

**International
Institute of
Social Studies**

Ezra

**Perspective and Practices on Gender Roles in Childcare
and Division of Household Labor from Indonesian
Families**

A Research Paper presented by:

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Indonesia

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Governance and Development Policy
(GDP)**

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The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2024

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List of Acronyms

ILO	International Labour Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I am grateful for Allah S.W.T for His countless blessings, strength and guidance, which is a blissful for me in completing this academic journey.

Furthermore, I would like to express my biggest gratitude to my supervisor, Karin Siegmann thank you for the insights, supervising and believing in me to the potential that I have throughout this thesis journey. To my second reader, Kaira Cañete, thank you for your appreciation, insightful feedback and enthusiasm in refining my research, it has been helpful for me.

Third, thank you Indonesia Endowment Fund for Education (LPDP), for the financial and trust in investing in me, which made it possible for me to pursue the study program.

Then, to my parents and family, whose love, prayers and constant motivation in supporting me, thank you for always being there for me.

A special acknowledgement for Zsabrina, who inspired me in brainstorming the law perspective. Your insights are helpful for me.

To all my friends wherever you are, thank you for all the supports, and the meaning of friendship. Your faith in me is strengthen me throughout this journey.

Last but not least, I acknowledge myself for the resilience, experiences that brought me into the growth and dedication.

Abstract

This study focuses on examining the dynamics of practices and perspective on Gender Roles in Childcare and Division of Labor among Indonesian Families. The study is important because it addressed the ongoing inequalities of gender orders in childcare and household duties, highlighting the potential of paternity leave in reshaping and challenging the gender roles. The main questions are how do generational, cultural and economic factors are influencing the society's attitudes towards shared responsibilities among Indonesia. The questions are addressed through qualitative interviews with Indonesian couple from various background of social and economic, ethnicity and generation in providing insights of how policy and social norms are interrelated in shaping family dynamics. The main findings of the study are younger couple tend to see paternity leave as a tool in shaping egalitarian values through shared responsibilities, however there is a limit to its impact, particularly among private sector workers. This research highlights the needs for inclusive policy to support equality within household and childcare.

Relevance to Development Studies

This topic relevant to Development Studies insofar as how it addresses policy such as paternity leave plays a big role in realizing gender equality, economic participation for women and family well-being. This study contribute to an understanding of how legislative framework can challenge gender order both in private and public sphere among the society. Through the lens of human capital theory and feminist economist theory, this study examines how policies can influence both economic and caregiving duties, affecting gender roles among Indonesian families. This study incorporating the challenges of socioeconomic and culture that influencing father and mother roles through gender theories. Hereby, the study underscores to achieve egalitarian family dynamic it requires not only policy reformations but also promoting an inclusive environment where both father and mother can share responsibilities.

Keywords

Paternity Leave, Gender, Division of Labor, Culture, Policy, Indonesia

Chapter 1. Introduction

Gender roles within the family structure in Indonesia have long been shaped by firmly established patriarchal norms and societal expectations, which have an impact on how domestic work and childcare responsibilities are allocated. According to the patriarchal model, fathers are traditionally seen as providers and decision-makers, while mothers have historically been given most caregiving responsibilities (Mulyani et al., 2020, P. 83-102). In addition to maintaining gender inequality, this conventional framework poses serious obstacles for working women who must balance their personal and professional responsibilities.

These gender inequalities in domestic work and childcare are worsened by the current policy that regulates exclusively for those who are formally employed. A big number of informally employed women and men citizens in Indonesia are marginalized, which accentuates disparities to access the paternity leave policy. With very few provisions for paternity leave, the Law on Manpower (*Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2003 tentang Ketenagakerjaan*) primarily addresses the rights of women to maternity leave, where women that are formally employed are granted three months of maternity leave. Besides, the law does not state specifically which lead to minimum support during the early period of childcare. Thus, fathers are frequently excluded from actively helping with childcare duties, which maintains gender disparities at home and at work. This regulation, too, exclusively grants benefit to formally employed citizens. Such significant population of informally employed people in Indonesia is marginalized, which accelerating disparities in access to paternity leave and support.

The consequences of not having enough paternity leave are severe; they affect moms' physical and emotional health and impede the growth of solid parent-child bonds (Coombs, 2024). The father involvement especially during early period is critical for children's social, emotional, and cognitive development, according to research (Schobinger et al., 2022 P. 07-09). Besides, it can improve father's emotional bond with the children and improve the parenting skills. Furthermore, having to take care of all childcare duties alone for mothers can cause stress, fatigue, and postpartum depression, which can have a negative impact on the health of the mother and the dynamics of the family (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2024).

Such initiatives to address gender disparities in childcare through the implementation of paternity leave policy have faced resistance. In the context of 2024 Indonesian presidential election, discussions around extending paternity leave highlight the ongoing influence of patriarchal culture in childcare (IDN Times & Hutasoit, 2024). Despite the first president candidate proposal to extend paternity leave to 40 days, various kind of society such as people arguments on the internet argued that paternity leave is not a priority, which reflects the persistence of patriarchal norms and attitudes toward caregiving responsibilities.

Thus, this paper engages bottom-up with the complexity surrounding Indonesia's implementation of paid paternity leave. The purpose of qualitative interviews with fathers and mothers is to clarify their perspectives and experiences regarding the distribution of childcare and household duties when the father takes paternity leave. Engaging in dialogue with both parents is essential in understanding the dynamic of shared responsibilities that they face. Through the combination of their personal experiences, this paper seeks the efficacy of current paternity leave policy in addressing the gender roles and promoting a more

equal and inclusive family dynamics, whereas it aims to provide information that may inspire policy recommendation to promote shared responsibilities and enhance gender equality in Indonesia.

1.1 Gender Inequality in Childcare and Domestic Duties

The social problem addressed in this paper revolves around persistent gender inequality within the Indonesian social fabric, particularly concerning childcare and domestic responsibilities. Heavily established patriarchal norms dictate that these responsibilities primarily fall on mothers, leading to a significant disparity in the division of household labor. Additionally, data from Prospera (2023) indicates a significant gender gap in time spent on paid employment and unpaid domestic work. On average, men spend 1.5 times more time than women on paid employment, while women spend almost three times more time than men on unpaid domestic work. Women, particularly mothers with young children, spend more time on supervisory care and work longer hours overall than men. Increased hours in unpaid domestic, care, and supervisory tasks all negatively affect the probability of participation in paid work, with supervisory care having the most substantial negative effect. The unequal distribution of unpaid work has significant repercussions for both men and women. An increase of one hour of unpaid work decreases the probability of employment by 3% for men and 4% for women, with supervisory care having the largest negative effect on women. For female respondents, each additional hour of supervisory care is associated with a 7% decrease in their probability of engaging in paid work. This starkly illustrates the critical need to address a more equitable distribution of domestic duties within households. This social issue perpetuates gender inequality by reinforcing traditional gender roles, where mothers are expected to prioritize caregiving over professional pursuits.

