



Gender equality in the government water, sanitation, and hygiene workforce in Indonesia: an analysis through the Gender at Work framework

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ABSTRACT

Gender inequality remains a persistent challenge in workforces globally, with the water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) workforce no exception. This paper aimed to investigate gender dynamics in the Indonesian government WASH workforce at national and subnational levels and evolve conceptual foundations for this type of study. The Gender at Work framework (Rao, A., J. Sandler, D. Kelleher, and C. Miller. 2016. *Gender at Work: Theory and Practice for 21st Century Organizations*. London: Routledge), provided a framing to support critical examination of power relations embedded in institutions and communities. In-depth interviews were undertaken with 52 government employees in the districts of Sumbawa and Manggarai and two national ministries. The findings identified four important themes which hinder or support gender equality in the Indonesian government WASH workforce: (a) career progression, continued education, and professional ambitions; (b) gender equality and gendered social dynamics in the workplace; (c) family and institutional support; and (d) gender-based violence and safety in the workplace. Our findings also generated insights on intersectional aspects, including people of different ethnic origins, pointing to the need to explicitly account for these in frameworks such as the Gender at Work framework. Through the identification and consideration of 'gendered substructures' this research provides a basis to promote greater equality in the WASH workforce.

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Introduction

Gender inequality is pronounced in the water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH) sector workforce, replicating wider global workforce trends (ILO 2020) and constraints to women's full participation in the labor market (ILO 2018; IFC 2013). In both WASH as well as mining, construction and energy sectors, women represent a small minority of workers (WWAP 2016; IFC 2013). A recent World Bank study across 64 water utilities in 28 economies found that women only made up 18% of workers (WB 2019). Other studies concur, showing the sector continues to employ greater numbers of men than women, especially in technical fields and roles, which is a representation of broader labor market trends (Das 2017; IWA 2016). However, there is evidence that water and sanitation services are 'generally more effective if women take an active role in delivering them, from design and planning to the ongoing operations and maintenance required to make services sustainable' (IWA 2016, 4).

In Indonesia, overall female labor force participation lags significantly, as does the rate of women in

leadership positions compared to the Asia Pacific region average (MGI 2018), including in the government workforce. Data from 2019 from the National Civil Service Agency (NCSA) shows women represent National Civil Service Agency (NCSA). 2019 52% of civil servants across 34 ministries, yet women's representation in the highest-level positions was only 18% in echelon I and 13% in echelon II (2019). The higher the echelon, the lower the percentage of women, even though the Law on State Civil Administration (Law No. 5 of 2014) clearly states that the career development of civil servants should not be differentiated based on gender, ethnicity, religion, race, and other social groups.

Barriers to women's participation in the Indonesian government are many, including (UNDP 2010; Margret et al. 2018): socio-economic and cultural barriers linked to strong patriarchal norms; regulatory and institutional barriers such as marginalization of women in party structures and limited gender-based supportive policies; as well as psychological barriers including self-identification with reproductive roles and the primacy of

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familial duties. To redress this issue, Silalahi, Rachmawati, and dan Sisvo (2016) argues for encouragement to female civil servants to take up leadership roles and implementation of pro-gender internal policies to support affirmative action.

Literature on gender inequality in workplaces offers important theoretical insights on how change might be achieved. The notion of a ‘theory of gendered organisations’ recognizes that organizations are not gender-neutral and identifies the presence of ‘gendered substructures’ (Acker 1990). ‘Gendered substructures’ refers to the ‘mostly invisible processes taking place in organisations in which gendered assumptions about women and men, femininity and masculinity, are embedded and reproduced, and gender inequalities perpetuated’ (Acker 2012, 215). Metaphors such as the ‘glass ceiling’ or ‘sticky floor’ have been used to represent the barriers women face in attaining the highest management positions or entering the workforce (Hymowitz and Schellhardt 1986; Berheide 1992). However, Acker argues that ‘inequality regimes’ is a more accurate metaphor as it represents the interrelated practices, processes, actions and meanings that obstruct women’s opportunities for advancement at all levels of organizational hierarchy (2006). Rao et al. (2016)’s work, drawn on in this study, concurs and suggests that even the most progressive workplace equality policies often have minimal impact if the deepest of power structures is not confronted. As acknowledged in literature on intersectionality, it is not just gendered dynamics that perpetuate inequality, but multiple dimensions including a person’s class, race, sexuality, ethnicity, nation ability, age and more (O’Hara and Clement 2018; Collins 2015) which can intersect to create varied forms of oppression and privilege (Hankivsky et al. 2014).

This paper draws on this current theory to investigate gender dynamics in the Indonesian government WASH workforce at national and subnational levels, and in turn also critically reflects on the chosen Gender at Work framework to support its continued evolution. It fills a significant gap, given no prior research on this topic could be identified in Indonesia or the wider Asian region. The research forms part of a wider study in Indonesia and Cambodia on gender equality and inclusion in WASH, funded through the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade’s Water for Women Fund. Our key guiding question concerned how women of diverse backgrounds could better participate in and benefit from involvement in the Indonesian WASH workforce. By uncovering the ‘gendered substructures’ at play within Indonesian government WASH institutions, this research paves the way to new strategies to promote equality and facilitate women’s participation in and benefit from involvement in the WASH workforce.

