
<td>17141</td>
<td>7546</td>
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<tr>
<td>Outside Java</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>80.94</td>
<td>75.61</td>
<td>78.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>4.64</td>
<td>5.99</td>
<td>7.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (Thous)</td>
<td>7738</td>
<td>3900</td>
<td>10600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

employment in the emergent manufacturing sector (Oey, 1985). What is apparent in the 1970s is that although marginalization has affected the workforce as a whole, its impact has been felt most strongly by women. By considering each sector in turn, it may be possible to suggest some explanations for this, based on the idea that capitalism is historically gendered, that it is embedded in a particular ideology of gender, and thus, that the impact of capitalist restructuring tends to be gender specific.


To examine sectoral patterns of women's employment, each sector is examined in turn: its transformation over the 1970s and early 1980s, and the relationship that this has with contemporary familial ideology in Indonesia. The tables below (Tables 5.5, 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8) show the distribution and growth of the workforce by sex throughout economic sectors, first in urban areas and second, in rural areas. Following Jones (1987), economic sectors in Indonesia are divided into seven groups: agriculture (including hunting, fishing and forestry), mining, industry (manufacturing and utilities), construction, trade, transport and communications, and services (including finance and public services). These groups reflect the way in which data is presented in the census and are problematic, collapsing a number of distinct activities into spurious aggregations. As is suggested in the appendix, there are some difficulties with the data, which has therefore been augmented with case study material.

As these tables reveal, women are overwhelmingly
TABLE 5.5: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SECTOR IN 1980 AND 1985: Rural Areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage in Economic Sector</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indonesia</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>68.62</td>
<td>68.86</td>
<td>63.19</td>
<td>64.73</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.31</td>
</tr>
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<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>6.13</td>
<td>6.17</td>
<td>11.66</td>
<td>10.82</td>
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<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>4.21</td>
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<td>Trade</td>
<td>7.41</td>
<td>7.87</td>
<td>15.75</td>
<td>16.68</td>
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<td>Transport</td>
<td>2.63</td>
<td>3.23</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>9.94</td>
<td>8.84</td>
<td>8.04</td>
<td>7.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (Thous)</td>
<td>27740599</td>
<td>30819397</td>
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<td>18155440</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
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<td>Mining</td>
<td>0.76</td>
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<td>0.29</td>
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<td>7.53</td>
<td>13.83</td>
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<td>Construction</td>
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<td>5.07</td>
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Sources: As Table 5.1
### TABLE 5.6: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY SECTOR 1980 AND 1985: Urban Areas.

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<td>Services</td>
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<td>Outside Java</td>
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<td>10.03</td>
<td>10.03</td>
<td>8.96</td>
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<td>0.56</td>
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Sources: As Table 5.1
TABLE 5.7: ANNUAL GROWTH OF WORKFORCE BY ECONOMIC SECTOR FROM 1980 TO 1985: Rural Areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Sector</th>
<th>Males annual growth %</th>
<th>Males growth index</th>
<th>Females annual growth %</th>
<th>Females growth index</th>
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<td>3.58</td>
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</tr>
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<td>3.59</td>
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<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6.22</td>
<td>0.84</td>
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<td>0.37</td>
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<td>4.13</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>6.61</td>
<td>1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>2.10%</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.07%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Java</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>3.88%</td>
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<td>1.73</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>6.64%</td>
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Sources: As Table 5.1 Annual Growth rate = LN(p1985/p1980)/5
TABLE 5.8: ANNUAL GROWTH OF WORKFORCE BY ECONOMIC SECTOR FROM 1980 TO 1985: Urban Areas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Sector</th>
<th>males annual growth %</th>
<th>males growth index</th>
<th>females annual growth %</th>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>0.89</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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<td>10.55%</td>
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Sources: As Table 5.1 Annual growth rate = LN(P1985/P1980)/5
concentrated in the service sector, especially in trade and services in urban areas. In rural areas, agriculture absorbs over 60% of men and women. Although the percentage of women in manufacturing is equivalent to that of men, it is evident that their representation has declined over the 1980s, particularly in rural areas. These observations suggest that many of the trends identified by Oey over the 1970s have continued in the 1980s.

Variations in employment trends in each sector are indicative of the impact that economic restructuring has had upon each sector, and the gender variations within this are reflective of the fact that this process is gendered, within the context of familial ideology. The next part of this section considers the implications of economic restructuring and familial ideology sector by sector, for rural and urban areas of Indonesia.

(1) Agriculture.

Agriculture has and continues to be an important economic sector in terms of labour absorption of women in rural areas. Traditionally in Indonesia, participation in agriculture is consistent with women's prescribed roles, and in various aspects of farming there is a fairly strict gender division of labour which reflects this. For example, in traditional Javanese mythology, women's responsibility for the harvest is justified by the idea that women's fingers are "cool" (dingin), and thus appease the goddess of rice (Sajogyo, 1985). Similar mythologies exist concerning women's participation in other
types of agriculture, for instance in the harvest of tea in West Java (Gridjns, 1987). Aside from norms associated with agriculture and female employment, agriculture remains one of the better remunerated activities in rural areas, particularly in Java where alternative income-generating activities are limited. To some degree, this accounts for the continuing importance of the agricultural sector as a source of employment for rural women.

However, over the 1970s and 1980s, agriculture as a sector has undergone some fairly extensive restructuring associated with the state's commitment to self sufficiency in agricultural products and its adoption of various components of the "Green Revolution" package. Technological and institutional changes that have subsequently come about have been widely discussed (for a review see White, 1985). Generally they include the adoption of new harvesting techniques, and the introduction and reintroduction of particular types of labour arrangements. Each of these changes have wide-ranging implications for the employment of women, given their introduction in the context of familial ideology. While women may not have been forced to leave agriculture entirely as the data suggest, in general, women have been marginalized by the introduction of new techniques and forms of labour control which mean that the possibility of generating an income is more limited than before. This has been revealed in intensive research in rural Java (White, 1985; Hart, 1986). The implications of these changes are two-fold. First, the introduction of new technology has been couched in gender terms: tools and techniques
constructed around a male ascription such as the sickle have, in many instances, replaced the ani-ani used by women in the harvest (Sajogyo, 1985). This has led to a regendering, though not necessarily de facto, of what was once a female domain. The new techniques are incompatible with women's identities in contemporary familial ideology.

Second, institutional changes involving a reorganization of agricultural labour arrangements have had particular implications for women, and in part this is related to familial ideology. Over the 1970s bawon harvest practices have gradually been replaced or at least, augmented by two other types of labour arrangement: the tebasan, and the kedokan. In the bawon system, women automatically had the right to participate in the harvest within their village, and were paid by a share of the harvest itself. By contrast, the tebasan is a wage labour arrangement in which labour is often recruited from outside the village and is paid in cash. Many tebasan workers use sickles rather than the hand-held ani-ani, and are often male. This is related to the nature of the implements being used in the harvest, but it is also related to the fact that the spatial constraints imposed upon women through familial ideology prevent women from engaging in activities beyond the bounds of the village, unless the economic imperative is sufficiently strong.

In the kedokan labour arrangement, households as units are employed to harvest, having earned the right to participate by giving some labour time earlier on in the agricultural season. Although under this system women still participate in the
agricultural sector, the terms on which they do so are different from the bawon system. Thus, the nature of women's participation in this sector has undergone some changes as the whole sector has been transformed. In addition, the situation is maintained by ridicule and teasing of individuals that step outside the prescribed division of labour to counter these changes. Generally, the changes that are recognizable over the 1980s appear to be a continuation of those of the 1970s where a general restructuring of the agricultural sector, accompanied by familial ideology, has led to women being marginalized, perhaps not out of agriculture entirely, on different terms within the labour force.

(2) Mining and Construction.