Furthermore, women's engagement in the workforce and other areas is significantly impacted by these expectations. According to the World Bank (2023), only 54.2% of women participate in the workforce compared to 84.7% of men. This disparity can be partly attributed to the lack of support structures for working mothers, forcing many to choose between childcare and careers. The absence of flexible parental leave regulations accelerating this issue, making it more difficult for mothers to balance personal and professional lives.

Meanwhile, a large percentage of Indonesia's workforce is employed in the informal sector, which does not offer parental leave benefits. As of 2018, 82% of women and 79% of men in Indonesia were employed in non-agricultural informal jobs (Bonnet et al., 2018, P. 15). This means that most workers do not have access to formal entitlements to parental leave. As demonstrated by the official and informal sectors' lack of support for paid parental leave, gender inequality is pervasive in Indonesia.

Moreover, men are also greatly impacted by the traditional gender division of labor, even though women bear a larger share of the cost of unpaid domestic labor. Fathers' involvement with family life and parenthood is limited by their constrained role in domestic chores and childcare. Study from United States of America, reveal that fathers who are actively involved in parenting report higher levels of emotional fulfilment and closer relationships with their children (Hewlett & Macfarlan, 2010, P. 418-425). Conversely, men who are unable to participate actively in childcare may feel disconnected from their children and miss out on the opportunities for emotional bonding that come with being an involved parent. This limited role can also impose stress on couples, as unequal family responsibilities generally result in conflicts and relationship dissatisfaction (Allen & Daly, 2007, P. 21).

Therefore, the social problem addressed in this paper encompasses not only the economic and professional disadvantages faced by women due to traditional gender roles but also the emotional and relational challenges experienced by men. To understand the most important socio-cultural elements that influence the division of labor in household and childcare responsibilities, this research aims to question the traditional patriarchal framework that prevents progress and offer perspectives for policy suggestions that can encourage more gender equality in households and the workforce. By addressing these issues, the study seeks to promote a more balanced approach to parenting and domestic responsibilities, ultimately contributing to greater gender equality in Indonesian society.

1.2 Research Problem:

It needs to be clarified how much paid paternity leave has contributed to cultural changes in how household chores and childcare are divided, even in Indonesia, where the policy was implemented. Previous studies had largely focused on the direct impact of paternity leave regulations on parents, which often ignoring a wider socio-cultural element that affect allocation of household labor (Haas & Hwang, 2008, P. 85-104; Del Carmen Huerta et al., 2013, P. 12). Furthermore, some research (O'Brien & Wall, 2017, P. 11-12) emphasize how paternity leave may challenge traditional gender roles. Therefore, conducting a critical analysis of the complex interactions between cultural dynamics and paternity leave policies that shape parental responsibilities in Indonesia is imperative.

Based on existents literature, significant gaps arise concerning the long-term impact of paternity leave on gender inequality in households. Although bargaining theories and economic models offer important insights into the dynamics of division labor (Becker, 1991, P.63; Lundberg & Pollack, 1996, P. 139-145), they typically put aside the social and cultural factors that influencing household duties (Hochschild & Machung, 1989, P. 197-198).

Therefore, the research problem for this study is to examine the complex relationship between paternity leave policy and Indonesian cultural norms regarding shared responsibilities. Although the current research recognizes the impact of patriarchal norms on gender roles in Indonesian citizens, fewer studies has specifically examined how paternity leave can act as a tool in promoting equal childcare responsibilities among household.

According to Rege & Solli (2010, P. 17-20), countries that have extensive paternity leave policy often implement a more equal distribution of childcare duties, where the father is involved more in childcare. However, in Indonesia, the discourse of paternity leave remains underexplored, especially regarding how the paternity leave policy intersects within cultural expectation. Such research has highlighted that significant emotional and relational burdens of excessive childcare duties on mother (Bernard-Bonnin et al., 2004, P. 575-583), although in the context of family dynamic in Indonesia, the potential impact of the participation of father through paternity leave has not been sufficiently address.

Previous research by Kustia Wulaningsih (2023, P. 01-04) has emphasized the role of father involvement in childcare from a masculinity perspective. Other studies have explored different aspects of paternity leave and the implications. For instance, Rahadian et al. (2020, P. 170-172) discuss paternity leave as a potential policy in improving child health, stressing the benefits of father's involvement on child's well-being. Wiryawan (2003) focused on the context of legal renewal in advocating equal policies in paternity leave in Indonesia. Shabrina and Indriati (2023, P. 276-283) examined the maternity and paternity leave policies in

Indonesia in which it aligns with international standard by United Nations Development Program (UNDP) that will support both father and mother. However, there remains a significant gap in understanding the roles of both fathers and mothers in the division of household labor. This study aims to fill this gap by focusing not only on paternal involvement but also on the collaborative dynamics between both parents in sharing domestic responsibilities.

Thus, by bridging this gap, the research aims to explore how paternity leave may address gender roles and enlighten the factors that shaping social shifts in parental expectations.

1.3 Overview of Legal Framework for Paternity Leave in Indonesia

There are big differences between the regulations in Indonesia regarding paternity leave for civil servants and private sector employees. In keeping with the effort of the government to promote gender equality within public institutions and wider society, civil servants have the right to take one month of paid paternity leave under National Civil Service Agency Regulation No. 24 of 2017. This law is designed to promote the involvement of father in household duties and recognizes the critical point of fathers in childcare especially in the golden age (Wiryawan, 2023, P.133).