Conceptual framework

The Gender at Work framework (Rao et al. 2016) provided a conceptual framing for this research. Their framework explores power relations embedded in institutions and communities towards bringing about positive gender equality change. It was first developed in 2002 by Gender at Work, an international feminist collaboration of gender experts. It was also chosen due to its rigorous underpinning in academic thinking from gender equality and workplace literature, including the work of Acker (1990; 2006), Connell (1987), Wilber (1996) and VeneKlasen and Miller (2002).

The Gender at Work framework seeks to support organizations in dissolving gender-biased institutions, recognizing that change must happen both within the organizations and outside of them. The framework asserts that changing the norms and structures underlying inequality must be analyzed and addressed across four domains concurrently: individual and informal ‘Consciousness and Capabilities’; individual and formal ‘Resources’; systemic and formal ‘Rules and Policies’; and finally systemic and informal ‘Social Norms and Deep Structures’ (see Figure 1) (Rao et al. 2017; Rao et al. 2016). In this research, the Gender at Work framework informed the interview guides and coding of transcripts.

Materials and methods

The research was qualitative, comprising in-depth interviews and collaborative data analysis processes. The research was led by the Institute for Sustainable Futures – University of Technology Sydney (ISF-UTS), in partnership with the Graduate Program on Gender Studies at School of Strategic and Global Studies in the University of Indonesia (UI) and the Civil Society Organisation (CSO) Yayasan Plan International Indonesia and Plan International Australia. First, a brief analysis of gender parity data was conducted to set the context in terms of gender balance in water and sanitation roles at national and local levels. At the national level, this was possible for MoPWH, but unfortunately, similar data for Ministry of Health was not publicly available. At the local level, we sourced gender parity data for the health agency sanitarian role in the two relevant sub-districts. Second, 52 interviews were conducted with female and male government employees working in WASH at district, sub-district, and national levels within Plan’s project area. The participants comprised 40 regional government employees in Eastern Indonesia, 21 in the district of Sumbawa in the province of West Nusa Tenggara (13 women and 8 men) and 19 in

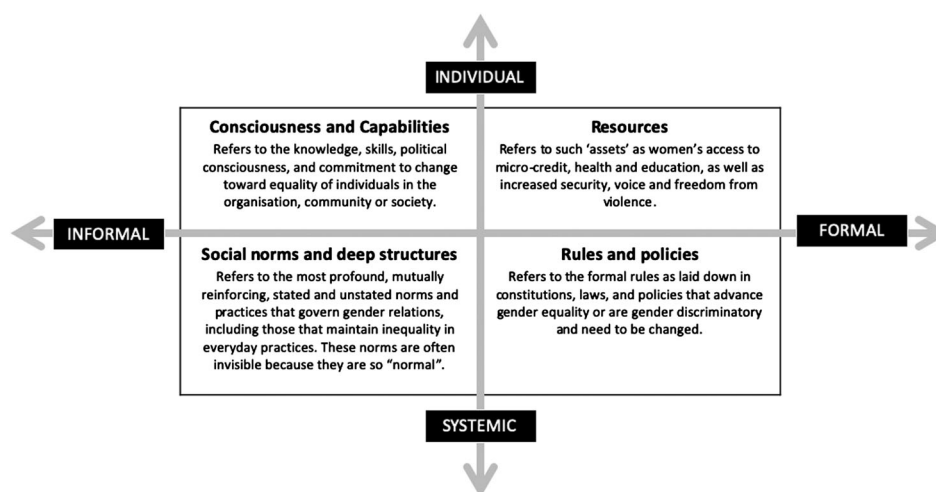


Figure 1. Explanation of the Gender at Work analytical framework, including definition of each domain (Rao et al. 2017; Rao et al. 2016).

the district of Manggarai in the province of East Nusa Tenggara (13 women and 6 men). Both represent primarily rural areas (with small town centres), with participants belonging to diverse ethnic groups. The research also included national government participants in the capital, Jakarta, 12 officers (6 women and 6 men) who occupied middle to high ranks within the Ministry of Public Works and Housing (MoPWH), Ministry of Health (MoH) and BKN (National Civil Service Personnel Agency), all working in WASH-related policy and programming. Interviewees at the district level included heads of divisions or units in Health, Environment, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, BKD (Regional Civil Service Personnel Agency) and Public Works agencies and their working groups (including Sanitasi Total Berbaris Masyarakat-STBM working group). At the sub-district level, interviewees included sanitarians and health workers, heads of health centres (Puskesmas) and sub-district heads.

Within the research scope, participants were invited to discuss matters pertaining to employment and the inclusion of people with disabilities. However, none of the participants had a lived experience of disability as there were none employed in the relevant agencies. Considering the inadequate data to support a robust and comprehensive analysis, we decided it was most appropriate to exclude a focus on this area.

The research team adopted a feminist research approach (Hesse-Biber 2011) to conduct interviews and analyze the findings. That is, the researchers actively sought to remove power imbalances between the researcher and participants, sought to give primacy to women's experiences in the data collected and sought to expose power imbalances and inequalities through

our analysis with an intent to support social change (Cook and Fonow 1986). The researchers took a relational approach and built rapport with the interviewees through four strategies: sharing their own experiences as women in the Indonesian workforce; recognizing and appreciating the local context in Sumbawa and Manggarai; creating a safe and enabling space for in-depth conversation, and; prioritizing 'do no harm' interviewing measures due to the at times sensitive nature of the research subject matter.

