

Women Workers of Cigarette Industry Among Domestic, Productive, and Public Role (Case Study in Malang Municipality, East Java Province)

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Abstract

In societies with a patriarchal culture in general, even though women housewives have a job that can sustain, and even become the main pillar of the household economy—which were commonly known as a productive role—still they were required to perform their domestic and reproductive roles. The aim of study is to describe the roles and responsibilities of women workers of cigarette industry with regard to the productive roles reproductive role, family decision-making role in their household, and their public role. The method of study is using qualitative approach with depth interview. Correspondents are women workers from several cigarette industries in Malang municipality which is taken purposively. Because the object is women, the analysis uses Harvard Method or Gender Framework Analysis. The result shows that there are two side on women role. The first side is they have production role which help them to support household economics. On the other side, they have strong role in domestic role, reproductive role, and family decision making role. In conclusion, the weak point of woman workers role is shown in public sector.

Keywords: domestic role, productive role, public role, reproductive role, women worker

Introduction

There is strong patriarchal culture happen in our society. Although housewives have carrier which can make money in order to help or even become decisive income in household's economy, they are still in charges as reproductive and domestic role. This phenomenon can be seen on women workers of cigarette industry in Malang Municipality and indirectly shows that women workers work fulltime every day. Therefore, there is no time for them to take care their children and husband which is believed as women responsibility based on patriarchal culture.

Women study on rural area commonly classified into two major role based on Salim (1995:20): (1) traditional role; and (2) transitional role. Traditional role, or domestic role, consists of women duty as wife, mother, and family manager. Transitional role consists of women duty as labor, community member, and part of national development. In traditional role, women acted to several roles: (1) accompany, serve, dedicate for their husband; (2) manage; prepare, and serve food and nutrition for family member's health; (3) educate their children; and (4) manage both of hygiene and comfort. Traditional role appears as society product which mean it depends on place, time, culture, and tradition where they life when female role is compared with male role (Sayogyo, 1987). Meanwhile on transition role, women as labor actively participate in economic activities in various activity accordance with their skills, education, and jobs that available to them. Then, women have role as society member and development agent which known as public role such as political party, non-governmental organization, family education program, village council's cooperation, integrated health service for child, Family Planning Community, Quran Recital Group, etc. (Asfar, 1996:5).

Unfortunately in several community, women often become subordinant and marginalized because they had to play triple roles. Based on Bornstein research cited by Suyanto and Hendrarso (1996:89) showed that women in poor family often suffered because triple struggles: (1) as underdeveloped citizen; (2) as resident of poor area; (3) as women who lifes among people dominated by men. Based on those phenomenons, this study has purpose to describes productive roles, domestic, reproductive, family decision making, and also public roles for women workers of cigarette industry in Malang Municipality.

Material and methods

Study was held using qualitative approach designed as case study using women prespective. Objects used were productive role, reproductive, family decision making, and also public role for women workers of cigarette industry in Malang Municipality. Correspondents were collected using purposive sampling from five cigarette companies which were consists of one big company and four small companies. HMS Corporation was taken as big company, while PRGL, PRSB, PRPM, and PRDW as small companies. The collected data then analyzed

using HARVARD method which commonly known as Gender Framework Analysis (GFA).

Result and Discussion

Correspondent used in this study was women workers from cigarette industries, HMS company as big company and PRGL, PRSB, PRPM, PRDW as small companies. Women workers from HMS were permanent employee with salary equal with City Minimum Wage in Malang Municipality and also got sufficient social insurance. Women workers from small companies were freelancer and paid using piece rate based on workload which far below from City Minimum Wage in Malang Municipality and also did not get social insurance. Respondents were 26 to 55 years old which all of them already married. Commonly, they have already worked for long time at least for 8 to 37 years. Wide age range happens because their job do not need specific skills and expertise. It is also caused by low workload which is possible to be done by women even with old ages. This phenomena is matching with Ratna Saptari investigation which have been cominacted in Monthly Discussion of Populaton and Policy Study Center, UGM (Viva.co.id, February 3, 2016, accessed at 18.04 pm) which said that high cigarette consumption in Indonesia which reach hundreds billion USD was able to support hundreds workers of cigarette industry in whole area in Indonesia. Cigarette industry is also business which accept low skilled labor which mostly women. Thus, there is no doubt when data shows most of women workers are only the graduates of elementary school. Based on interview with Darmik (55 years old with 37 years' work experience) at May 7th, 2016:

“I had worked in HMS company before I married. I'm comfortable working here besides lack the skills, the work here is not difficult for us. Moreover, we are mostly only graduated from elementary school”.