In contrast, the Manpower Law No. 13 of 2003 only provide two days of paternity leave when a spouse gives birth or has a miscarriage. Its regulation is applied to employees who are working in private sector. This significant discrepancy illustrates the systemic barriers that are faced by private sectors employees in creating a balance between work and life responsibilities. The two days leave shows the dependence of the father on maternity leave, which is an indication of traditional gender role that distributing the most of childcare obligations are being done by women. The legal framework restricts the involvement of father in the childcare by accentuating the notion that childcare is primarily mother's responsibility and failing in providing a sufficient paternity leave quota for private sector employees. The gap between civil servants and private sector employees is deepened because the paternity leave only benefits civil servants while private sector workers are left with such minimal support. Thus, the regulations enhancing the structural inequalities that not only it brings disadvantages to private sector employees, but also disrupt the effort to strengthen the discourse of gender equality among Indonesian society.

1.4 Research Question:

How do Indonesian mothers and fathers divide their childcare responsibilities and housework? Moreover, what factors contribute to cultural shifts in childcare distribution in Indonesia?

Chapter 2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Theoretical Review

The division of labor within households is frequently examined through the prism of economic rationality in traditional economic models. According to these models, men and women in couples divide paid and unpaid work according to their respective earning potentials (Becker, 1991, P. 57). This perspective emphasized that higher average earnings of men lead to their rational choice of comparatively greater involvement in paid employment. Furthermore, it explained gender inequality in the labor market as the result of rational decision-making about household earnings, which in turn lead to an unequal allocation in the labor within the family.

Economic bargaining theory has improved the understanding of negotiation, indicating that individuals within couples' bargain over household duty is generally being viewed as less appealing (Lundberg & Pollak, 1996, P. 139). However, the bargaining happens within an unequal power, as explained by Sorensen & McLanahan (1987, P. 659-687), frequently leading to the less powerful partner where it is typically the woman who is doing more unpaid labor. The disparity in power dynamics is amplified by gender roles, resulting difficulties for men to be engaged in domestic duties without experiencing stigma or social ramifications.

Feminist researchers criticize the theory of an economically rational division of labor, suggesting that unpaid domestic work negatively impacts women's financial security and enhancing gender orders, which neoclassical theory mainly neglects (Hochschild & Machung, 1989, P. 38-44). Women who primarily serve as caregivers and housekeepers, especially those taking temporary leave from the workforce or working part-time, may struggle to advance in their careers and acquire new skills, which ultimately limiting their earning potential (Sullivan et al., 2021, P. 342-343). Consequently, unpaid labor within household both generates and sustains economic inequality.

2.2 Nuancing the Factors Influencing the Gender Division of Labor in Childcare

Empirical research further nuances the factors influencing the gender division of labour in childcare beyond economic incentives and the gender order. For instance, Sullivan (2019, P. 12) highlight the significance of higher education in shaping fathers' engagement in childcare and household duties. The authors compared fathers with young children in Southern European countries that promote traditional gender roles with their counterparts in other developed nations. They found that fathers' contributions are more positively impacted by higher education. The strongest relationship between education and increased paternal involvement was observed in countries with more traditional gender norms, indicating that education may significantly influence gender norms and fathers' participation in traditionally feminine roles. Study from Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2022, P. 45) in recent years, more young adults are going to university compared to before 2000 where only 6% of 25-34 years old had degree. Although, in 2021 this number had increased to 19% for both women and men. This progress highlighted that Indonesia has made a progress in educational access in enforcing gender equality.

Besides, in the context of Indonesia, a generational difference in gender roles and domestic labor division can be observed. It can partly be attributed to the country's historical and political context. Under the New Order (*Orde Baru*) regime, which lasted from 1966 to 1998, Indonesia experienced a period of authoritarian rule that reinforced traditional gender roles. Kathryn Robinson (2009, P. 92-110) has extensively documented how the New Order regime promoted a patriarchal gender order, emphasizing women's roles as mothers and homemakers while men were positioned as breadwinners and leaders. During this regime, the role of women as "*ibu rumah tangga*" (housewives) and "*ibu bangsa*" (mothers of nation), was strictly emphasized the expectation of women in taking care of the domestic duties over a career ambitions. Both men and women practiced these roles since they were at the early age, which of course shaping in how they brought these narratives over few generations.

Thus, this model of family structure reflects to an understanding that men's duties outside home is often seen more important than women's unpaid domestic labour (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, P. 833-834). Moreover, during New Order regime, the lack access of education and employment opportunities for women encouraged the dependence on male, which making it more difficult for women to fight these traditional gender roles (Suryakusuma, 1996, P. 92-95) The lack options and limited voice from women to empower themselves outside of marriage made them relied more on male and limited opportunities in fighting such dictated behaviour in society. The democratization period following the fall of the New Order has seen some shifts towards gender equality, though these changes are gradual and uneven (Wieringa, 2015, P. 32). The younger generation, growing up in a more democratic and open society, may hold more progressive views on gender roles compared to the older generation.

Furthermore, the legal framework in Indonesia is likely to set incentives and send normative signals regarding how parents view and practice their roles in childcare. As outlined above, legislation that is ruling civil servants and private sector employees emphasize the inequality of parental leave, which reflects broader gender-based disparities. Mothers receives a significant maternity leave, while fathers face such a limited option of leave. The existence of this disparity opportunity is hindering the effort of society to create a supportive family environment especially for family who are working in private sectors.

Sensitized by these conceptualizations and empirical findings, the purpose of this research is to explore the lived experiences and perspectives of fathers and mothers concerning the allocation of domestic duties and childcare obligations in the context of paternity leave in Indonesia. This study uses qualitative approaches to investigate the subtleties of gender dynamics in Indonesian families, attempting to understand the factors influencing household labor division outside the limited frameworks of economic rationality models.

Earnings and economic bargaining may play critical roles in determining the division of labor within households. Human capital theory suggests that the partner with higher earning potential may have more bargaining power, influencing how domestic tasks are allocated. Feminist sociology posits that critical awareness about gender norms, often operationalized through education, can challenge traditional roles. Through a social norm, it affects how domestic labor is divided.

Patriarchal values may persist despite changes in policy or education, requiring a nuanced understanding of these cultural dynamics. The introduction and reception of

paternity leave policies play a crucial role in challenging or reinforcing existing gender norms. The impact of historical and political contexts, such as the authoritarian New Order (*Orde Baru*) regime and the subsequent democratization period, on gender norms and domestic labor division is also critical. By comparing older and younger generations, the research seeks to understand how these different regimes have shaped current attitudes towards gender roles in Indonesia.