A collaborative approach to analysis was employed across the Indonesian and Australian research institutions and civil society organization (CSO) teams. This comprised joint development of research sub-questions, engagement on analysis, and joint validation of findings with Indonesian CSO field staff. The analysis was both deductive and inductive in its approach. The Gender at Work framework guided the initial creation of codes and a deductive analytical approach using the definitions provided in that framework. In addition, further codes were added throughout the process based on interview observations, allowing for inductive reasoning to contribute to the sense-making process and development of the overarching themes. An online data analysis software, Dedoose, allowed for cross-institution, real-time coding, with five team members contributing to this process. Summaries of each code were developed and translated, including key quotes. Thematic analysis was performed to develop the narrative presented below against five key emerging themes. In line with the feminist research approach, the analysis explicitly sought to document women's experiences, both of their agency and their oppression and to point to ways forward that could potentially ameliorate the situation.

Results

To set the scene for the findings against the Gender at Work framework, we firstly provide a brief analysis of gender parity data at the national and local levels, which reveals important disparities. In 2018, at the national level, the MoPWH female civil servants only comprised 27.98% of the workforce.¹ Women were also in the minority regarding seniority, with 0.5% attaining Echelon I (highest position) as compared to 6.9% for men and in Echelon II (second position), 25.7% as compared to 40.2% for men. A similar situation was observed at the district level. In 2019, in Sumbawa, female civil servants comprised only 6.1% of Echelon II positions, while there were no female civil servants in Echelon II in Manggarai. For Echelon III (third position), women made up 14.1% and 19.9% of civil servants in Sumbawa and Manggarai, respectively. Echelon is a structural position given to civil servants in which they are specially appointed and have usually completed training or a competitive selection process amongst other civil servants. Echelon I civil servants are responsible for leading a region or establishing key policies, while Echelon IV officials are section heads or line managers of a work unit that is, head of a village. Whilst equivalent data was sought for MoH; the authors were not able to obtain this information.

Amongst specific WASH-related roles, namely sanitarians at subdistrict level, more women were employed in Sumbawa and Manggarai than men, however many with insecure employment status. In Sumbawa and Manggarai, 80% and 64% of sanitarians were female, respectively. However, of all sanitarians (female and male), only half had the status of civil servant. In Sumbawa and Manggarai, 49% and 56%, respectively, instead had a work agreement, contract, or volunteer position, which comprise a less secure employment status than that of a civil servant.

The findings on gendered workplace dynamics are presented against four emerging themes: (a) recruitment and career progression; (b) gender equality and gendered social dynamics in the workplace; (c) family and institutional support; and (d) gender-based violence (GBV) and safety in the workplace. For each theme, we present the findings according to the relevant Gender at Work quadrants, providing a holistic yet systematic view and recognizing the interlinkages and interdependencies inherent across these quadrants.

(A) Recruitment and career progression

While many formal Government of Indonesia (GoI) rules and policies supported the recruitment and career

progression of women, limited financial, mobility and time resources meant associated training and education required for promotion were difficult to obtain. Social norms and deep structures, which viewed men as superior to women, were also found to limit women's career progression, yet exceptions in which men actively supported women's career ambitions were also identified.

Rules and policies

At the national and district level, civil servant recruitment and promotion are formally based on principles of transparency, nondiscrimination, fairness, and equality. According to the relevant policies and regulations, a merit system takes qualifications, competence, and performance into consideration, regardless of politics, race, color, religion, origin, gender, marital status, age, or ability. However, political and personal interests, or limited regulatory knowledge, can also interfere. Recruitment for all government positions and promotion for leadership positions are organized through a selection committee. Appointment of newly appointed civil servants and promotion decisions lies with the Trustee Personnel Officer (PPK). This system allows for the political and personal interests of the PPK to influence their decision, as there is no requirement for them to base their final choices on the official ranking candidates received. As explained by one district official within the BKD: 'Usually a position is applied [to] by many candidates, ranking result will be seen. But the Regent, as the [PPK], does not depend on the result of the ranking'.

Resources

For all civil servants, one of several requirements for promotion is the necessary education level for that rank. Further education and training require financial, time, and mobility resources; resources that are often limited for women. Interviewees mentioned three types of further education and training; each differs in relation to permissions required, how costs are covered, and rights to promotion.

The first professional development opportunity, program khusus/proksus (translates to 'special program'), offers the best support to female civil servants as these programs take place at nearby vocational colleges, with evening and weekend classes often available. The second professional development opportunity, higher education, involves civil servants returning to university, paid for by the government or at their own cost. However, the academic institution must have a minimum accreditation score, not yet attained by universities in Sumbawa or Manggarai. This is a challenge for female civil servants with caring responsibilities, as

leaving their families for extended periods to study is near impossible. The third opportunity, training provided by the government or CSOs, can include leadership or WASH sector training. Training varies from several days up to three months and takes place in district capitals or other provinces. This presents a challenge to female civil servants:

'Many women (mothers) want to attend the training, but it is very hard ... Government give them the allowance, but they [must] pay the travel cost for the babysitter [and children] with their money ... they must rent a room ... That situation is often considered by the women before they make decision to attend the training. (District interviewee, male)

At the national level, male civil servants have greater promotion chances as they can more easily be assigned regionally, which greatly increases the opportunity to be promoted, whereas married women generally object to regional assignments: '... they must be obliged to go to the regions, but many (women) cannot do it, especially those who are married ...' (National interviewee, male).