The experience and testimony from women workers from HMS company imply phenomena that they are already on comfort zone for working on big cigarette company with sufficient salary and social insurance. This fact makes their households life at peace and comfortable.

Contrary, some phenomenon happens on women workers on small cigarette companies. With freelancer status and paid with wage contract system based on performance, their life is far from comfort zone. This condition happens not only because insufficient salary and no social insurance, but also their status as freelancer and payment system make them uneasy and uncomfortable. Their status depends on company condition. As long as company still in stable condition, they can work. But, when company is unstable or even almost bankrupt, it will be disaster for them. If they are still employed, there will be the reduction on work time. The worst condition is work termination for them which force women workers become unemployment or searching another cigarette company. Based on interview with Ana (28 years old, 4 years' work experience in PR PM) described those condition:

“I have already worked at PR PM for 4 years. Before I worked at PR PM, I had had worked at the other cigarette company for 7 years until its bankrupt. As cigarette roller, I can make 2,500 until 3,000 cigarettes per day depend on my turn from the supervisor. By those result, I can make 10,000 rupiah for every 1000 cigarettes using piece rate. Base on it, my total wage 180,000 rupiah per week or 720,000 rupiah per month. Our work time is 11 hours starts at 05.00 AM until 04.00 PM with 30 minutes of reduction time for lunch and afternoon praying” (Interviewed at June 1, 2016).

Several informants from HMS company are permanent employee while the others from PR GL, PR SB, PR PM, and PR DW are freelancer. Even so, their wage systems are the same, the wages they receive are paid based on a weekly basis. The wages vary. For senior worker with 13 years of experience, they receive at least 450,000 rupiah for 7 hours daily work time with 50,000 rupiah as bonus if they have fully worked weekly. So they will bring 500,000 rupiah every Saturday. For one month, they will receive at least 2,000,000 rupiah which equal with city minimum wage of Malang (2,099,000 rupiah) based on Governor Policy of East Java No. 68 year 2015 for city / district minimum wage year 2016, date November 20th, 2015. In addition to the monthly wage of workers at PT HMS also get holiday allowance at least 2,000,000 rupiah and social insurance such as health insurance, work accident insurance, and retirement from Social Security Agency Employment.

Meanwhile, worker in four other companies such as PR GL, PR SB, PR PM and PR DW that only become freelancer only get piece rate and social security far below from worker at HMS Company. In PT GL, worker with 13 years of experience only get 30,000 rupiah per day with 7-hour work time. Woman worker namely Anik said:

”If I work fully 7 hours a day from morning until evening, I will only get 30,000 rupiah. If I work part time, I will get 10,000 rupiah only. So, if I work fully one month, I will only get 900,000 rupiah” (Interviewed at May 21, 2016).

Worker at PT SB have better piece rate than PT GL. With 8 years of work experience, they can get piece rate 1,200,000 rupiah per month with working time from 08.00 AM until 03.00 PM as testimonial from Indah:

“For 8 years of my working experience, I have got 1,200,000 rupiah per month” (interviewed at May 24, 2016).

Workers at small cigarette company are not only got lower piece rate from city minimum wage of Malang but

also get no social insurance for anything. For holiday allowance, they get depend on company condition. So, they not always get holiday allowance when Ied Mubarak comes. Contrary with it, worker from HMS company get sufficient fund for supporting their household based on their standard start from their early working experience.