As figures suggest, there is a tendency for the mining and construction sectors to be male dominated: this situation has continued over the early 1980s. Although over the 1970s the restructuring of the Indonesian economy as a whole stimulated a boom in construction, particularly in urban areas, the labour absorptive capacity of this sector was small, particularly for women. Discussions of employment in this sector draw attention to two reasons why mining and construction are such male preserves. First, with respect to mining, according to Indonesian labour laws which are consistent with contemporary familial ideology, it is illegal for women to be employed in mines. Second, and this applies to both mining and construction, the nature of work within these sectors is incompatible with prevailing ideologies concerning appropriate
work for women: the work is heavy, it requires the use of tools that have a male ascription, and it is carried out in unsuitable temporal or spatial conditions. Thus, the representation of women in these sectors is low, with the exception of Balinese women who are occasionally employed in road construction. This is perhaps explained in part by the high proportion of the Balinese who are Hindu, and not Muslim in Bali.

(3) Industry.

Industrial restructuring in Indonesia over the 1970s was characterized by growth, capitalization and commoditization. In the 1980s these trends have continued, although a general slow down in growth has meant that there are fewer income-generating possibilities in this sector over all. The decline in employment possibilities has been felt most strongly by women, however, and this is reflected in the labour force data for the 1980s. In both urban and rural areas, the percentage of men in the industrial sector has increased, whereas the percentage of women employed in this sector has declined. In order to explain this apparent intensification of the masculinization of industry that was emerging in the 1970s, it is necessary to examine first, the nature of technological and labour process changes in urban and rural industrial sectors in this period, and second, the reasons why this seems to have had such an impact upon women workers.

In urban areas of Indonesia, particularly in Java, manufacturing accounts for the employment of a sizeable
proportion of the female workforce. Women in urban areas that are engaged in industrial activities in the formal sector are employed primarily in labour intensive, low skilled industries producing consumer goods for the domestic market, such as food and beverages, tobacco, and textiles (Mather, 1985). In the informal sector, women are concentrated in petty commodity activities which are associated with domestic activities, such as cooked food production (Jellinek, 1987). Women's concentration in particular industries reflects the ascriptions accorded to women by familial ideology as daughters and mothers. It is brought about by the gendering of technology, and also the manner in which women's tasks echo those within the domestic division of labour.

Capitalization and shifts in investment from import substitution industries have hit women harder than men because of women's concentration in the types of industries that this type of restructuring has affected the most; i.e. labour intensive industries. By contrast, skilled male workers in capital goods industries have been able to retain their position in the labour market. In the informal sector, simultaneous processes of conservation and dissolution have tended to dissolve the possibilities for women in petty commodity production of cooked food, for instance, whereas the involvement of men in petty commodity enterprises have, in some cases, been absorbed into the formal sector through sub-contracting arrangements, and have thus been conserved (Jellinek, 1987). In effect, therefore, the types of industry in which employment possibilities are declining are those in
which women, through familial ideology ascriptions, are concentrated. The decrease in the possibilities for women in the industrial sector is consistent with prevailing familial ideology as perpetuated by the state: to some degree, familialism has, in this historical instance, been used as a justification for marginalization of women from production altogether.

In rural areas, these changes are even more pronounced, particularly in Java. As Oey notes, over the 1970s, the industrial sector in rural areas became increasingly masculinized. The figures suggest that this has continued in the 1980s, but that the nature of restructuring in the 1980s has meant that the process is even more pronounced than before.

In rural areas, women have tended to be involved in particular industries: according to Sutoro, there is a fairly strict division of labour within and between industries in this sector on the basis of a number of conceptual categories that accord with the ascriptions implied by familial ideology as reinforced by employers, employees and the community. Thus, women have historically been involved in textiles, food and beverage production, basketry, and batik, and in activities that are "light", low skilled, with low levels of technology, concerned with soft materials, that are tedious and that require patience (Sutoro, n.d.) and that reflect familial ideological prescriptions concerning the gender division of labour in the family/household.

Women have been particularly affected by the restructuring of the industrial sector as technological changes and
importation of similar industrial goods have displaced women's work. Much of the new technology in rural industries has been appropriated by men: a good example of this is the weaving industry in which the female hand loom is dying out, and being replaced by the ATBM (alat tenun bukan mesin) which is not necessarily female (Price, 1983). In addition to mechanization, marginalization of women from certain areas of the industrial sector is evidenced by their increasing participation in piece work and in home working (Sutoro, n.d.). A final point to make concerns women's employment in multinational and national factories in rural Java. The data suggest that the impact of these factories on female employment in rural areas is very limited, despite the fact that their workforces are predominantly female (Wolf, 1986). Again, the marginalization of women from the industrial sector is bolstered by familial ideology, which justifies many of the changes that are taking place.

(4) Trade.

The trade sector comprises a variety of different activities, conducted at a variety of scales and at a variety of levels of commoditization. For middle class urban women it may involve brokerage activities carried on from the home (Papanek and Schwede, 1988), for others, a sales job in an urban supermarket. However, in terms of labour absorption, by far the most important aspect of trade for women is market trade. In Indonesia, particularly in Java, market trade is of overwhelming importance as a source of employment for women in
rural and urban areas. This has historically been the case, as studies in the 1950s by Dewey (1962) and Geertz (1963b) have shown. In contemporary Indonesia, women continue to dominate this sphere: recent research suggests that up to 70% of all traders in the market place are female (Chandler, 1985; Alexander, 1987; Anderson, 1988). Historically, in Indonesia familial ideology has deemed trade as a respectable economic sphere in which women may participate.

However, within this sector, women are concentrated into particular activities, primarily in small scale and informal retailing, whereas men dominate administration, wholesaling and retail activities that require a high degree of spatial mobility, larger capital outlays and that deal in the sale of more commoditized goods. The gender division of labour in market trade has been constructed around the nature of the good being sold, the conditions under which trading takes place (for instance, if the seller is required to leave the village for longer periods of time), and the level of commitment that a particular enterprise requires. As familial ideology deems child care as women's first and foremost responsibility ideologically and materially, women often take periodic breaks for childcare, and, for some women, to participate in the harvest. The implications of these prescriptions are that women trade in vegetables, fruit, meat and prepared food and drinks. In Alexander's study in rural Java, it was found that over 90% of traders of these items were women. Men, by contrast, sold livestock and seedlings, and manufactured goods, often consumer durables. According to Peluso (1980 - cited in Chandler, 1984),
different levels of commitment are associated with different commodities, and given the ascriptions accorded to women in familial ideology, this in part accounts for the concentration of women in these activities which require only low levels of commitment. In addition, Alexander draws the distinction between cyclical traders (men) who move from village to village on a periodic basis, and daily traders (women) who sell a small number of items in the same market on a daily basis.

According to the census for 1980 and 1985, the proportion of both men and women in this sector is increasing. Although this sector is still a women's domain, it appears that men are also moving into particular aspects of trade. Anderson's discussion of changes in markets in Java provides some clues as to why this might be occurring. He argues that the role and nature of the market has changed over the 1970s and early 1980s, in response to wider social and economic changes. Of these, changes in circulation have meant that commodities can be moved around Indonesia much faster and much more cheaply than was previously the case. In addition, changes in demand indicate the growing importance of consumer items in the consumption profile of the Indonesian population, in particular, of the middle class. These changes, combined with the changes associated with state investment through credit facilities in this sector, have engineered the beginnings of a transformation of the trade sector.

Evidence suggests that the restructuring trends that have been in evidence over the 1970s and 1980s have had a particular impact upon the parts of this sector in which women are most
heavily engaged. Increasingly markets are involved in the sale of commoditized items, and the sale of such goods is principally a male domain. Thus men are moving into this sector in increasing numbers in fields that require higher investment for higher returns (and thus a higher level of employment commitment), and in activities that demand a higher degree of spatial mobility.