Social norms and deep structures

Women's professional ambitions are influenced by social norms and deep structures that govern gender relations. Traditional cultural and religious norms generally consider men as superior and that women's caring roles are expected to take priority over their professional ambitions. While some of these traditions are fading, and at the national level, the ethnic diversity of Jakarta meant some of these cultural norms were less prevalent, interviewees spoke of: men being the decision makers in the home; needing to be served by women in the household; women traditionally not permitted to travel far away from home for work or study; and that a woman who has a higher professional rank than her husband brings shame to that man. As outlined by one female head of Puskesmas: 'In Sumbawa, the decision maker is man'.

This tradition of male superiority has several consequences for women's professional ambition. Some female civil servants required the permission of their husband to travel for work or to undertake further study. Similarly, where a wife and husband are both civil servants the priority is usually given to the husband to undertake professional development: 'sometimes, I must give up my duty, for example to go training or to leave home for several days ... if we both must leave out of town, I must give up my duty' (District head, female). Interviewees explained this can be due to the taboo associated with a wife 'outshining' their husband: '... obstacle from husband ... the wife is

more successful than her husband and it makes him get less confident' (District head, female). While women are supported through workplace professional development opportunities to be promoted, traditional caring roles often take priority.

However, it is important to note that some interviewees did not adhere to these traditional norms. There was evidence of husband's helping their wives with household tasks and encouraging their career ambitions:

He (husband) doesn't mind doing domestic work ... So when I work out of town, I am comfortable leaving my children at home with my husband. He's very different from the Batak people in general. Batak men are generally more taboo about doing domestic work.' (National civil servant, female)

Consciousness and capabilities

Several female interviewees displayed the knowledge, skills, and commitment required to succeed in their professional career ambitions and as such, contribute towards greater gender equality in the workplace. However, several women faced dilemmas in prioritizing their careers over their reproductive roles. Many women chose not to continue their education or pursue promotion due to social stigma and their own perceptions:

Some women who want to pursue their careers tend to be judged sometime; how can you leave [your] family ... instead she chooses to pursue her career. Sometimes, I feel that those things hamper the progress of women, due to their own mindsets. That's why I say that gender sensitivity is important and necessary. (National civil servant, female)

Some female interviewees did not wish to further their careers due to the increased responsibility involved and lack of support from their husband:

I don't want to be promoted because of the bigger responsibility- [I] was offered head of admin at Puskesmas, but declined ... Also, my husband didn't want me to take the job - he didn't explain why, he said my current job was good enough. (District civil servant, female)

While most higher-ranking positions were filled by men, there is evidence of more women entering these positions, being able to perform well and feeling confident.

(B) Gender equality and gendered social dynamics in the workplace

Evidence of equal decision-making, participation, and workload for women and men in the workplace, as

well as gender and social inclusion (GESI) considerations built into community programs and workplace budgeting were found. Yet, women continue to be underrepresented in the higher echelons of government leadership, with parts of government identified as a 'man's world', as well as certain formal rules and policies related to work benefits found to preference men over women.

Rules and policies

Women are underrepresented in the higher echelons of government leadership, even though leaders may encourage equal gender representation. At district and national levels, there are similar numbers of women and men represented in the lower echelon III and IV positions, with women excelling in the entry level selection processes as explained by a male district head of agency: 'On average, women applicants are dominating the selection process now'. Yet, in echelon II leadership positions and above, women are far fewer. However, leaders were seen to encourage equal gender representation as explained by a male district interviewee: 'The Regent often reminds [us] that... we [must] try to see the balance between women and men'.

Certain formal rules and policies related to work benefits were found to preference men over women. One female district interviewee explained that single or divorced female civil servants were not eligible to receive insurance benefits for their children due to the regulation on civil servants that do not pay attention to single mothers.

Resources

According to national level interviewees at the MoH and MoPWH, GESI is considered as part of the program and workplace budgeting processes, with varied effectiveness. From the district interviewees, it appeared that some infrastructure financial support was made available to ensure adequate toilet facilities for women and men in government buildings, yet this was considered inadequate.

The high mobility requirements of sanitarians for field inspections and latrine construction as well as the distance and road conditions, have created gender-specific challenges for female sanitarians. Due to social norms, it was not considered acceptable for women to travel to these locations by themselves and required female sanitarians to adjust their schedules to suit that of their male colleagues to ensure they had a chaperone.

Social norms and deep structures

Gendered social dynamics play out in the workplace in terms of work roles, approaches and relationships. Generally, it was found that if women and men had the

required skills for the roles, they were treated equally; however, exceptions were also found. One female district interviewee thought that once she was engaged to be married, her male supervisor did not want her to conduct field activities, without leaving her any choice in the matter: '... when I was about to get married, my boss stopped sending me to coordinate field activities. He said 'enough going to the field, now just take care of the internal matters in the office'.

A number of female civil servants were also of the opinion that certain roles and work were more suitable for male civil servants, as stated by one female district head: 'It's better to be male because we can't do [as women] due to the topography [difficult terrain]'. Yet, female sanitarians were perceived as more effective in the field than their male counterparts: 'Women sanitarians are more friendly and flexible to the people ... people are more receptive to women sanitarians' (District interviewee, male).