Gender Framework Analysis were used in this study refers to the International Labour Organization SEAPAT (1998) to formulate, that gender roles includes three roles are often termed as triple role, where women are positioned on reproductive roles, productive, and activities of community management, while men mainly positioned on the productive role and political activities.

Productive Role of Women workers in Cigarette Industry

On this context, productive role is interpreted by making goods and services which can make some profit in market either in sell or barter. Specifically, productive role on this study is described and analyzed in several aspects: (1) husband's work at least last six months; (2) monthly salary ratio of informant and their husband; (3) salary role on family economic; and (4) availability of side job for informant.

The collected data related to husband's work at least last six months shows vary. Some husbands of HMS company women workers have permanent work, some become freelancer, while the other do not have work at all since their married. Because it's not a few of the workers at PT HMS which has become a pillar of the household because their husband had no job since they married. The activity of their husband is only to take their wife to and from work by using motorcycle which bought from wife's salary. Darmik, 55 years old women worker, admitted that her husband did not work and only she worked.

"Since our marriage, my husband had not worked. His activity is only to take me to and from work. In the past, we had gone with bicycle then using motorcycle. The rest of his activity is only stay at home, take care our children, and house work" (Interviewed at May 7th, 2016).

Marfuah, 50 years old women worker with 33 years of experience, said that her husband is freelancer.

"My husband job is not permanent; he is freelancer and depend on his friend to get a project. Sometimes he works with his friend for several weeks as construction laborer, sometimes become truck driver to transport agricultural goods to another city. So his salary cannot be predicted" (Interviewed at May 11th, 2016).

Phenomena faced by women workers of small cigarette company is interesting. They admit that their husband also works, some as permanent worker in company or private institution, some as freelancer even with strict salary. Based on this women worker's salary is very important to fulfill family need. Wiwik, women worker from PR SB, testimonies which can be a representative from their co-workers.

"I have a six years old child which go to kindergarten. Until now, my husband has work in private company which give almost the same monthly salary with me. With that, we still can ensure our child education in the future" (Interviewed at May 26th, 2016).

Sriatun, 31 years old women worker with 7 years' work experience in PT GL, said almost the same testimony with Wiwik.

"My husband is permanent worker on private company, even his monthly salary is not more than one million rupiah" (Interviewed at May 30th, 2016).

The collected information shows that the women workers do not have another side job outside cigarette industry. In order to fulfill family need, it is depending on salary from cigarette industry plus husband's salary. The reason for no side job is almost the same, it is because there is no time for that. Asmaul, 46 years old with 30 years' experience in HMS company, described:

"I and several co-workers have worked in HMS company for 30 years until now, because we don't have another skill. So honestly, we don't have a plan to make some business beside work at cigarette industry" (Interviewed at May 15th, 2016).

Khusnul, 48 years old which is also in PT HMS for 30 years, told more or less equal recognition with Asmaul:

"I go to work at 7 am and return home work till 4pm. I got home, I was tired though still managed to carry out homework. Because it is unthinkable to create time for trying to sideline. After leaving work, time was running out for housekeeping" (Interviewed at May 18th, 2016).

On discussion with Ratna Saptari in PSKK UGM (viva.co.id, February 3rd, 2016 at 06.04 PM), The most of women workers in cigarette industry become main source of income for their family. Based on the data obtained, as described above, it reinforces the findings of the study Ratna Saptari. In summary, the role of women's productive labor in cigarette in general can be stated as follows. Some informants mentioned that their husbands have a permanent job, some become freelancer, but some have no job at all even since they had married. This gives meaning, that are economically household income of informants working in the cigarette company is not simply as a support, even in the case of a husband who did not have jobs, income of informants become a pillar of the household economy. Unfortunately, although women work to meet the needs of his family is still considered a secondary earner. This is due to the perception that is inherent in a patriarchal society that women

are not the main earner in the family and women's labor income is considered as an additional income of husband (Indrayanti, 2003; Vermonte, 2016).