Although there is little evidence to suggest that women are losing their position as a whole in the sale of foods, the situation for women as individuals looks bleak for two reasons. First, commoditization is likely to continue, and as it does, domains of the market which were previously ascribed to women become increasingly out of bounds as the new conditions of employment no longer accord with prevailing gender ascriptions. Second, marginalization of the female workforce as a whole has meant that in many cases, trade is the only economic sector in which women can participate, and this is indicated by the data in which the proportion of women in this sector over the 1980s seems to have increased quite considerably. This means that, in the context of a large labour surplus in rural and urban areas, there is a high level of competition between traders. Although the data do not show it, this sector is not easy to enter, and even less easy to succeed in, as Jellinek's research has suggested (Jellinek, 1987). Although employment seems to be increasing, the long term income-generating possibilities of the trade sector are, at best, tenuous for most women.
(5) Transport and Communications.

Transport and communications in Indonesia is very much a male dominated sector, in which the possibilities for women's employment are very limited. It is likely that contemporary familialism precludes the participation of women in this sector because of the conditions under which women would be required to work, i.e. beyond the spatial bounds of the village. In addition, the ascriptions accorded to motor vehicles tend, as in most countries, to be male, again circumscribing the possibility of employment for women in this sector.

(6) Finance and Public Services.

The proportion of women that are employed in this sector of the economy is high. In all areas of urban Indonesia, over 30% of women are engaged in some form of public service activity, whereas in rural areas, the figure is much smaller. From the sectoral data alone it is difficult to establish which parts of this sector are predominantly female domains. However, research in a number of parts of Indonesia indicates that women are concentrated in three principal areas: nursing, teaching and clerical work, in other words, in the caring professions which accord with familial ideology (Logsdon, 1985; Jellinek, 1987). In the 1980s the restructuring of the economy has meant that many of these service sector jobs have ceased to expand at the rate at which they were expanding in the 1970s because of the scaling down of state support. This is reflected in the data which shows that the proportion of women in this sector has
declined, to a larger degree than that of men, implying that
growth has slowed down particularly in those areas of the
sector which are dominated by women. Once again, it appears
that it is women who have been most marginalized by the types
of changes that are apparent in the 1980s.

Overall, the restructuring of the Indonesian economy over
the 1970s and early 1980s, has had a significant impact on
employment possibilities for women, as it has affected
particular sectors in which women predominate, for example, the
service sector as a whole. Within sectors, economic
restructuring has had a particular influence on the type of
activities in which women are concentrated. Familial ideology
has at once prescribed the activities that are appropriate for
women to engage in, and has justified the marginalization of
women from technologically and economically restructured
sectors as many of the changes are historically embedded in
familial ideology. Thus, in particular sectors, e.g.
agriculture and industry, the marginalization of women is very
apparent, in others, especially trade, there are possibilities
for the absorption of women workers. Compared with the 1970s,
women marginalized from the agricultural sector have not been
absorbed in industry, indeed significant marginalization is
apparent in this sector also. Instead, women find employment in
services, particularly in trade, although as recent evidence
suggests, competition from other women, and competition from
men moving into newly commoditized aspects of trade, means that
the capacity for labour absorption in this sector in the
future is limited. In the next section of this chapter, a
different perspective on the issue of economic restructuring and familial ideology is taken by considering the occupational distribution of the workforce by sex. In this section, gender segregation and the implications of familial ideology are thrown into greater relief.

5.v. Female Employment By Occupation: Continuity and Change.

An analysis of occupational data reveals similar patterns to those shown in the sectoral data, to the extent that there is a considerable degree of overlap between equivalent sectors and occupations. There is a high degree of gender segregation between occupations, and women's employment is being affected in particular ways by broader structural changes such as commoditization, capitalization and informalization that have been taking place over the 1970s and early 1980s. The data presented here has been taken from the 1980 and 1985 census. For a discussion of its adequacy in describing patterns of female employment, see the Appendix. In addition, information concerning women's employment in the 1970s has been compiled from a number of case study sources. The first part of the analysis presents a general description of the occupational distribution of the female workforce as revealed in the 1980 and 1985 census, focussing upon gender segregation within occupations, and on some of the changes that appear to be taking place. The second part of the analysis considers these patterns by looking at each occupation in turn; in particular, the influence of familialism, the impact of structural changes
and the implications that these together have for women's employment in particular occupations.

5.v.(a) The Occupational Distribution of the Female Workforce.

In general, the distribution of the female workforce by occupation shown in tables 5.9, 5.10, 5.11, 5.12 and 5.13 suggests that in rural areas, women are predominantly engaged in agricultural occupations: over 60% in both 1980 and 1985. The concentration of women in this occupational category is particularly pronounced in rural areas outside Java, where over 70% of the female workforce is engaged in agricultural occupations. These figures correspond quite closely to those for the male workforce. Of the female workforce, the remaining 40% in rural areas is engaged in sales occupations and in production-related occupations. The percentage of the rural women's workforce found in other occupations is negligible (Table 5.9).

In urban areas, the majority of women are engaged in sales, service occupations and, to some degree, in agriculture and in clerical work (Table 5.10). A comparison of the 1980 and 1985 data reveal that these proportions have remained fairly consistent over time and space in Indonesia, suggesting that women have remained concentrated in particular segments of the occupational structure (Tables 5.12 and 5.13).

Gender segregation is thrown into greater relief in Table 5.11 which shows the occupational representation of women in urban and rural areas over the 1980s. Following MacEwen Scott (1986), an index of occupational representation is employed.
TABLE 5.9: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS BY OCCUPATION IN 1980 AND 1985: Rural Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage in Occupation</th>
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<th>Females</th>
<th>Urban/Rural Total</th>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
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<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Workers</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service Workers</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>69.0</td>
<td>63.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (Thous)</td>
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<td>30819</td>
<td>14087</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
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<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
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<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.0*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
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<td>19.7</td>
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<td>4.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
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<td>64.2</td>
<td>56.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
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<td>16.1</td>
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<tr>
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<td>8743</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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* Percentages too small to be meaningful.

Sources: As Table 5.1

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<td>8.9</td>
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<td>37.0</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>13.9</td>
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<td>13.8</td>
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<td>Total (Thous)</td>
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<td>581</td>
<td>984</td>
<td>18527</td>
<td>23238</td>
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Sources: As Table 5.1
TABLE 5.11: SEGREGATION OF FEMALE WORKFORCE BY OCCUPATION IN INDONESIA: 1980 AND 1985

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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Urban Areas</td>
<td>Rural Areas</td>
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<td>Java</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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Sources: As Table 5.1.

The Index of Occupational Representation has been calculated as follows:

\[ \text{IOR} = \frac{\% \text{ female labour force in occupation}}{\% \text{ total labour force in occupation}} \]

Where \(<1 = "\text{under-representation}".\)
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<th>females</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>growth index</td>
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Sources: As Table 5.12 Annual growth rate = LN(p1985/p1980)/5
TABLE 5.13: ANNUAL GROWTH OF WORKFORCE BY OCCUPATION

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<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>males annual growth %</th>
<th>growth index</th>
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<td>Total</td>
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Sources: As Table 5.1 Annual growth rate = LN(p1985/p1980)/5
This index, originally derived from Bluestone et al. (1971) suggests the degree to which women are "under" or "over" represented in a particular occupation. Any figure above or below one indicates over or under representation respectively. According to the data presented here, women are overwhelmingly segregated in urban areas into three occupations: professional, sales and service occupations; by contrast, in rural areas women are well-represented in sales, service and agricultural occupations.

Extrapolating from Oey's sectoral data from the 1970s, it would appear that the occupational data for the 1980s reveal a continuation and reinforcement of the trends in female labour force participation that were emerging in the 1970s. In sum, five main points can be made. First, women are concentrated into particular occupations, and this concentration seems to be becoming more entrenched. Second, agriculture is still an important primary occupation for women, although the increase in women in sales occupations in rural areas suggests that full or part-time employment in agriculture becoming more difficult to secure. Third, women in rural areas are becoming less represented in production-related activities, yet in urban areas the reverse is true. Women still make up only 30% of the industrial workforce. Fourth, in rural and urban areas, women are overwhelmingly employed in sales occupations, in addition, women in urban areas are increasingly concentrated in the service sector. Finally, the engagement of women outside these occupational categories and in professional, managerial and clerical employment is negligible, although women are
reasonably well-represented in professional employment.