However, some female interviewees experienced their workplace as a 'man's world' which influenced their approach to work:

Public Works ... is stereotyped as like the world of men. So, in my opinion, we [women] need double energy in the same position. That's what I realized when I was working with the gentlemen ... 'I have to be someone more.' For example, working until midnight ... I must be able to manage it. (National interviewee, female)

In terms of workplace relationships, women and men were reported to generally be able to work together effectively, however single women or women who had to work alone with male colleagues were often subjected to negative gossip:

'... people are always thinking negatively, for example, she will have a meeting with her male superior and they have to leave the office. 'Oh, surely, there is something between them. (National interviewee, female)

Consciousness and capabilities

Gender equality has started to become part of the conversation and to influence decision-making processes in government institutions. While women are still not well represented in higher leadership positions, a shift in attitudes towards women being seen as able to occupy these leadership positions was noted by a male head of district agency: '... I see the potential ... a number of my fellow women officers of higher echelon ... have extraordinary thought'.

A shift towards more equal decision making and participation by women and men was also observed in a district Puskesmas:

... there were activities related to gender where there must be a balance between women and men in making decisions or in holding activities. So, starting from there, we at Puskesmas try to organize that all activities should be balanced. (Sanitarian, male)

A shift towards increasing awareness about gender equality in communities through sanitarian activities was also found:

Previously, women, when they graduated from elementary school or junior high school, parents would say 'eh you must be at home' but now, it has changed, women can have higher education, so that they can support and enhance the household economy. (Head of Puskesmas, female)

The examples above also provide evidence of individual changes in terms of attitudes, points of view or behavior. Interactions with external parties such as Plan Indonesia assisted a national civil servant to change her view and realize that GESI issues needed to be considered from the outset of programing. However, another female national civil servant expressed opposition to affirmative actions that intensively promoted women:

... if we make a series of exclusive actions to intensively promote women to occupy certain positions or any exclusive actions toward gender equality with so much attention on women, I feel it's like a kind of open statement to oppose the men. For me, those series of actions could make the men officers feel defensive and the results are not better for the women officers but might get worse... Apologies, but I see a lot of times, men like that. If I am bullied at a meeting ... I am a kind of person who can bear it ... But not all people are like that, not all women are like that, so that's my strength.

(C) Family and institutional support

The Gol provides formal support for the reproductive and caring roles of female and male civil servants, with its implementation success varying in practice. Informal support from families and husbands for female civil servants in the form of household, childcare, and emotional support to continue education, attend training and manage workloads was found to be of almost greater importance than institutional support.

Rules and policies

Formal institutional support for civil servants' reproductive and caring roles are stipulated in government regulations; however, their successful implementation varies in practice. Key areas of support include provision of day-care and breastfeeding facilities, as well as maternity

and paternity leave, with no official menstrual leave provided.

There are various government laws and regulations relating to the provision of support for female civil servants who are breastfeeding.² These include adequate time and lactation rooms that meet required health standards, with adequate equipment and privacy. The research found breastfeeding facilities were mostly adequate within the national ministries, but no facilities were available in district government offices. Limited space, female civil servants preferring to breastfeed at home, as well as budget constraints, reduced the priority for such rooms. One female district interviewee stated that: 'We do not yet have [lactation room] ... limited office space. We usually just go home if we want to breastfeed'.

While lactation rooms were not available at the district level, support for women to return home to breastfeed, bring their babies to the workplace, or leave work early for caring duties was provided. Female civil servants were permitted to return home if they requested a 'control card'. At the national level, day-care facilities were provided within the three ministries, but in practice, only the MoH day-care facilities were in use.

All the female civil servants are permitted three months of paid maternity leave for their first three children, with women required to request long-service leave from their fourth child onwards.³ Women experienced a lack of flexibility and support if they had a fourth child, as the government recommended women only have three children. Regarding paternity leave, Gol recently introduced regulations which allow male civil servants to accompany their wife when giving birth and take up to one month leave.⁴ A female national interviewee explained that paternity leave was important because of the changing nature of society: 'If in the past our relatives could help, now they cannot'.

However, paternity leave is limited for inpatient childbirth, and a certificate must be provided to obtain the leave, with men usually taking five days. While the paternity leave is welcomed, it appears not all civil servants are aware of it, and greater dissemination efforts may be required.

Resources

Several female interviewees shared that they received support from their husbands in terms of household chores, childcare, and career encouragement. The research found that traditionally men are not involved in household and care duties, but those men who had travelled, had parents who involved their sons in household chores, or worked in the care industry (e.g. nursing) were more inclined to share these responsibilities:

... Not all Sumbawa men are like him; since my husband had moved and had experience living in other district ... He is very reliable, able to take care of our children. (District interviewee, female)

Another female national civil servant explained that she and her husband shared the caring roles, which allowed her to travel for work: 'I and my husband have a role division ... my children are already used to being take care by their father or mother'. A female head of Puskesmas explained how her husband supported her continued education: '... maybe because he works in the field of education, so if we want to take higher education, it is still permissible'.

Besides the support of female civil servants' husbands, broader family support is crucial for women to continue their education, attend trainings and manage workloads. A female district interviewee explained: 'If there is a long training, for example 15–16 days, I ask my sister to help ... every time I went to training, I asked my sister to stay at home'. From the national level interviews, it was clear that family support was also crucial; however, one female civil servant who was a single mother had to send her daughter to live in Lampung: '... I didn't bring my child to Jakarta ... a civil servant's salary is not enough ... So, I just let my child stay in Lampung [with my mother], because the school fees are really high here [in Jakarta]'.