Domestic / Reproductive Role of Women workers in Cigarette Industry

Reproductive role is generally associated with a role for the sake of human survival. Reproductive role is almost always the responsibility of women and girls. However, it is often the role of this importance has not been seen as the work by people, especially by the male community. Included in the reproductive role is to perform household tasks that are required as a guarantee of maintenance and reproduction of labor. Besides it is also to maintain the next workforce. In this study reproductive roles described include: (1) who is taking care of children who are still children in terms of the purposes of hygiene, food, and clothing, as well as school affairs when the informant (mother) works; (2) who prepares the purpose of food / drink for the family when the informant (mother) works; (3) who takes care of the cleanliness and comfort of the residence; (4) who is most instrumental in the care and attention to nutrition and family health; (5) who was most instrumental in educating (giving advice, directions, and even scold) children; (6) the attitude of the informant on the willingness husband; (7) special spare time informant for preparing food and drink for a husband; (8) special informant spare time to organize and prepare the husband's clothes; (9) whether the informant was also taking care of her husband's needs, such as cigarettes or allowance.

Women workers role in the care of household

As a women worker of cigarette industry, the informant had to leave early in order to get to work on time. Therefore, if the informant had children who were still in school, especially those still in elementary school, they will be asked whether who take care their children in the morning including bathing, preparing breakfast, providing school supplies, etc. Based on interview and focused group discussion, all of them admitted that they are who prepared everything in the morning. Darmik, 55 years old women worker in HMS company, said:

“Back when kids are still in school, I had to wake up at dawn. I had to cook for both breakfast and lunch as well as preparing children for school. For dinner, I prepare after leaving work. Later, though my children are married, I actually replace the care of grandchildren who are in school in kindergarten and elementary school, because my son's family still gathered one home with me” (Interviewed at May 7th, 2016).

Similarly with Wiwik, 26 years old woman worker in SB PR, who have children aged 6 years and still attending kindergarten.

“I have to get up early to cook for a family breakfast and for the purposes of preparing my child for school. Then, I went to work once with accompanying the kids to school. Meanwhile, when my son came home from school, my husband picked them” (Interviewed at May 26th, 2016).

In terms of daily maintenance of cleanliness and comfort of the residence, the informant who already have grown children stated that they are responsible and do it occasionally assisted by children. Asmaul, who has one daughter who sat on vocational high school and one son who in junior high school, said:

“I was taking care of the cleanliness of the house every day. Only occasionally, the children help, if by chance were not a lot of school activities “ (Interviewed at May 15th, 2016).

For research informants who do not have adult children, the activity of the cleaning the house is done entirely on their own. Only occasionally assisted her husband. At least this can be seen from the statement Indah, age 25 years, workers in PR SB, who have children aged 4 years:

“To take care of the cleanliness and comfort of home, usually I do myself. Because the house given my parents were not too big. Only occasionally, when there is heavy items that should be removed or moved places, I asked for help from my husband” (Interviewed at May 24th, 2016).

Nutrition and health are the very basic needs and essential for all household members. Because it is in the family needs to be a figure who has a role in attention and care. When women workers were interviewed, almost all of them stated that they themselves were the most responsible in the role of nutrition and health for their family. They also have the same pattern, prepare breakfast and lunch in the morning, then prepare food for dinner after work in the evening. In this case, there are striking differences in answers between participants who are elderly with the young. Marfuah, age of 50 years who is currently living with her husband and a son who just graduated from vocational high school but have not worked, admitted:

“Although our income is limited, but I am trying to prepare family meals with attention to nutritional content. Because I think, in that way can automatically maintain the health of the family, and with a healthy family, it has succeeded in reducing family expenses. So it can be more efficient” (Interviewed at May 11th, 2016).

Anik, 32 years old women worker with 13 years of experience in PR GL, said almost the same with Marfuah:

“I frankly do not know much about nutrition. Moreover, our income is small. So our family meal is never excessive. there is an important menu: vegetable, side dish tofu, tempeh, crackers. Sometimes I

just bought fish or eggs. But the cooking time I tried a natural course, do not use spices were purchased so. That's according to my own healthy" (Interviewed at May 21th, 2016).