5.v.(b) The Implications of Familial Ideology and Structural Change: By Occupation.

To establish the implications of segregation and occupational changes for women, the analysis presented here considers each occupation in turn, and discusses first, how familial ideology might operate with respect to a particular occupation category, bearing in mind what this might imply for different social classes. Second, the restructuring of particular occupations over the 1970s and early 1980s is considered, retaining a sensitivity to differences between formal and informal sectors. These two themes are brought together to consider the implications for women workers.

(1) Professional occupations.

Women's high representation in professional occupations shown in Table 5.11 can be explained by the fact that overwhelmingly the women in this sector are teachers (Moir, 1980; Raharjo and Hull, 1982). Raharjo and Hull report that of employed educated women in urban areas of Indonesia, 38% were employed as teachers. By contrast, Moir reports that the percentage of women in other professions is negligible. Logsdon's work on women civil servants suggests that this pattern has continued: women are concentrated in lower level civil service positions such as primary school teaching (Logsdon, 1985).

The concentration of educated women, predominantly middle
class, in the teaching profession is not surprising, given that the state symbolizes contemporary familial ideology by reference to Kartini: a pioneer of education for girls in nineteenth century Indonesia. Teaching is very much in accord with prevailing gender ascriptions and roles, and for many women is viewed as an extension of the motherhood role, as nurturers and educators of the "total Indonesian Man" (see quote in Chapter Four). This ideology is upheld in the state, the workplace, and to some degree in the family/household (but see the discussion of middle class women). Thus, it is not unusual for educated middle class women who are in the workforce, to be engaged in this occupation.

In the 1970s and continuing in the 1980s, there has been an expansion of employment possibilities in education which has been concentrated in Java and in urban areas. State and development agency-funded education programmes have primarily been directed at lower education levels, and thus there has to some degree, been an expansion of opportunities for women teachers: thus women's position in this occupation has been upheld (Table 5.13). The possibilities for female employment in other professional occupations is limited though, and most professional occupations require levels of education that are out of reach for the majority of Indonesian women.

(2) Administrative and Managerial occupations.

This occupational category accounts for a very small proportion of the Indonesian workforce as a whole, and the number of women in managerial positions is negligible,
particularly in rural areas (Tables 5.9 and 5.10). Given the contemporary prescriptions regarding female power in the public realm, women's absence from this occupation is not surprising. Women are seen as second to men in the development process within state ideology and in the workplace. It is thus unusual for women to step out of the prescriptions. The fact that there are no women in this category is significant, especially as this occupation embodies those individuals who are primarily responsible for the extension of development initiatives. Fewer women in this category may mean that the possibility of insensitive development planning around gender issues is greater.

(3) Clerical occupations.

In her interpretation of Canadian labour force statistics, Armstrong points out that "clerical work has, throughout most of the century, been women's work" (Armstrong, 1984). By contrast, in Indonesia a negligible percentage of women are engaged in this occupation, and of clerical workers as a whole, less than 20% in urban areas and 10% in rural areas are female (Tables 5.9 and 5.10).

One explanation for this situation relates to the idea that the meaning of clerical work in Indonesia is different from that in Canada. In Indonesia, it is considered to be skilled work, requiring relatively high levels of education. According to prevailing familial ideology, it is not a "female" occupation. Over the 1970s and early 1980s, there has certainly been an increase in the possibility of earning an income from
clerical work, but as yet, numerically this is very small, and has not to any significant degree, included the female workforce (Tables 5.12 and 5.13).

(4) Sales Occupations.

This occupational category embraces widely differing activities, from petty sales (street vending in urban areas, rural market sellers) among the majority of women (Chandler, 1985; 1986; Alexander, 1987; Jellinek, 1987), and brokerage operations of middle class women in urban areas (Raharjo and Hull, 1982). The degree to which either of these categories is represented in the census, however, is unclear (see Appendix). Almost 40% of women in urban areas throughout Indonesia, over 20% in rural Java, and about 10% in rural areas outside Java are in this category, and women generally make up about 60% of the sales workforce (Tables 5.9 and 5.10).

The construction of familial ideology has established a particular gender division of labour in sales occupations, as research by Jellinek (1987) in urban areas, and Chandler (1985), Alexander (1987) and Anderson (1988) have indicated in rural areas. Familial ideology affects this occupation through the ascription of particular goods, methods of trade and conditions of work as being appropriate for women to be involved in. For ethnic Javanese women, sales are considered to be an appropriate form of employment for women. However, familial ideology has meant that women are concentrated in activities with low capital overheads, those associated with house keeping roles within contemporary familial ideology, i.e.
the sale of food items, traditional medicines, and, to some extent, the sale of cloth and clothing. The spatial constraints on women's activities that are imposed by familial ideology mean that women's participation in certain sales activities (such as wholesaling or retailing beyond the bounds of the village) is curtailed, normatively through derisive comments from the rest of the community, and materially, through the constraints of women's role in the family/household. In addition, women have less access to a growing number of commoditized aspects of sales occupations. This has also been the case in urban areas, where hawking of cooked food has consistently been subject to harassment on the part of the state, and yet women have been excluded from participation in commercialized sales activities (Jellinek, 1987).

The implications of the restructuring of this occupation for women, given existing familial ideology and the gender division of labour, are far reaching. Over the 1970s and early 1980s, sales have become one sphere in both rural and urban areas, in which women marginalized from productive work in other occupations, are still able to secure some sort of an income (Tables 5.12 and 5.13). However, the consumption trends of the urban and rural middle class, commoditization and commercialization of the food system in Indonesia, and competition from other workers, particularly male, mean that the future of this occupational category as a means to an income is likely to be fairly limited, unless familial ideology prescriptions and male exclusionary activities slacken to allow women to engage in more commercialized sales activities.
(5) Service Occupations.

Again, this occupational category embodies a wide variety of activities ranging from formal public sector services to urban kampung services. In urban areas, particularly in Java, this occupational category is of considerable importance for women, indeed in Java, women make up over half the workforce in service occupations as a whole (Tables 5.10 and 5.13). Furthermore, evidence suggests that this occupation is becoming even more feminized in urban areas (Table 5.11). In rural areas, services account for a relatively small proportion of the workforce (Tables 5.9 and 5.12).

The relationship between women's participation in service occupations and familial ideology can be better understood by a consideration of the concentration of women in particular aspects of service activities. In urban areas, particularly in Java, the most important service occupation for low income women, especially young migrants, is domestic service (Moir, 1980; Crockett, 1983). Using census data from the 1971 census, Moir shows that the percentage of women in household services compared to the percentage in services as a whole is high. In Jakarta, 38% of women are in service occupations as a whole, but 28% of women are employed in household services.

The links between domestic service and familial ideology are relatively obvious, as studies in other contexts have shown (Bunster and Chaney, 1986). In Indonesia, for low income women domestic service fulfils the normative obligations posed by familial ideology in the sense that it reflects women's
prescribed roles as wives and mothers, and often the links between employer and employee are paternalistic in nature, reflecting patrimonial ties between two families that may go back several generations. In some instances domestic service is regarded by parents as a safe occupation for a daughter if these ties exist. However, domestic service is a low status job in which the poorest women work, and it involves low pay and long hours.

Among middle class women, service occupations include beauticians, hairdressers, and mid-wifery. Some of these activities are often carried on in a room adjacent to a woman's house and are thus considered to be part of a woman's domestic realm. Hence, such activities are regarded as being within the bounds of the prescriptions of familialism (Papanek and Schwede, 1988).