In the Indonesian context, studies show that established patriarchal cultural norms persist in influencing the gender roles of childcare. Furthermore, Wulaningsih (2023, P. 01-04) emphasized father involvement in childcare through the perspective of masculinity, which revealed society's expectation could restrict father in engaging with domestic duties. Another study from Rahmah (2020, P. 127), social construction often prevents fathers to be involved in household duties, reflecting that legislative reformation is inefficient without addressing the social stigma in promoting shared responsibilities. These indications show the importance of combination between socialization initiative and policy reformation to address gender roles in enhancing a gender equality.

In most communities in Indonesia, the division of household labour has always been traditionally gendered throughout centuries (O'Donnell et al., 2020, P. 72). Women have typically assumed carrying a bunch of domestic chores, while men have focused in being breadwinners including doing more paid jobs outside of the house. Yet, there is regional and historical variation in Indonesia's vast archipelago. For instance, Batakese community whom primarily residing in North Sumatra, particularly Medan, Samosir and Toba territories put a significant emphasized on male lineage and the authority, i.e Patrilineal where traditionally they articulate such male authority and the lineage through the male line. Generally, men are the "head" of the household and the source of the primary incomes, while women are expected to take care of the household duties and childcare. This framework has been such a "trend" where men are less involved in domestic duties, and women are the primary shoulder in the household labour (Loeb, 1933, P. 17-18).

On the other hand, Minang ethnicity usually live in West Sumatra, particularly Padang and Bukit Tinggi areas, adopt matrilineal system, where the lineage and the heritage are placed through the female line, which placed women in an honourable position as in centre of matriarchy (Zakia, 2011, P. 39). Moreover, women in Minang have such a special name as "*Bundo Kanduang*", where they play a role in determining the success of decisions that are made by men. This unique perspective created such an influence where Minang women are symbolized as *Limpapeh Rumah nan Gadang* (The Pillar of The House) (Yanti, 2014, P. 29). Thus, Minang has cultural norms that give women greater control within the family, especially when it comes to heritage. This position, possible lead to a more equal distribution regarding house chores (Blackwood, 2001, P. 132).

Moreover, similar to Jullimursyida et al., (2023, P. 31-37) findings from Indonesia, education reshapes gender roles. According to Simulja et al., (2014, P. 118-120), higher level education is more likely to adapt such an egalitarian perspective towards gender roles, which promotes a more equal division of domestic duties.

Building these theoretical framework and empirical studies, the purpose of this research is to investigate the lived experiences and perspectives of couples regarding the allocation of domestic duties and childcare responsibilities in the context of paternity leave in Indonesia. This research conducted qualitative methods to examine the peculiarity of gender dynamics within Indonesian families, aiming to comprehend the factors contributed division of household labor beyond traditional economic models.

Chapter 3. Method and Methodology

3.1 Qualitative research Design

This study explored the perception and experiences of Indonesian fathers and mothers regarding the division labour of household chores and childcare responsibilities, particularly within the context of paternity leave. A qualitative approach enabled it to capture complex perspectives that are embedded in the cultural and social (Creswell, 2009, P. 26-28). This interview specifically conducted through semi-structured interviews, and by online through zoom platform, which provided flexibility in reaching various participants across Indonesia and facilitated a more comfortable environment for participants in expressing their ideas and experiences.

3.2 Methods for Data Generation

The primary data collection method for this paper is semi-structured interviews. This is because this method is assumed to flexibly accommodate the participants' experiences and ensure the key topics related to the research questions are gathered.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted with 10 couples in which consisted of 4 couples from younger generations, 4 couples from older generations. The other 2 couples are from Batak and Minang. The interviews were held online to enable the participation of persons from multiple regions in Indonesia. The duration of each interview was between 45 minutes to 1 hour.

Couples might explore their experiences and opinion deeper when joint interviews are conducted. This approach created dynamic, as partners were responding to each other's responses, giving a more comprehensive perspectives on division of labour and childcare. It also gave reflection on how the decision-making processes regarding the shared responsibilities. However, it is important to notice the limitations that occurred such as one dominated the conversation, potentially which surpassing one's experience. Some bias also occurred where one's modified the responses, to look more acceptable especially when it came to sensitive topic.

Moreover, the interviews will be conducted in Bahasa Indonesia to ensure open communication and to encourage the participants can express themselves freely without language barriers. (Creswell, 2009, P. 125). Furthermore, all the interviews will be recorded with participants' consent, and transcribed verbatim. The transcripts are anonymized to protect the participants' privacy and confidentiality.

3.3 Research Participants

Table 1
Key Features of Research Participants

Couple ID	Age (Husband)	Age (Wife)	Location	Occupation (Husband)	Occupation (Wife)	Origin	Education (Husband)	Education (Wife)	Husband Took Paternity Leave
A	62	59	Malang, East Java	Lecturer	Housewife	Javanese	Master's Degree	High School	No
B	67	63	Surabaya, East Java	Lecturer (Civil servant and Apothecary)	Housewife and Bakery	Javanese and Sasaknese	Master's Degree	High School	No
C	26	28	Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara	Researcher	Housewife	Sasaknese	Doctoral	Master's Degree	Yes
D	32	33	Sumbawa, West Nusa Tenggara	Business owner	Housewife	Sumbawa	Bachelor's degree	Bachelor's degree	Yes
E	60	58	Medan, North Sumatra	Civil Servant	Civil Servant	Batak	Bachelor's degree	Bachelor's degree	No
F	33	30	Padang, West Sumatra	Private Sector employee	Housewife	Minang	Bachelor's degree	Bachelor's degree	Yes
G	30	29	Sibolga, North Sumatera	Business owner	Housewife	Mixed of Javanese and Batak	Bachelor's degree	Bachelor's degree	Yes
H	59	57	Medan, North Sumatera	Civil Servant	Civil Servant	Batak	Bachelor's degree	Bachelor's degree	No
I	35	33	Jakarta, DKI Jakarta	Private Sector employees	Housewife	Minang	Bachelor's degree	Bachelor's degree	Yes
J	38	36	Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara	Private Sector Employees	Lecturer in Private University	Kupang	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	No

3.4 Sampling Strategy

I employed a purposive sampling strategy in inviting participation in the research to provide rich, and relevant data on the topic. The sample included a diverse group of Indonesian couples with children from different age groups—male partners are formally employed both in public and private sectors, educational backgrounds and socio-economic statuses. This approach allowed the selection of participants who were most likely to provide valuable insights in answering the research questions (Patton, 1990, P. 169).