Consciousness and capabilities

The way interviewees were raised by their families influenced their attitudes and behaviours in relation to gender norms and practices. Some male interviewees shared how they were raised to contribute equally to household chores and not discriminate based on gender: 'Discrimination never been part of the way my parents treat their children and family members. Although different in sex. Women and men are the same' (District interviewee, male).

Evidence of a more traditional gendered division of roles was also found. A female district interviewee shared: 'Cooking and cleaning are mostly woman duties ... hard work is usually for boys, not girls' and another female district interviewee stated: 'Usually, the men are asked to cut down logs, we are women at home, cooking. Women can't climb trees, play soccer'.

(D) Gender-based violence and safety in the workplace

No state regulation, policies, or laws to address Gender-based Violence (GBV) in the Indonesian workplace were identified through this research. While formal responses and resources were available to handle cases of violence,

harassment, or GBV in the government workforce, interviewees were generally unaware of such formal rules, with informal processes often preferred.

Rules and policies

There are currently no state regulations, policies, or laws to specifically address GBV in the Indonesian workplace. For government employees, the state only regulates the provision of the code of ethics, code of conduct, and disciplinary actions for civil servants.⁵ Furthermore, not all provinces have enacted the codes of ethics and conduct for civil servants, as required by state regulations. A 2019 government report found that of the 519 government agencies surveyed, only 23% had developed and implemented their own codes of ethics and conduct (KANS 2019).

Several interviewees had never experienced or heard about GBV in the workplace, but rather compared GBV to infidelity. As stated by a male district interviewee: 'Husbands having an affair are reported by their wives, that's just the case so far. But violence against women at workplace has never happened before'. Another female head of district agency stated:

There was harassment once ... Involving fellow staff ... once on the stairs ... she was harassed by him [unwanted touching] ... We immediately called and warned them ... Yes, immediately resolved ... There are no more cases until now.

Resources

In the event of violence, harassment or GBV in the government workplace, there are various formal responses available to handle such cases, but some interviewees were unaware of such resources, with informal processes often preferred. In another case of sexual harassment, a female civil servant had nude photos of her circulated via social media but preferred to not take formal action. Some female interviewees also shared that a lack of material resources, in terms of private toilets in their offices, led to them feeling unsafe: '... because the toilet is too transparent ... I don't feel safe going to the toilet ... I just realized that the facilities in this office building are important to support efforts to give women officers a feeling of safety' (District interviewee, female).

In terms of reporting cases of domestic violence, two female interviewees shared that they felt unable to do so due to fear of retribution, social stigma, and perceived lack of legal support. One of them stated:

When there was domestic violence in one of the houses ... no one wanted to report it due to the fear ... we, as women are afraid (to report it), because of social

situations like this, while law is also like this [not supporting women] ... none of the options is good. (District interviewee, female)

Discussion

Our discussion covers three main areas. Firstly, we compare our findings to recent research on gender equality in the Indonesian government workforce based on the four quadrants of the Gender at Work framework. Secondly, we step back to consider the strengths and weaknesses of the Gender at Work framework. Lastly, we narrow our focus to the WASH specific findings of our research and implications.

Situating findings within existing literature

Rules and policies

Several studies confirm the existence of formal government regulations, policies, and laws with the potential to support gender equality. Our research found that these included policies regarding recruitment, promotion, maternity, and paternity leave, breastfeeding, and child-care facility provision. Similarly, Azmi, Ismail, and Basir (2012) identified formal regulations, including the availability of child-care facilities, job sharing options, flexible hours, maternity leave, and working from home arrangements. Research by Krissetyanti (2018), Saraswati (2016) and Sedarmayanti and Dakhi (2017) outlined merit-based policies for promotion to leadership positions. Our research also found gaps, including a lack of formal rules or policies relating to GBV, affirmative action or menstrual leave. Research by Silalahi, Rachmawati, and dan Sisvo (2016), Saraswati (2016), Sedarmayanti and Dakhi (2017) and Puskapol (2012) confirmed a gap in effective affirmative action policies for female civil servants' promotion. However, some interviewees from the Sedarmayanti and Dakhi (2017) study did not support affirmative action policies and argued a merit-based system was preferred.

Our study and research from Ali, Prasojo, and Lina (2017) identified gaps in the merit-based promotion system, such as political influence and preferences, as well as political context and figures (Ali, Prasojo, and Lina 2017) could influence this process. Our research found that it was the informal rather than formal rules that supported female civil servants to manage their reproductive and productive roles with women generally allowed to return home to breastfeed, leave work early or arrive late for caring responsibilities, bring their children to work or take menstrual leave. Similarly, the Azmi, Ismail, and Basir (2012) research found women

were able to work from home or request flexible working hours.

Resources

It appears that limited resources are available to support improved gender equality or address GBV in the Indonesian government workplace. Our study found that inadequacies in support for women's professional development, given their reproductive responsibilities, limited promotion opportunities. Azmi, Ismail, and Basir (2012) similarly identified that female civil servants had limited access to professional training. Our research identified insufficient resources to address GBV or harassment, whilst complaints mechanisms and leadership support were sometimes available, usually, these areas were dealt with informally and remained a taboo topic.