The nature of restructuring of this type of occupation relates to the fact that its existence is very much dependent upon the disposable income of the middle class. In the 1980s, economic austerity has meant that there is less of an inclination to employ people in a serving capacity, though the degree to which this has affected the employment possibilities of poor urban women is unclear. It is likely, however, that the attraction to Indonesia of foreign capital, will stimulate a demand for labour in service occupations from the expatriate community. As yet, evidence of this remains to be seen. Up to now, services have been able to absorb a fair proportion of marginalized women in urban areas, but as Jellinek's research suggests, work in this occupation does not necessarily imply an
income that is sufficient or stable enough for women to depend upon (Jellinek, 1987).

(6) Agricultural Occupations.

As was discussed in an earlier section, agriculture is of central importance in the occupational profile of rural women, and also for some urban women (though this is more likely to be reflective of patterns of circular migration). In rural areas, 30% of the agricultural workforce is female; agriculture accounts for 60% of the female workforce in Java, and 70% in areas outside Java (Tables 5.9 and 5.10).

The division of labour in agriculture is reflective of familial ideology, and the manner in which it has been changing, reflects the relationship that familialism has with technological and institutional changes brought about in the 1960s and early 1970s as discussed in an earlier section of this chapter. The restructuring of agriculture has also entailed a restructuring of the gender division of labour, particularly with respect to the institutions associated with wet rice harvesting, in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Collier, 1973, 1978; Hart, 1978, 1986; Sajogyo, 1985; Stoler, 1975, 1977; and White, 1976, 1979, 1981). The impact of these changes have been particularly profound in rural Java in comparison to rural areas in the rest of Indonesia. Technological and institutional changes have effectively reallocated female tasks to men: instead of a team of women being employed from within the village, it is commonplace to now find a team of sickle-wielding male wage labourers from
outside the village in the harvest.

Second, although women may be employed as wage labourers, their opportunities for generating an income have been curtailed by most of the changes that have taken place. Finally, certain labour arrangements, such as the kedokan, employ labour as family/household units: thus reinforcing contemporary familial ideology and the idea of the nuclear family/household. This accounts for the significant differences in the proportion of women in agriculture between Java and other areas of Indonesia. Surprisingly the proportion of women employed in agriculture has remained little changed over the 1980 to 1985 period (Table 5.12). This reflects the inability of the census to pick up the increase in part-time work outside agriculture which, by necessity, women engage in to augment declining agricultural incomes.

(7) Production and Related Occupations.

This occupational category includes activities ranging from petty commodity production to participation on the assembly line of a multinational factory. As the data indicate, there are significant urban rural differences, in terms of female representation, and in terms of changes in participation in this sector (Tables 5.9 to 5.13). In urban areas, almost 20% of the female workforce is engaged in production activities, particularly in Java. In rural areas, around 15% of the female workforce are employed in this occupation in urban areas, and 30% in rural areas. The index of occupational representation suggests that the proportion of women in this activity relative
to the proportion of the workforce as a whole is declining. This is particularly the case in rural areas, and though a similar trend is apparent in urban areas, it is less pronounced. To understand this, it is necessary to consider the nature of activities in which women are engaged in urban and rural Indonesia, and their relationship with familial ideology.

In urban areas, women may be involved in petty commodity production, mostly the production of food items (Jellinek, 1987) unless they are younger and single, in which case women tend to be employed in factory work in domestic enterprises in low-skilled, secondary-type assembly tasks. In other instances, women are employed in peri-urban areas in low-paid labour intensive assembly tasks, this time in multinational enterprises producing consumer goods for the domestic market (F.B.S.I., 1984; Mather, 1985), and more recently, for export.

The restructuring of the Indonesian economy has meant that there has been an expansion, to some degree, in the relative importance of labour intensive export-oriented factories in urban and peri-urban areas of Indonesia, which has meant that the female production workforce in urban areas has declined in its level of feminization slowly, compared to that of rural areas. On the whole, however, the possibilities for generating an income in this sector are limited, especially for women who are married.

In rural areas, a similar process is occurring, but it is far more pronounced. Manufacturing activities are becoming increasingly masculinized and the employment possibilities for women in this occupation seem to be shrinking (Table 5.11).
There is a fairly rigid division between the type of production activities in which men are engaged, and those which are ostensibly the domain of women. Women are involved in small-scale cottage industry which usually involves the production of so-called traditional items, and in larger scale capitalist factory-based enterprise which may be foreign-owned but is more usually domestically owned and operated. In the small scale sector, certain tasks and types of production are associated with women workers through the historical operation of gender ideologies. Women tend to work in smaller "traditional" enterprises, in jobs that do not entail heavy work, or entail travel outside the local milieu. Many of the women's jobs involve piece work on a less monetized basis than the men's jobs, and in areas where new technology has been introduced, many occupations previously designated as women's work have since become associated with male workers (Sutoro, n.d.).

Studies of textile production in other areas suggest that the nature of women's involvement in small scale or traditional occupations is quite similar. In West Java Hardjono indicates that women are involved in certain aspects of textile production (Hardjono, 1985), as does Price who, from her research in rural Central Java, echoes Sutoro's conclusions (Price, 1983). Outside Java, the extent of women's involvement in rural production-related occupations is less pronounced but Casey's study of textiles in West Sumatera reveals a similar gender division of labour within this particular occupation to that observed in Java (Casey, 1987). The restructuring of industry has meant that much of what was previously women's
work in the small scale sector has been capitalized and redesignated as male: technology, tasks and conditions of work no longer accord with the normative context associated with familialism.

The second type of rural production in which women are involved is that associated with domestic and joint venture capitalist enterprise in the form of factories that produce consumer items for the domestic market. Diane Wolf's study of factory daughters in rural Java reveals some striking similarities to the study conducted by Mather in peri-urban Java. Again, young single women are employed at low wages in labour intensive "low skilled" occupations in these factories. Although the workforce in the majority of factories in this area is male, it is significant that the production of certain commodities is associated with women workers: most (80%) of the women are employed in textiles and spinning factories; or in baking factories, whereas male employment is distributed across other factories such as a bus factory, glasswear, and furniture (Wolf, 1986; 1988). Employment possibilities seem to be increasing in these factories as the Indonesian economy transforms over the 1980s. However, occupations such as these are confined to a particular group of women, and the possibility of their presenting a solution to rural marginalization seem slim indeed.

In general, therefore, women appear to be concentrated in particular occupations in the labour market; and, within particular occupations, in particular types of employment. The combined influence of familial ideology and economic
restructuring has meant that the income-generating possibilities that are open to women are limited, to say the least. In addition, at least up to the mid-1980s, economic austerity in Indonesia seems to be exacerbating the situation. As a result, more and more women are moving into sales occupations, though it is clear that only partial refuge can be sought in this occupation.

5.vi. Conclusions.

Labour force data for Indonesia for 1980 and 1985 suggest that the trends in female employment that had begun to emerge in the 1970s have continued. In general, a relatively high percentage of women continue to engage in economic activities outside the domestic sphere, particularly in rural areas, despite the influence of an ideology of familialism which would suggest otherwise. This would imply that for most women of the low and lower middle classes, the economic necessity of generating an income far out-weighs the type of influence that familial ideology might have upon female participation in the labour force per se. However, the data suggest that through the ascriptions accorded to particular tasks, technologies and spatial and temporal conditions of work, women are concentrated into particular economic sectors and particular occupations.

In addition, the terms upon which women engage in economic activity beyond the domestic sphere are influenced by familialism and the identities which are ascribed to women. Women whose identity is couched in terms of their "daughterhood" are able to participate in the formal sector in
instances where a subordinated workforce is desired by capital (e.g. factory work). By contrast, women whose identity is couched in terms of their "motherhood" engage in informal sector activities. For them, familial ideology deems work outside the domestic sphere as secondary.