The criterion sampling in this research incorporated generation, ethnicity (Patton, 1990, P. 172) to enable wide representation of experiences. Based on Sullivan (2021, P. 334) comparative study towards the contribution of Father's involvement in childcare in developed and developing countries, I have conducted online interviews with couples from two different generations in Indonesia to understand whether and how political regimes influence the perspective towards gender roles particularly in division of household labour and childcare. Older generation couples represent groups that were socialised within more traditional settings. Members of this group were 45 years old and older and had experienced the circumstances under the New Order (*Orde Baru*) regime. In contrast, younger generation couples represented groups that have grown up under more democratic circumstances,

following the fall of the New Order (*Orde Baru*). The age of younger generation couples ranges from around 25 years to 35 years old.

Furthermore, to gauge the role of different gender orders, I have ensured the representation of couples from patrilineal and matrilineal ethnic groups in Indonesia. According to Loeb (1933, P. 16-17), the most prominent examples of patrilineal and matrilineal family organization in Indonesia are Batak and Minang. Comprehensively, Batak became Patrilineal and Minang is extensively became Matrilineal. Therefore, I interviewed both Batak and Minang couples potentially reflecting different gender divisions of household labour and childcare in their communities.

I invited participants through snowball sampling method to ensure trust and disclosure to share their experiences to me. Initially, I reached out to my colleagues and my friends' connections. This method helped me to reach wider range of participants across Indonesia.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis had involved manual coding of the interview transcripts. This approach allows me to be detailed-oriented in examining the respondents' responses. This coding process was followed by a deductive approach, in which relying on an existing framework focused on parental roles and responsibilities. The framework was informed by literature related on gender norms, domestic labour, and cultural influences on childcare practices. This will ensure the analysis remains aligned with the research objectives and the theoretical frameworks.

3.6 Research Ethics

The participants were informed about the purpose of the study within their involvement and consent. Moreover, the confidentiality of participants was strictly maintained through the whole research process in which all data were anonymized. The audio recordings were deleted after transcription and the anonymized transcripts were kept only for analysis purposes.

Chapter 4. Research Findings

4.1 The Division of Household Labor and Childcare

In this part, I analyse the division of household labour, and how it is influenced by culture, generational shifts, legal, educational and other factors.

4.1.1 Older Generation Couples: Persistence of Traditional Values

The older generation of couples in Indonesia, starting for those who are 45 years old and above, the traditional gender roles tend to be more likely to exist. The dedication to the “old values” of gender roles were examined in which these people were brought up, when patriarchal norms were leading the discourse, and social construction were strongly distressed over the gender roles between men and women, where men generally held the position as the breadwinner.

For example, couple A, 62 years old man and 59 years old woman from Malang, East Java, described their role in the family in the following way:

“As the primary support in the family in terms of economics, I see my responsibility is to provide for us and ensuring that my children succeed in their academic such as taking them to school and helping with homework. I think it is important for me to take on the role of guiding their education....” (Husband of Couple A, lecturer).

On the other hand, the wife emphasized her main role in supporting family regarding domestic responsibilities and childcare:

“To me, it is an honour to have a role in caring of my family. I managed everything at home from the household to childcare, I want to take care of them...” (Wife of Couple A, housewife).

The husband described the happiest moment for them with their children was when their kids obeyed what the parents said.

“By obeying us, in essence what the father wants, the children will succeed in what they want...” (Husband of Couple A, lecturer).

Based on this statement, this aligns in a larger scale where such authoritarian values in accordance with obedience, encouraging the views that children succeed depends on the guidance of the fathers. Such dynamic and perspective regarding traditional gender roles, where the higher power comes from male authority in essence the bread winners.

Furthermore, the family dynamic towards the father’s role in older generation is emphasized where they involved in children’s education. As in husband A’s interview, this is reflected in the perceptions and actual fathering of husband B:

“...If it's school, then I was the one who took them to the school. Likewise, when they came home, I picked them up. Then learn the same way. So based on learning, we instil in children the desire to learn. It's dad who's watching. If the children don't study, I always remind them, later if you study, you will become clever, intelligent. That will fulfil their dreams...” (The husband of Couple B, Husband is lecturer in Public University).

On the other hand, the wife emphasized her role in the family managing the household task but sometimes feeling a bit overwhelmed:

“I handle most of the household task and taking care of my children from the morning until they are sleeping, because that is my responsibility. In the morning, I wake up at 5 am, preparing the breakfast for my children and husband. Then the husband brings the children to the school as he is going to work. Then I am going to

the local market, preparing the lunch for them after school and work, cleaning the house, doing laundry and basically being a housewife. I know the role of my husband is supporting us financially, and in my family, it is typical to have this role..." (The wife of Couple B, housewife).

Based on these quotations, we can see the role of father among older couples highlighted a significant between public and private aspects. The father sees themselves as the one that are engaged in public part i.e. financial and education, whereas mothers are handling private domain such as domestic duties and childcare. The father's involvement in household chores and childcare is limited, meanwhile the household chores and day-to-day of childcare aspects are not mentioned as part of his responsibilities. Based on this context, the division of household chores and childcare are women's responsibility.

4.1.2. Shifts in Gender Roles Norms Among Younger Generation Couple

In this part, we will see the finding of the interview that shows the dynamics of division household labour and childcare duties among younger generation couples in Indonesia. For instance, during the interviews, several couples from the younger generation revealed the importance of shared duties in both childcare and household chores. Couple C, 26 years old husband and 28 years old wife from Lombok, provided a great example of generational shift in attitudes towards gender equality. Both individuals had the opportunity to pursue graduate degree in Oxford University, London, England, which would most likely expose them to different culture practices and perspective regarding handling household duties and childcare.

"But in marriage, we equalize our values. Like housework, we agree that it is not a gender job, not just for women. But it is a basic life skill. Pursuing degree in UK helped us to be more exposed within shared responsibilities... so, all men or women must be able to do it. I make sure I can help my wife whenever I can such as with cooking, cleaning, laundry and taking care of the baby. We are team in this house, so we will make sure no one burdened alone" (The husband of couple C, Researcher)

Another point by the wife of Couple C, where she described how she feels supported with the husband and believe that the key for harmonist is to create a balance to each other:

"I truly feel grateful for having a supportive husband. He helps me with a household task and taking care of the baby. I believe the key of having a harmonious relationship is to have a balance for each other. It is just not about me, or him or the baby. But it is about working together and be there for each other..." (Wife of Couple C, housewife).