Education of children in the family is the domestic activity is very important and decisive for the formation of character and behavior. Therefore, parents have a very important role in children's education. As to the research informants were asked who among the family members who were most responsible for educating children, which in this case includes giving advice, guidance, even scolding when children do wrong, even if the majority of the informant's own answer, but there is also the husband replied. From the data obtained there is a tendency for informants whose husband does not work and freelancer, the children education become responsibility of woman, as stated by Darmik, 55 years old:

"Since the first child was a child until all children before adulthood, I always remind the children. My husband was never willing to take care of things like that" (Interviewed at May 7th, 2016).

Anik, 32 years old women worker who married with freelancer, even there was a little different statement with Darmik, said that:

"Actually it is difficult for me. Already day at work, at home taking care of home work, but also still have to take care of children. But how else, the husband gave them to me. Moreover, children are also more obedient to me than to my husband" (Interviewed at May 21th, 2016).

The opposite fact occurs among informants that her husband has a job and a steady income. With a variety of reasons for each, to educate children in family affairs is the responsibility of the husband. One example that can be mentioned here is happening in the family Siama, 51 years:

"The children that with me is too spoiled, but they hesitate with their father. So, their father has responsibility to guide and rebuked when children do things that are considered less praiseworthy" (Interviewed at May 13th, 2016).

The strong role of women workers in cigarette industry in the domestic roles such as found above reinforce the results of a survey of R & D Magazine "Compass" ahead of Mother's Day 2015, against 1,640 students high in 12 major cities, they placed the mother as an important figure in the lives of their mothers as a place to unburden heart, and looked at the mother as a hero (Vermonte, 2016).

Wife-Husband Relationship in Family

The other important aspect beside domestic/reproductive role is wife-husband relationship. The description of wife-husband relationship is described with the husband perception for carrier woman; wife perception for unemployed husband or insufficient salary compared with her; and also special caring from wife to husband.

As noted above, some of women worker's husband who worked at PT HMS does not have a job or are unemployed, and partly freelancers with income that is still far below the earnings informant. How the relationship of husband and wife that occurred in the household informant like this, can be drawn from the statement Darmik:

"I got married after three years of working at PT HMS. From the beginning I knew my husband was not working. For me it does not matter, and my parents did not debate it. During the wedding trip until now, our relationship is fine. From that I catch and feel, the husband does not feel inferior to me, and I also do not have the feeling that I am over him. For me, everything is so perfectly natural to walk righteously conjugal relationships in families other" (Interviewed at May 7th, 2016).

With such a relationship, when to women workers PT HMS held assertion regarding the attitude of the husband against the informant who worked, the answer informants tend to be uniform. According to their husbands not only to support their work, but may be even husbands expect them to continue to work for the sake of upholding the buffer pillars household economy. Asmaul, age 46, for example, by expressly stating:

"I was like a few other friends. I got married after four years of working on PT HMS. My fiance did not work until now. Yes, he might want dating me just because I've been working. So automatically he supported me to continue working, especially my husband until now was also not have a job" (Interviewed at May 15th, 2016).

The women workers who work on the other company which get lower salary than in HMS company but their husband work, the different is not far with previous testimony. Psychologically, there is no relation gap between them even with different salary, because they are comfortable each other and also feel equal. Testimony of Wiwik, women workers in PR SB, shows those phenomena.

"My husband and I both work, though my income is slightly greater than the husband. But I feel there is no problem with our relationship. We understand each other and complement each other. In a lot of decision-making in the household, I try to always talk with my husband, even after all the husband eventually will submit the final decision was up to me. Therefore, we have agreed together wherever possible to continue working" (Interviewed at May 26th, 2016).

In the section about the role of women in household decision making, the problems will be described with regard to how the informant's role and involvement in decision-making in the household. Description deemed very

necessary to remember the informants, as described above, they have domestic and reproductive roles are relatively large. Related to this role, almost all the women workers or less said the same answer. Even different location and time Aniek's and Siama's answer have the same substance as follows.