Changes and continuities in the sectoral and occupational distribution of the female workforce in Indonesia over the 1980s are indicative of the intersection of familial ideology and structural change in Indonesia. The informalization, commoditization and capitalization of particular sectors in the context of a general slow down in economic growth in Indonesia has, through shifts in the relative importance of different sectors and occupations, had particular implications for women's employment possibilities for two reasons. First, given the gender division of labour that has historically been constructed in the context of familial ideology, the changes that have occurred have tended to have the greatest impact upon areas of the Indonesian economy in which women are most represented, and on the types of activities in which women typically engage. Second, because capitalism and the changes associated with capitalist development are historically gendered, women's economic activities have been affected in particular ways in the Indonesian context through the gendering of technology (for instance in the weaving industry and in agricultural production), and through the creation of new conditions of work which do not accord with familial ideology and the material and ideological constraints that women are thus presented with, for example, in commoditized market trade.
Particularly significant in these processes is the fact that many women now derive insufficient income from agriculture and have been forced into various forms of non-agricultural activity, such as trade and services. In the 1970s when this trend first emerged, the possibility of supplementing agricultural income from other sources was more feasible as some opportunities existed in the industrial sector. However, in the 1980s structural changes are such that this possibility has been revoked, especially in rural areas, where the industrial workforce has been significantly masculinized.

To cope with marginalization in the 1980s, women have sought employment in the service sector which is more capable of absorbing workers, albeit in an informal capacity. Women are particularly seeking income from the market trade sector. However, recent research has suggested that structural and social changes in Indonesia are having an impact upon this sector also, as men move into the more commoditized aspects of market trade. The possibilities for generating an income in urban or rural Indonesia look bleak, and for women whose economic position prevents them from subscribing to the ideology of domestication perpetrated by the state, future employment possibilities look uncertain.
CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSION.

This thesis has explored two related themes. The first of these concerns an analysis and explanation of the major changes and continuities in the position of women in the Indonesian workforce from 1970 to 1985. In particular, emphasis is given to the ways in which female labour force participation has been affected by contemporary gender relations and capitalist restructuring. While there have been a number of changes in the occupational and sectoral distribution of women in the workforce between 1970 and 1985, gender segregation continues to predominate. Women have begun to lose their central role in agricultural production, with only a small percentage of women finding employment in the industrial sector. By contrast, the majority of women have increasingly been forced to find employment in services, particularly in trade and informal activities. The thesis explores why this latter trend has become more pronounced in the 1980s.

The second concern of the thesis relates to weaknesses that were identified in contemporary Western feminist theory as it applies to the position of women in places other than the West. The main objective of the thesis was to bridge the gulf that exists between Women and Development advocates and feminist theorists. Pragmatic Women in Development (WID) proponents emphasize local concerns and incremental change, and thus they risk eclipsing the wider emancipatory potential of feminism. By
contrast, feminist theory, while engaging with the political aims of feminism, has been criticised for its wide generalizations and lack of sensitivity to local concerns. In order to bring these two perspectives together, a theoretical framework was used that rests upon a general theory of women's oppression and capitalism; but that also recognizes that historically women's situation may take locally specific forms.

To understand the role of capitalist development, the framework relied upon the work of Armstrong and McGee (1985), Corbridge (1986), and Lipietz (1987), each of whom emphasize the articulation of global and local processes in conditioning the form taken by capitalism in particular places. It was suggested that such a focus is particularly appropriate in the Indonesian context as it has enabled a more historically and geographically sensitive statement of how Indonesia differs from other countries in Southeast Asia, in terms of the nature of industrialization, demographic and ecological factors, and the role played by the state in the development process.

In conceptualizing gender relations, Barrett's (1980; 1988) theoretical statement of the ideological nature of gender inequality was utilized. It was argued that this type of analysis is useful in Indonesia, where a redefinition of women's roles seems to be emerging in the developmentalist rhetoric of the state, and in other arenas such as the media, education and the workplace. The thesis suggests that contemporary familial ideology may be redefining women's participation in the labour force, both ideologically and
materially. These themes were drawn together in an examination of why women are concentrated in particular parts of the occupational structure in Indonesia and why this appears to be changing. From the census data, and from the case-studies that were reviewed, three features of female labour force participation over the 1970s and the first five years of the 1980s were noted:

(i) As defined by the census, approximately 30% of women were economically active in 1985, and over the 1970s and early 1980s, the proportion of women in the workforce has been steadily increasing; although most observers concede that this is primarily due to their increased visibility in the census data. In other words the census design has attempted to give a more accurate picture of aspects of "women's work" that were previously hidden under such terms as household work.

(ii) Within this broad pattern of female labour force participation, women continue to be segregated into particular occupations and economic sectors, and are concentrated in activities that are largely informal in nature. Outside the agricultural sector, women tend to engage in trading, in informal services (often as domestic servants), and in professions such as teaching. Within the industrial sector, women are concentrated in (traditional) petty commodity production or in low-skilled assembly line production in domestic and foreign factories. The
concentration of women in certain sectors and occupations has, over the early 1980s, become more pronounced.

(iii) In general, therefore, women predominate in work that is unstable, apparently poorly paid and low skilled, involving low levels of technology. Often the type of work in which women engage resembles that which is done in the family/household; for example, the sale of prepared food. Women's work is considered to be secondary; as Mather (1985) writes, it is often referred to as "pekerjaan nanggur" - the work of the unemployed.

These features of female labour force participation in Indonesia were interpreted as resulting from the simultaneous and related effects of capitalist restructuring and familial ideology in the 1970s and early 1980s. Changes in the structure of the labour force as a whole were interpreted as responses to shifts in economic policies that have been pursued by the state in a period of recession and economic austerity over the early 1980s. Thus the impacts of the "Green Revolution" in Java have led to a slowing of women's employment in agriculture. In addition, the industrialization strategy of the New Order over this period has not been able to create large numbers of jobs for women in export industries, as has happened in Malaysia and Thailand.
6.i. Understanding Female Labour Force Participation in Indonesia.

The theoretical framework adopted here seems appropriate for an examination of the Indonesian situation, and has been able to yield some insights into the factors that underlie patterns of female labour force participation for two reasons.

First, with respect to an analysis of capitalism and the labour market, a focus upon local factors such as the state, explains why Indonesian capitalist development has occurred in a manner that sets it apart from what has become the image of Southeast Asian economic development (i.e. export-orientated labour intensive industrialization), despite other commonalities with respect to global processes of production, circulation and consumption. The shift from import substitution industrialization to export-oriented industrialization supported by the state in the early 1980s, together with other local factors (e.g. demography, ecology, class and ethnic relations) that influence patterns of segmentation, has conditioned the nature of income-generating possibilities in Indonesia.

Second, the emphasis upon the construction of a historically specific ideology of gender is appropriate in the Indonesian context where women's roles and identity are being redefined in a manner which has implications for their position in society in general and in the labour market in particular. This
ideology is not reducible to capitalist relations as evidently something akin to familial ideology preexists capitalism in Indonesia. However, historically this ideology has become a part of capitalist relations; as these change, gender ideologies take on new forms and new meanings that are historically and geographically specific. This furthers an understanding of how gender relations and women's roles are not "natural" in any biological sense, but are created and reproduced through pre-existing factors such as local systems of law and Islam, through the family system and the domestic division of labour, through the activities of the women's movement and more recently, through the activities of the state. This process has been very pronounced in Indonesia where much of state development rhetoric and practice portrays women's primary roles in the development process as wives and mothers, earning gender ideology the label of "familialism".

With respect to women's position in the Indonesian labour force, the development of capitalism and the construction of familial ideology have become intertwined in particular ways. There are two sides to this process: on the one hand, women have been concentrated in those activities which have been affected by economic change the most, i.e. labour intensive production of consumer goods for the domestic market. On the other hand, the process of restructuring is in itself gendered: as new technology and work practices are introduced, they are appropriated and ascribed as men's or women's work in
accordance with familialism, for example the ascription of new technology in the weaving industry as "male".