This statement reflected that rather than framing domestic duties and childcare as a gendered role, couple C believes that housework is the responsible for both sides. They promoted that these skills are essential for everyone, despite of their gender. This way of thinking demonstrates a commitment in providing an equal role in both in domestic duties and childcare responsibilities.

Moreover, couple D from West Nusa Tenggara – husband is 32 years old working in private sector and housewife is 33 years old, emphasized generational shift from past generation and current generation has changed and more progressive in educating the children.

"In our marriage, we both share the responsibilities of raising our children and managing our household. I believe it is important to help each other, especially for our mental well-being. I take time to play with my kids, help with homework, cook dinner on the weekend, and help my wife with the house duties on the weekend or after work. This shared effort not only help each other but also strengthens our family bonding..." (Husband of Couple D, private sector employees).

Furthermore, the wife also emphasized how she feels supported and how it relates to her behaviour with the kids:

“I feel that my husband’s support for me in household and childcare really helps me a lot. When I am doing cooking, he is cleaning. When he is bathing the kids, I put clothes on. We try to make it organize so that we carry the responsibilities together.... I think it is also affected to the children... if the wife is burnt out with the responsibilities, it will be carried on to the kids like what usually we faced back then with our mom. So, I don’t want to put my emotion to the kids, not wanting to damage the child's inner child, because childhood memories will not be repeated so we as parents must provide beautiful memories...” (Wife of Couple D, housewife).

Her statement pointed out that the importance correlation between parent’s shared responsibilities to her mental well-being as a mother for the kids. Younger couples typically see the distribution of tasks as an equal responsibility for both of wife and husband rather than sticking to gendered roles. This development can be influenced by education (Sullivan, 2021, P. 346) as they are having more access to education which is generally leading to a more progressive manner when it comes to division of household labour and childcare. The wife explained if she had no support, it could lead her to burn out and can affect her attitude to the kids. Thus, by implementing shared responsibilities, it can reduce individual stress and create such a more harmonious dynamic within the parents and the kids.

In this regard, I see the evolution of how the parents nowadays are moving away from an authoritarian and violence style in parenting, to be more focus in being such a supportive parent in creating such a healthy environment for both parents and the children.

4.1.3. Cultural Influences between Patrilineal and Matrilineal Couples

Ethnically, both Batak ethnic group and Minang ethnic group contribute to such a unique perspective in terms of gender roles, responsibilities and heritage way. This system offers such a variance in shaping norms and values within their families among Indonesians.

The interviews within older Batak couples reflects that men have a minimal involvement when it comes to household duties. Even though both of husband and wife are working as civil servants, most time and efforts in doing household duties and childcare are done by the wife. For example, the husband revealed his role in the family:

“In my family, it has been such a tradition where the husband role is the primary earners such as helping financially, and the wife is taking care of the household duties... yes I do help my wife, usually with the kids when it is on the weekend by feeding them, bathing them and hangout with them” (Husband of Couple E, Civil Servant, Bataknese)

Furthermore, his 58 years old wife revealed that:

“...So, my role is to take care of them, starting from morning, waking them up for school, making breakfast, sending them off to school. Likewise with the role of their father, because he is the head of the family, earning money to support us. But sometimes he also helps, for example when he is on holiday, Saturday, Sunday are days off from work, so he also helps me, for example taking care of the children, giving them baths, feeding them...” (Wife of Couple E, Civil Servant, Bataknese).

The interesting part is where she mentioned that the husband helped with such domestic tasks should be a good thing. However, if we look thoroughly, it also revealed that the involvement of the husband for the household duties is only as a secondary help in which his contribution is limited, while they are both employed in a formal job.

This circumstances within Batak households, where such dual-income families still endorsing gender roles, shows how such cultural norms remain persistent in shaping the dynamic of household and childcare even though both have shared-economic responsibilities. In this case, there is such an overbalanced duties for women, who are fulfilling their obligations inside and outside home.

On the other hand, to gain more perspective, the interview between younger couple seems revealing interesting points between younger couple Bataknese and younger couple Minangnese. For example, couple F – 33 years old of husband and 30 years old of wife, Minang, mentioned that:

“...as Minangnese, women are seen as the key to the family, where men support their wives in other types of ways, for example helping at home when needed. When I am home, I usually feed the kid, bath her, and help my wife with cleaning...” (Husband of Couple F, Private Sector worker).

On the other hand, the wife emphasized her role in the family:

“I handle most of the household task as I am a staying at home mother, but my husband is always ready to help. Whether it is cooking, doing laundry, or taking care of our daughter. I really appreciate he shares the workload with me...” (Wife of Couple F, housewife)

In this case, the husband plays a role in domestic duties, where it shows the acknowledgment of shared responsibilities within the family.

However, there is an interesting point from couple G of younger Batak couple. Despite of their lineage where man hold the lineage of the family, women’s contribution will lead and guarantee all decisions made by men are going to be successful. For instance, couple G that are both from Batak, revealed that:

“...So, in terms of household roles, I think that nowadays, it is not mandatory for women to take turns taking care of children, because basically, we women also choose men who are willing to take turns doing housework, so in my opinion, the division of household chores must be divided, firstly, two people have children, it is impossible for only one to take care of them...” (Wife of Couple G, housewife).

Additionally, the husband of couple G also shared his participants in the household:

“We share the tasks depending on what we need. Usually, I take care of the laundry or repairs something at home. I do groceries in the weekend and maintaining of our yard. In the evening, I usually wash the dishes after dinner. Alongside with that, I bath my kid before bed. I do also play with her and help her with her school project.” (Husband of Couple G, Private Sector Employee).

From this quotation, we can see a more egalitarian dynamics are adopted by younger Batak couple. They emphasized a teamwork, showing how gender order is challenged through shared responsibilities. Major point here is there is generational shift from traditional gender order to a more egalitarian in division of labor and childcare.

4.1.4 Discussion

In this section, I tried to investigate the dynamics of household division labor and childcare among Indonesian couples. The interplay between couple regarding the allocation of household duties and childcare are various depending on the generational shift, ethnicity, educational backgrounds and norms. In Indonesia, the notions of gender roles have dictated women in domestic duties and childcare, as in men they have role as breadwinners. Typically, older generations, which in this context raised under the New Order (*Orde Baru*) often adopted patriarchy system, where men were working, and women were staying at home.