Family support was available to many women in our study; however, men could also act as gatekeepers and prevent women's career progression, with the latter confirmed in other literature. In our study, women were fortunate to receive significant and important support from husbands and family, which greatly assisted them to realize both their productive and reproductive responsibilities. Partini (2013) identified similar findings in that women's career success required support from family members, particularly husbands, and Sedarmayanti and Dakhi (2017) found that family members were generally supportive of female civil servants' promotion to leadership roles. Yet, women still faced mobility limitations, including the inability to travel far from home for training, work, and higher education (also found by Sedarmayanti and Dakhi 2017). These findings align with those of Margret et al. (2018) and Partini (2013) in which women required the permission of their husbands to work or pursue promotion opportunities and it was frowned upon if women's productive work came at the cost of their household responsibilities.

Social norms and deep structures

Like other studies, our research found that social norms and deep structures continued to play a significant role in governing gender relations in the government workforce. Norms we identified maintain unequal gender relations related to men being superior, served by women, and there being shame in a wife having a higher professional position to her husband. Prioritizing men's views, opinions and preferences over women's were also identified by Muljono (2013), while Rahmawati (2008) and Sedarmayanti and Dakhi (2017) found patriarchal values placed women second to men and

considered men to be more suitable leaders. Muljono (2013) found that managers would ask the husbands of female employees if it was acceptable to promote their wives, whereas similar enquiries would not be made of the wives of male civil servants.

However, our research also identified exceptions to these traditional norms and values where men encouraged women's career ambitions, particularly when men were raised in a household with more equal gendered relations and practices. Similarly, we found that if women and men had the required skills for the roles, they were treated equally in the workplace. Krissetyanti's (2018) research aligned with these findings in that women were perceived as able to fulfil leadership roles just as well as men. Yet, once again, our research found exceptions including married women who were no longer able to participate in field activities or divorced women that experienced discrimination due to their changed social status.

Consciousness and capabilities

Our study found that shifts in individual and collective consciousness and capabilities towards greater gender equality are occurring. For instance, we observed equal decision making and participation in Puskesmas' approach to work, efforts to increase awareness of gender equality in communities, increased GESI awareness in design of government programs and cases of women's personal determination to be promoted, or pursue further education, against significant odds. Similarly, female respondents in another study stated that women were treated with the same trust, confidence, and rules and given the same assignments as men (Azmi, Ismail, and Basir 2012). These examples suggest collective and individual shifts in consciousness and capabilities are possible. However, Krissetyanti (2018), Partini (2013) and Azmi, Ismail, and Basir (2012) also identified women's low self-esteem, confidence and self-perception continued to limit their career progression, as well as women's own perceived lower status (Rahmawati 2008), which was similar to finding in our study.

Reflections on the Gender at Work framework

In this study, the Gender at Work framework proved a useful investigative frame. Strengths of the framework are its ability to present a comprehensive picture of gender (in)equalities in the workplace. This enables organizations and individuals to understand areas that need to change by engaging with culturally normative ideas, beliefs and understandings about gender,

power, and change (Cornwall 2016). The framework's systematic approach, incorporating individual and systemic factors, as well as the informal and formal realms, allows for the consideration of the complex interplay between subjective and objective notions of gender and gender equality (Filker 2019; Norberg 2018).

A limitation of the framework identified through its application in our study was the absence of an explicit intersectional lens. While Rao et al. (2017) explain that each quadrant of the framework could be re-conceived to encompass a concern for equality in dimensions beyond gender, the framework currently provides limited guidance or conceptualisation to support analysis of multiple and intersecting sources of disadvantage and discrimination. We propose that further research to bring together such literature and concepts with the Gender at Work framework could usefully support nuanced analysis of deep structures of power and connected systems that maintain inequality across multiple dimensions.

Insights specific to the government WASH workforce

Most of this study's findings on gender equality were relevant to all areas of the Indonesian government workforce, yet some were specific to WASH. At national level, within the MoH, there is increasing inclusion of GESI considerations into its WASH STBM socialization program. This is partly brought about by the presence of women in senior roles in MoH and could be linked to the 'feminisation of the health workforce' (Maas 2020; Shannon et al. 2019). Even though more senior leadership roles were generally dominated by men, in comparison to the MoPWH, the larger female MoH workforce could assist in driving these gender equality outcomes forward.

Our research also found that a key WASH role at the subdistrict level, a sanitarian, was influenced by social norms. There was a high proportion of women in this role in both districts. While the sanitarian role could be physically demanding and had high mobility requirements, it was generally perceived as acceptable for women to be leading in these roles as WASH was considered the traditional domain of women. Our research found that female sanitarians were considered better at communicating, providing information, education and mobilizing or empowering the community, while male sanitarians were considered more competent in using information technology and technical WASH matters, both areas generally defined by gendered roles and norms. In general, it was proposed that male

and female sanitarians working together provided an ideal mix.

One additional issue raised through the research was the limited potential for promotion from a sanitarian role to leadership WASH roles. There was no clear pathway to progress and continue a career focused on WASH, since leadership roles were either for an entire Puskesmas, or within a single agency that covers multiple responsibilities, not just WASH. In addition, for sanitarians to progress their formal qualifications to a higher level, as described earlier, they need to leave to study in a larger centre, and this presents challenges for women with care responsibilities.