Patterns of female labour force participation over the 1970s and early 1980s in Indonesia are thus reflective of a historically and locally specific relationship between familialism and economic restructuring which has particular implications for women. By redefining women and their roles, familialism appears to serve capital: first, as women's participation in the workforce comprises low-paid secondary work; second, as their domestic role concerns the reproduction of the workforce biologically and socially, and third, as their role as carers and nurturers replaces the role of the state or other household forms (such as the extended family/household) in reproducing the conditions necessary for capitalist accumulation. On the other hand, capitalism justifies and reinforces familialism: the private domestic sphere becomes more apparent as development proceeds, preservation of the "moral order" becomes a central concern of the state, and as women's role as consumers is redefined. The state definition of familialism and its relationship with capital is not necessary in any sense, but is one of a number of possible historical outcomes in Indonesia.

6.ii. Some Conclusions.

Through the lens of this framework that examines emergent patterns in women's workforce participation revealed in the
census in Indonesia in the 1970s and early 1980s, a number of conclusions may be drawn.

First, from an interpretation of discussions of women's position in Indonesia, it is apparent that although women in Indonesia have always maintained their wife and mother roles, this has been redefined by the state in a number of ways. Increasingly the wife/mother role is regarded as a privatized and domestic role, congruous with, and indeed a caricature of the image accorded to wives and mothers in the West. In addition, most state development policy considers women in relational terms: as wives, as mothers or as daughters, rarely as people. Thus, contemporary manifestations of women's wife/mother role are not considered as "natural" in this study, but rather as a culmination of a number of historical processes.

Second, a further consideration of women's position in Indonesia reveals varied implications of familial ideology for women of different social classes. The possibility of leading a lifestyle that is consonant with the values of familialism is greater for middle and upper class women in Indonesia, for whom engagement in activities outside the family/household realm is unnecessary from an economic point of view. The domestication of middle and upper class women is therefore relatively pronounced. For poorer women, the imperative to engage in remunerated activities of some sort leads to a number of ideological and material contradictions between a familial
ideology which prescribes "housewifization", and the realities of poorer women's lives.

With this in mind, a third point concerns the implications that this expression of familialism and capitalist restructuring have for women's position in the labour market. Locally-conditioned responses to the capitalist development process have meant that over the 1970s income-generating possibilities shifted from the agricultural sector to the industrial sector, and especially to the service sector. In the early 1980s, a slowdown in economic growth has led to the marginalization of some portions of the workforce as formal sector opportunities have declined in relative terms. Workers no longer able to secure sufficient income from the agricultural sector have found fewer possibilities in industry, and increasingly, service sector employment, often informal in nature, has been the only available option for workers, both male and female.

This has particularly been the case for women as familial ideology conditions women's activities through a re-ascription of tasks, tools and conditions of work as "female" or "male". This situation is produced and reproduced by workers in the workplace, by family members and by the state. Thus, within an already constrained situation brought about by capitalist restructuring in Indonesia in general, the possibilities are even more limited. According to the familial ideology that is being promoted by the state in Indonesia, women are being encouraged to leave the workforce, or are able to work only at
its margins. This suggests a quite different situation from that in France, described by Jensen (1986), in which gender ideology has constructed the notion of women as workers as well as wives and mothers. In addition, it represents a situation which is different from that in Malaysia where the state has actively encouraged the employment of young women in transnational companies.

In attempting to operationalize feminist theory in order to understand one aspect of the effects of economic restructuring upon women, this thesis has highlighted the need to devise theory that is sensitive to local processes and concerns, but that also recognizes commonalities in the processes that lead to women's subordination. As this study illustrates, although familialism and gender inequality may appear to be universal structures, the processes through which each is constructed is specific, as is their reproduction and their implications for women's position in society and the labour market. Politically, this point has implications for the manner by which structures of female subordination can be dismantled as specific forms of gender inequality may need to be dealt with in specific ways.

As a contribution towards this end, this thesis has posed more questions than it has answered. In part, the limitations of the study derive from the fact that it has been based upon secondary sources. There are a number of general problems associated with using census data to describe patterns of women's work (see the discussion in the appendix), but even greater problems emerge when such data is used to establish the
operation of processes and relationships involving an ideology of gender. In addition, the capacity of ethnographies to provide a basis with which to interpret women's position in the labour market is constrained by the fact that few studies have attempted to address the questions posed here, the exceptions being Robinson (1983) Mather (1985), Wolf (1986), Grijns (1987) and Branson and Miller (1988).

There are also difficulties with establishing a precise relationship between familialism and women's position in the workforce, but enough evidence has been presented to indicate that there is some relationship. This needs to be examined more directly through empirical research. Another aspect that could be developed more relates to the role that men and women play in negotiating the construction and reproduction of patterns of women's work. Unfortunately available data is insufficient to pursue this issue. Finally, despite the attempt to overcome ethnocentrism at a national scale, regrettably the study has glossed over a number of geographical differences within Indonesia. A dependence on secondary sources has meant that the study has tended to reproduce the "Javacentrism" that is apparent in most social science research on Indonesia and local expressions of familialism and capitalism in areas beyond Java have, to a large degree, been obscured.
6.iii. Directions for Further Research.

A number of complex social changes are taking place in Indonesia that warrant further attention. The discussion here has suggested that these emergent issues can only be addressed from a reformulation of theory based on careful and intensive primary research on concerns such as relations of power in the family and in the workplace. Possible topics are as follows. First, given the relatively loose definition of the family/household and an observable increase in the number of households in which members are not co-resident but still contribute to the household income (i.e. dispersed family/household networks) in Indonesia, it might be fruitful to consider how familialism is constructed and reproduced through community-level gender relations in the kampung, rather than through "the family" per se. In addition, the fact that much of women's employment takes place in the community (as opposed to a factory or an office, as is usually the case in the west), emphasizes the importance of the local community as a domain within which gender relations are constructed, reproduced and contested.

Second, an interesting empirical focus could involve a consideration of the precise manner by which new and restructured work practices acquire particular gender ascriptions in the course of capitalist development. For example, it is worth considering why certain technological
developments are associated with male workers or why the sale of commoditized goods has become a male domain. Further, and related to this idea, a third direction that research might take would concern the ways in which this process is responded to and resisted by women.

Finally, one of the most important questions that this thesis raises concerns the role of the state in reproducing and redefining a particular gender ideology in Indonesia. It is recognized that familialism is but one of a number of possible outcomes of gender relations, but it is one that the state appears to be most vigorous in fostering. Future research on the position of women in Indonesia might usefully consider precisely why the state is adopting these policies.

Feminism is at once an academic and theoretical enterprise and part of a political practice that seeks the emancipation of women. However, to engage with the problems that are faced by women in non-western contexts it is necessary to escape from totalizing feminist theory and to consider the ways in which gender inequality is expressed and experienced in locally-specific ways. From a different angle, it is also necessary to prevent the applied concerns of Women in Development from eclipsing the wider political aims of feminism in general. This thesis, by focussing on the contextual nature of gender inequality in Indonesia from a feminist theoretical position, is an effort to establish dialogue between the seemingly disparate concerns of Women in Development and feminist theory which speaks to the emancipation of women in society in
general. It is clear that in Indonesia this goal is far from being achieved.
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APPENDIX

Much of the empirical data used in this thesis is derived from the 1980 census (Penduduk Indonesia, Seri S/2) and the 1985 intercensal survey (Supas Number 5). The following section of the thesis considers the methodology and concepts utilized in each; and assesses the value of census data in describing labour force participation in general, and of women in Indonesia in particular.