On the other side, based on the findings, younger generations are increasingly progressed in adopting such a more democratic approach, in viewing households' duties and childcare a media in building a cooperative environment both for wife and husband. Specifically, in younger Batak couple there has been a trend in practicing shared responsibility with both childcare and domestic duties. Furthermore, when it comes to younger Minang couple, there is an interesting twist within their experiences. Minang ethnicity that is adopting Matrilineal system does not directly emerging shared responsibilities. Minang women still bear the majority of household duties and childcare. In other words, even in Matrilineal society, domestic duties and childcare are primarily given to women. Although, women handle most of household work, this is not seen as women are the oppressed individuals, but rather as how women are supporting and making sure the family is in the right track to succeed. In the interview, the couple revealed that the husband also helping and being supportive in doing housework and taking care of the children, pointing out that Minang men are open in shared responsibilities.

Overall, from the interview, it reveals there is generational shift between older couple and younger couple of Batak and Minang ethnicity, towards division labor of household and childcare duties. This can correlate with the perspective on Sullivan et al., (2021, P. 346) that such an access to education and progressive gender norms are key factors in leading newer generation to have more egalitarian approaches in building family.

4.2. Perceptions of Paternity Leave among Indonesian Diversity

The term of Paternity Leave, which means leave that is granted for fathers after the child is born or adopted, has recently gained a significant attention particularly in Indonesia concerning the gender equality, the dynamics of the family and the terms of work-life balance. The idea of paternity leave is relatively "new" in Indonesia, and frequently has emerged a lot of public reactions that are shaped by norms, values particularly related with gender roles within the family and society (Wiryanan, P. 133).

In a society where gender roles are established, paternity leave can reshape and drive the narrative and challenge the gender inequality. In this section, I explored the perceptions of paternity leave among couples from two entirely different culture; Batak as in Patrilineal system and Minang as in Matrilineal system, two different generations to see the progress of paternity leave which consist of various educational background and economics.

4.2.1 Batak and Minang Ethnicity Perception Towards Paternity Leave and Emerging Awareness

The Batak Community has traditionally articulated male authority and lineage through the male line. In this context, the concept of paternity leave had not been widely encouraged, showing such local norms that do not compute men's involvement within childcare. However, a couple H from Batak ethnicity – 59 years old husband and 57 years old wife that is working as a civil servant, shared their perspective towards paternity leave when they were in New Order (*Orde Baru*) under Soeharto regime, when traditional gender roles were strictly promoted, this couple revealed their perspectives that:

"... Because it will give spirit to the spouse, that it is not only her who is responsible for the upbringing of this child later. So, there is a commitment. That the child is for both, not just one..." (Couple H, Civil Servant)

Which means that, there is such an awareness in taking care of children from both wife and husband, even though they grew up in such a conservative environment. There has been

already an awareness that emerged of the importance of shared responsibilities particularly towards childcare. In this part, we can see the potential of perspective shifting to be a more equal family circumstances, even when they come from a patriarchy environment.

On the other hand, as a community which adheres to Matrilineal system, it is always interesting to see their perspective towards gendered roles, especially when it comes to shared responsibilities regarding paternity leave. As in Minang tribe, while women have traditionally held significant social and economic power within the family structure. Nonetheless, the evolving family dynamics of such a progressive view on paternity leave are shown. The husband of couple I from Minang – 35 years old husband and 33 years old wife, stressed the importance of paternity leave in regard to postpartum depression:

“... Well, I really hope that fathers are given paternity leave, maybe it's possible... I'm afraid that if my wife is at home all day taking care of the child, taking care of the house, then she will get tired, causing baby blues... That's why we keep working together I tell my wife to take a break, and I will take care of the child even after working...” (Couple I, Private Sector Employee).

From this statement, we can see such an awareness within the Minang community of the need for shared parenting. The husband role in taking such an active partner in childcare highlighted a more egalitarian family within the Minang community. The advocacy that the husband gives in supporting the paternity leave ensured that there is a hope in Minang tribe where male involvement in childcare are emphasized.

Furthermore, the wife from the Couple I also revealed her awareness that women nowadays must choose husband wisely, who encourage a cooperative and equal household especially when it comes to childcare:

“...Especially like me, now my child is three months old, there must be a desire to work again. But if you meet a husband who can't be asked to take care of the household, then you'll be overwhelmed, everything will be neglected, the child will not be taken care of, later the work will be unclear, that's not good, right? So, women especially in this generation must be smart in choosing husband, whether this husband is good enough to work with...” (Couple I, Private Sector employee).

In this sense, she noted that without a supportive husband who can share the household responsibilities and childcare, it will be difficult to have a balance family. The statement implies that the unwillingness of husband that does not want to help in childcare will result such an overwhelming dynamic towards the wife and the professional responsibilities could be overlapped.

4.2.2 Cultural Shift among Generation towards the Perception and Practices of Childcare among Paternity Leave

As the generations has evolved, there has been a cultural shift in how paternity leave is perceived amid the society. Traditionally, in many cultures, including in Indonesia, there is a distinction of the role between husband and wife, where the majority of childcare are burdened in the wife shoulder whether she is a housewife or as a working mom. However, with the evolution of cultural norms, the awareness towards paternity leave as emerging.

Generally, in younger generations, they are increasingly advocating for a more balanced parenting role. Although, the current generation is practicing a more egalitarian family dynamics, the struggle is not without the traditional norms' resilience. As Wieringa (2015, p. 28) highlighted, there is a cultural pushback against the ideal of gender ideology, where in conservative society particularly in Islamic society context, the society romanticizes gender order as an element to keep a harmonious family. Similarly, as White et al., (2024, p. 396)

argued that women movement has been seen as a “crisis” to social order, and that patriarchal norms have been systematically maintained since the era of *Reformasi*. Thus, even though younger generations in Indonesia may adopt a more egalitarian perspective, they are encountering a complex atmosphere where traditional norms are still striving in maintaining patriarchal family structure, which impedes the generational shift towards gender equality.