Implications for improving gender equality in the government WASH workforce.

There are multiple possibilities to improve on the observed inequalities in the government WASH workforce described in this paper, with understandings of power and patriarchy key in this endeavor. Power analyzes help explain how gendered substructures can remain in place, even when clear progress in workplace equality has been made (VeneKlasen and Miller 2002; Connel 2002). The Gender at Work framework includes elements to support response strategies to address observed gender inequalities in the form of five enabling powers: the power of relationship; collectivity; imagination; analysis and knowledge; and agency (Rao et al. 2016). We briefly discuss how each of these powers could inform strategies for government and external actors, including CSOs working on WASH.

First, on the 'power of relationship', it is through relationships and interactions that new ideas can be debated and norms set. Positive examples of shifting gender relations included husbands actively supporting their wives' career ambitions or supportive workplace relationships that facilitated change towards greater equality. Second, strategies involving 'collectivity' require innovative thinking since traditional forms of collective action by women are based around close-knit locally based groups, whereas female government WASH employees are interspersed in geographically distant roles. However, in the age of improved communications and internet there is potential for greater mutual support, exchange, and engagement between female staff distributed across different areas. Third, 'imagination' to expand critical consciousness about gender equality in the WASH workforce could be facilitated by external parties, to raise open questions about gender equality in the workplace. There was already evidence of changing ideas and understanding

of possibilities in which women and men are treated more equally.

Fourth, 'analysis and knowledge' are critical tools. For instance, the observed gaps in affirmative promotion policies, GBV policies and menstrual leave provide a basis for action. Additionally, efforts that involve government staff collecting data about their own gendered work dynamics could promote reflection. The lack of open access to gender parity data at the subnational and national level is an important gap in this regard, such data could shine a light on inequalities that need to be redressed. There is a specific potential role in this domain for the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection. Lastly, 'agency' is a powerful mechanism to create change. Already many of the female research participants were navigating their way through the labyrinth that the government workforce creates and taking initiative, and seizing opportunities where they could. External actors can target conducive sites for change, such as Puskesmas, to initiate efforts to enhance women's agency in their workplaces and in their WASH roles.

Conclusion

This paper presented the findings of a qualitative study that investigated the gender dynamics experienced by women and men in the Indonesian government's WASH workforce through the lens of the Gender at Work framework. Findings were presented against the Gender at Work's framework's four quadrants across four key themes: career progression, continued education, and professional ambitions; gender equality and gendered social dynamics in the workplace; family and institutional support; and GBV and safety in the workplace. Examples of positive change towards greater gender equality and inclusion in the Indonesian government workforce were observed, including formal rules and policies that support women's reproductive and productive roles or the recruitment of people with disabilities. However, in practice women, people with disabilities, and other minorities continued to experience varying degrees of discrimination and disadvantage in the workplace. For government, this research aligns with other recent research and points out at least some gaps in formal rules and policies that can be addressed, such as considerations of women's caring responsibilities when encouraging further professional development for promotion purposes or increased dissemination efforts in relation to paternity leave and recruitment of people with disabilities at the district level. While there is some limited evidence that the visible and hidden powers that maintain inequality

in the Indonesian government workforce are being challenged, continued significant efforts are required to resist and disrupt existing norms, ways of living, and working if a truly equal workplace is to be achieved. Further evolution of the Gender at Work framework to include an intersectional lens may provide additional insight to support such aims.

Notes

1. MoPWH, Staffing/Personnel Bureau & Ortala, as of October 2018.
2. (1) Law Number 36 Year 2009 concerning Health (Article 128, 129);
(2) Government Regulation No 33/2012 concerning Exclusive Breastfeeding (Article 1, 30, and 34);
(3) Minister of Health Decree No. 450/MENKES/SK/VI/2004 concerning Exclusive Breastfeeding;
(4) Joint Regulation of the Minister of Women Empowerment, Minister of Manpower and Transmigration, and Minister of Health No. 48/MEN.PP/XII/2008, PER.27/MEN/XII/2008 and 1177/MENKES/PB/XII/2008 of 2008 concerning Improving Provision of Breast Milk during Working Hours at the Workplace (Article 2); and
(5) Minister of Health of Regulation Number 15 of 2013 concerning Procedures for Providing Special Facilities for Breastfeeding and/or Expressing Breast Milk.
3. (1) Government Regulation (PP) No 11/2017 concerning Management of Civil Servants Article 310, 325-327.
(2) State of Personnel Agency Regulation (Perka BKN) No 24/2017 dated 22 December 2017 concerning Procedures for Granting Civil Servants Leave, Letter D: Maternity Leave and Letter E: Leave for Important Reasons point 3.
4. Perka BKN No. 24/2017.
5. Relevant regulations which outline the code of ethics, code of conduct and disciplinary actions for civil servants in Indonesia include:
 - Law No 5 of 2014 concerning State Civil Apparatus
 - Government Regulation (PP) No 53 of 2010 concerning Discipline of Civil Servants
 - Regulation of the Head of the State Civil Service Agency (Badan Kepegawaian Negara/BKN) No 21 of 2010 concerning Provisions on the Implementation of Government Regulation No 53 of 2010 concerning Discipline of Civil Servants
 - Government Regulation (PP) No 42 of 2004 concerning Fostering Corps Soul and Code of Civil Servants.

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