The 1980 census is based on data collected from a 5% random sample of the total Indonesian population which was then reboosted to 100%. A similar sampling technique was used in the 1985 intercensal survey; the difference being that data was collected from a 3% sample. In addition, the second data set excluded isolated groups, and Indonesian citizens working abroad. Despite the variation in sample size, other aspects of the census and the intercensal survey such as definitions, data collection and presentation are reasonably comparable.

Definitions and Concepts.

The definitions employed in the census have a large impact on the results and therefore it is important to consider how various categories of the census are defined.

(i) Definition of urban and rural areas.

The definitions of urban and rural areas in the 1980 and 1985 censuses are based on the administrative distinction of kotamadya and kabupaten: urban municipalities and rural areas,
and the special urban areas of Jakarta and Yogyakarta. The basis of this definition is not outlined in the notes that accompany the census tabulations. As McGee (1984) points out, in Java this distinction is somewhat arbitrary, given the level of economic interaction between rural and urban areas, and high population densities in areas otherwise defined as rural.

(ii) Definition of residence.
Again, the definition of residence is not spelled out in the census notes. Residents in a household are defined as those who "normally" live in that particular household in a particular area, for the majority of the time. Given the propensity for circular migration between urban and rural areas, this definition is somewhat imprecise and may eclipse important patterns that would otherwise emerge in the census.

(iii) Definition of work.
The tables that are utilised in this thesis are based on data in which work is defined as any activity that was conducted for pay or profit for the duration of at least one hour within the preceding seven days. Persons categorized as working were those aged ten years and above that performed an activity in keeping with the census criteria. This also included those that did not, but that were in a permanent job from which they were absent for health reasons, on strike or that were laid off because of mechanical breakdowns. In addition, farmers in the slack season and specialists such as physicians etc. were also included as working.

(iv) Definition of occupations and sectors.
The criteria on which the definitions of occupations and sectors are based are derived from the International Standard of Classification of Occupations (and sectors) (Anker and Hein, 1986). The revised version of 1968 recognizes the following occupations:

0-1 Professional, technical and related workers - e.g. scientists, economists, engineers, artists, teachers, doctors and nurses.
2 Administrative and managerial workers - e.g. managers and government administrators.
3 Clerical and related workers - e.g. clerical supervisors, typists, book-keepers, transport conductors and supervisors, and telephone operators.
4 Sales workers - including sales persons, shop assistants, proprietors and managers in wholesale and retail trade.
5 Service workers - including cooks, maids, hairdressers, security guards, managers of catering and lodging services.
6 Farmers and agricultural workers - including workers in plantations, on farms and own account workers.
7-9 Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers - including miners, cabinet makers, dress makers, printers, painters, bricklayers and drivers.

Nine economic sectors are recognized:

1 Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing.
2 Mining and quarrying.
3 Manufacturing industry.
4 Electricity, gas and water.
5 Construction.
6 Wholesale and retail trade, and restaurants.
7 Transportation, storage and communications.
8 Financing, insurance, real estate and business services.
9 Public services.

These occupational and sectoral categories embrace a wide variety of activities that have different relations of production, that are conducted at a variety of scales, and that have quite different relationships to the state. Respondents were assigned to a particular occupation or sector if that category was their principle form of work; i.e. that which they spent the most time engaged in.

Problems with using Census Data.

Although the enumeration and comparability of the Indonesian census data is relatively accurate, there are a number of problems that are encountered when using such data to understand processes of social and economic change that warrant discussion here. First, the collection, processing and presentation of all data reflects a series of assumptions about what is considered to be worth measuring. These assumptions influence the questions that are asked and excluded, and the ways in which the questions are posed. For the most part, these assumptions have tended to obscure activities that are not
directly associated with the formal market, such as that of unpaid family workers, informal activities, domestic work and subsistence.

Although this is often the case, a zealous attempt to overcome this problem has resulted in the reverse occurring. In a discussion of the Indonesian census data, Korns illustrates this point with reference to the ways in which questions concerning labour force participation were addressed by census enumerators and their respondents. According to Korns, the concepts of "working" and "looking for work" are often not understood by respondents, and therefore unstructured guidance from the interviewer is necessary in order to slot people into boxes. It is suggested that interviewer guidance fluctuates considerably within and between censuses. In the 1985 census, the interview manual paid particular attention to the inclusion of unpaid family workers in the labour force compared to the 1980 census. The outcome was a considerably higher rate of female labour force participation reported in 1985, particularly in rural areas outside Java (Korns, 1987). This raises some questions about the direct comparability of the two data sets.

A second problem concerns the issue of multiple job-holding. Other sources of information suggest that it is unusual for a person to be engaged in only one activity at any one time. Because the tabulations used in this thesis rely on data concerning a worker's principal economic activity, many activities are obscured, including those that may not be the
most important in terms of time devoted to them but that are the best remunerated of a person's employment (Hugo et al., 1987). In addition, and related to this point, the census obscures patterns of circular migration because of its definition of work. It is likely that many of the urban dwellers who noted their occupations to be agriculture were temporary urban residents whose main source of income was from agricultural labour, supplemented by income from urban informal work on a circulatory basis.

Third, the categorization of activities into taxonomic groups based on a rather arbitrary notion of similarity is problematic. Each taxonomic group includes a wide variety of activities, distinct jobs and distinct groups of people that are not affected by processes in the same way. For example, the group of economic activities designated as "sales" includes jobs as diverse as street vending and real estate. In addition, from the census, it is not possible to establish the nature of activities within occupational and sectoral categories: their formalization and capitalization, both of which have implications for attempts to disentangle the processes that underlie observable patterns.

Women and Census Data.

In addition to these general problems, there are a number of issues that are of particular consequence in the enumeration of female labour force participation. It is important when using census data to be aware that the nature of the Indonesian
census reflects dominant theories about gender relations, about women's work and about women's roles in society. Women's employment tends to be unreported or misreported for a number of reasons beyond the general problems that have been so far discussed. Oey (1986) recognizes six main reasons why women's activities are often misrepresented in the census.

First, the definition of work as "activity for pay or profit" tends to eclipse much of women's work because the distinction between housework and unpaid family work is somewhat arbitrary and as Oey notes, obscures the variety of domestic production and family welfare activities in which women engage which have no market value, yet are certainly "work". In addition, a second and related point concerns occupational multiplicity which, given the nature of the activities in which women are most often occupied, is a particular problem in the accurate enumeration of the female workforce. Women thus tend to be miscategorized in the census. Third, the short reference period that is utilized in the census has tended to lead to much of women's employment being obscured because of the fact that women's participation in the workforce tends to be erratic, intermittent, seasonal and for short periods of time. This is exemplified by women's employment in the harvest: although women work as farm labourers, the definition of duration of work can lead to women reporting themselves as housewives. In addition, the census hides the circular migration of women (Crockett, 1983).
Besides these definitional issues, another set of problems relates to the misreporting of women's activities by male household heads and by women themselves. Male household heads may misreport the activities of female household members, either because they are not aware of them, or because they are regarded as secondary (Oey, 1986). Women themselves may also consider their engagement in income-generating activities as secondary to their role as housewives (Baster, 1981). Furthermore, elite and middle class women and their spouses in Indonesia may not report women's participation in economic activities for fear of taxation or for status reasons, given the status accrued to a man with a leisured wife (Papanek and Schwede, 1988). Finally, with respect to the presentation of census data, many of women's activities are obscured because of the level of aggregation of occupational and sectoral categories. Segmentation within these groups is obscured and thus important aspects of the gender division of labour cannot be obtained from the census in its current tabulations. Data on women needs to be treated with caution, therefore.

However, even if the comparability of different sets of census data and the definitions used are considered to be acceptable, it is necessary to recognize that the data do not represent explanations or causal links. Census data can be regarded as no more than a series of signposts that describe the broad outline of a situation but do not in themselves suggest the processes by which such a situation has come about (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1987). Therefore, it is necessary to
supplement extensive quantitative census data with intensive qualitative research that can shed some light on the underlying mechanisms that are at play.