“Indeed, there are things that the husband tried not to care, for example, in decisions relating to children's school fees, home repairs, use the bonus money or my savings for essential purposes and emergencies. In such matters, my husband surrender completely the matter to me” (Siama, interviewed at May 13th, 2016, and Aniek, interviewed at May 21th, 2016)

Such data indicate that although women workers have strong productive roles, they still tried to carry out domestic roles should housewife general. In fact, the implementation of this role has no effect even if their husbands did not have a job. This phenomenon corroborates the findings of research Kusdiartini (2002: 123) on women's traditional traders in Semarang. Kusdiartini research findings indicate acceptance of women traders are predetermined as women. Women traders still do not want to stand out or to claim that his activities as a trader is the main (principal), rather than just support the activities of her husband, although it is possible that the income they earn far greater than what is gained by their husbands. It seems that this phenomenon can not be separated from the strong patriarchal culture that developed in the community (see also Hubeis, 1990:154-159). The study's findings also reinforce the opinion Goode (1983: 53) that the strength of the patriarchal culture it seemed stronger in the lower strata of society compared to the higher stratified society. Further than that, this phenomenon shows still continuing social violence in the form of domestication, where women are placed as responsible in the management of the household. They are still required to take care of the household and child care, although they also work for a living or run a productive role (Muthmainnah 2010; Prianto and Utaminingsih, 2003; see also, Indah Sari, 2004).

Public/Politics Role of Women Workers in Cigarette Industry

The public role or political role is basically a requirement of housewives, in this case the women workers cigarette industry, to actualize themselves in the lives of people in their environment, as well as citizens. The importance of this public role, according Vermonte (2016) is that the public space always provide all kinds of options for women who are active in it to work and rise in rank. In a broader sense this role is more directed at the socializing process of housewives. However, the data obtained in the field show that the public role of women workers in cigarette industry can be said to be low. Their involvement in the public sphere only limited presence in activities Family Welfare Education (PKK), neighborhood meeting, and follow the teaching activities. Recognition proposed Siama, female workers of HMS company can describe the phenomenon.

“I and other friends after work are already tired when I go home. That I still have to take care of the housework and preparing food for the afternoon and tomorrow morning. So it seems there is no time to engage in activities outside the home. The Family Welfare Education activities once a month. Recitation sometimes present. Unless there is a celebration at the lodge Singosari important study, we usually attend” (Interviewed at May 13th, 2016).

However, in general, what happens is, the level of the role of different, primarily due to the cultural and environmental conditions of women, where they had held a variety of solid choice based on the capabilities of personal itself. In the workplace, informants also have no public activity. Virtually, no labor organization activists who come from among the women of this labor. According Indah, woman worker from PR SB, who is active in labor organizations in place work is determined by management, they are generally taken from male workers. As she said:

“The participation of its representatives in labor organizations. Representatives to participate selected by management. Usually designated is the male worker who comes from the outside production” (Interviewed at May 24th, 2016).

This phenomenon shows, women are often unable to participate in the public sector when they do not have the support of the environment, including the work environment. In relation to women workers in cigarette industry, the company's management policy is crucial in marginalized women workers in playing the role of the public (see also, Tjandraningsih, 1999). Research Ratna Saptari (Viva.co.id, February 3rd, 2016 at 06.04 PM) also clarify the study's findings that the cigarette industries to employ more women than men, because men are more involved in the union and often strike work, so as to inhibit the production process.

Conclusion

That most women workers, in cigarette industry, which became participants of research is the backbone of the family. Though dominant in productive roles, however, the workers were also had the dominant domestic / reproductive role in the family. In general, they are also still appreciate and respect her husband, albeit against a husband who does not have a job. However, the de facto patriarchal culture is still deeply embedded in society, both among men and women themselves. As a result, even though women workers in cigarette industry have a strong productive roles, they have not gained public recognition as demanded framework for gender-GFA.

Besides women workers remain cigarette industries (required) in the domestic / reproductive role, productive roles, they are not matched by a similar public role.

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