Study from Petts et al., (2019, P. 173) shown that younger generations fathers are more involved in childcare and more supportive in endorsing paternity leave compared to older generations. They believe that paternity leave is a crucial step in achieving a gender equality and in improving the family well-being. For instance, couple J from East part of Indonesia – 38 years old husband and 36 years old wife, dual-income family, shared their perspective towards the urgency of paternity leave:

“Paternity leave is not just about being physically present. It is about sharing the emotional burden with my wife. If no one accompanies us emotionally; we will be tired, then the stress will be passed on to the child. Taking turns to take care of the baby helps from burn out...” (Husband of couple J, private sector employees)

“... especially when I had just given birth, I needed emotional support. Paternity leave gave us opportunities to experience early parenthood, it is not only for the baby, but also for our emotional being” (Wife of Couple J, lecturer in private university).

From this statement, we can see how contemporary perceptions on paternity leave are increased and there is spirit in recognizing the emotional and practical support system that father can accommodate for both spouse and children within the family.

Furthermore, another perspective from the husband of couple C – Husband is 26 years old, and wife is 28 years old, shared how environment within growing up plays a vital role in shaping the discourse of equality within childcare:

“... Since I was little, I was also educated by parents who were probably very open to that. So, since I was little, I was never told that this (childcare) was gender-based... with paternity leave, it allows us to share this responsibility together” (Husband of Couple C, Researcher).

Specifically, Wulaningsih (2023, P. 24) emphasized the role of father can be a role model within the family which integrate how they were nurtured in a more egalitarian environment. In this case, the role of parents as role models influences the current practices that the husband of couple C adopted.

“It is about equality especially during first crucial weeks, paternity leave gave us opportunity to work together...” (Wife of Couple C, Housewife)

From this statement, we can define that he has been exposed to the idea of household chores including childcare should not be restricted by gender roles. The wife emphasized how paternity leave has helped them develop as parents together, showing how paternity leave can encourage a collaborative household.

On the other hand, the couple from older generation (husband is 60 years old and wife is 58 years old) also shared their perspective towards paternity leave, where the husband and wife are working as civil servants under Soeharto regime. They mentioned that:

“...back then, there were no specific leave such as paternity leave like right now. Even if I wanted to help my wife, I needed to take my annual leave. It was hard to have work and life balance back then...” (Husband of Couple E, civil servants)

“Paternity leave after giving birth for husbands had not been discussed. But I read that in 2024, regulations will be renewed. In my opinion, giving leave after a couple gives birth is actually very good for the matter of

support. However, it has only recently been discussed in the legislature... and I am happy to see this changing for the next generations” – (Wife of Couple E, civil servants)

Moreover, another statement from older generations; couple B also explained that it was not possible to take as there were still no regulations regarding taking paternity leave:

“My husband basically never takes leave. Fortunately, because we are civil servants, we take leave after a year, which is 12 working days. Usually, our leave is the most, for example, for Eid. Then maybe there is work that needs to be done and it requires serious handling, then we take leave.” (Wife of Couple B, civil servant).

“It was not an ideal situation back then because we didn’t have any. I wish we had those options back then so that my wife did not doing house and childcare alone...” (Husband of Couple B, civil servant).

This statement confides that such limited options towards leave, were being the major cause of the low involvement of father in childcare. The husbands’ inability to take leave reflects how the leave system in Indonesia was mostly for the major holidays which created less flexibility in order to take such paternity leave. This restriction over the regulations is enforced the traditional gender roles, where even childcare – where it is made by both father and mother, were dominantly managed by women, despite of the profession.

4.2.3. Discussion

These findings show that even though paternity leave is considered as a focal point, the experiences and the perceptions of every couple are various depending on each circumstance and historical context. Typically, younger couples like couple J and C seeing paternity leave as a solution to achieve balanced family life, equally with partners. However, for older couples like E and B, the lack of paternity leave back then created issues, resulting the domination of responsibilities in terms of childcare goes to wife, which limited the husband involvement. In this case, we can notice the progressive landscape among society that are gradually moving towards a more equal family dynamics, particularly in childcare.

This comparison emphasized how paternity leave can have potential in addressing traditional gender roles in childcare. However, the influence of the movement depends not only by generations and cultural differences but also on individual circumstances and work policies.

4.3 Challenges and Barriers

There are several societal key factors that present substantial barriers in adopting the paternity leave and the realization of a more equal division of household labour and childcare particularly in Indonesia. These challenges have been ingrained in cultural norms that have assigned different “responsibilities” and shaped gender roles between men and women, whereas men as primary income earners and women as the caregivers. This cultural mindset encouraged the notion that women were born to take care the household needs and children, which makes it challenging to implement paternity leave in realizing such a more equal environment for women within the household.

Furthermore, financial responsibilities contribute to harden the possibility of fathers to take paternity leave, especially when the workplace is not facilitating the leave which lead them to have unpaid leave. Structural inequalities within the bureaucracy in legislative assembly and regulatory system also shows the inefficiency of the existing paternity leave which is poorly embodied where there is inequality towards public and private sectors

workers (World Policy Analysis Center, 2023, P. 23). Moreover, the social perceptions and stereotype of certain roles for fathers also contribute in which there is a weak enforcement for husband involvement in taking paternity leave. In the other hand, internal beliefs and the social stigma among society also discouraged father in bearing responsibilities of household and childcare. These key factors are intertwined in creating such an unsupportive environment and barriers to achieve a progressive dynamic towards gender equality in division of household labour and the involvement of fathers in childcare by taking paternity leave. In this section, I will discuss the challenges and barriers in taking paternity leave.

4.3.1. Cultural Challenges: Gender Boundaries

Cultural norms in Indonesia have a significant impact in shaping such manner and behaviour towards domestic chores and paternity leave. The society opinions, religion aspects, and historical contexts play a big role in seizing the general perspective of gender roles. Islam, as the largest religion in Indonesia, and other traditional norms that prioritize male authority and female domestic society have a vital impact onto the patriarchy influence within the society. Such stigma that are promoted often put men in a position as the primary decision-makers, while women have a more subordinate roles within the household. Robinson (2009, P. 93) emphasized these strong patriarchy values that “dictate” men and women over their roles within the Indonesian society.

These structural beliefs construct such a pivotal barrier in accepting progressive view in achieving equality for women among the household. For instance, the wife of couple A reflected on how religious view enforced the gender norms:

“...In Islam it is also said, mother three times, then father once. So even though our mother is three times, but above the mother who is three times there is still a father who must be respected.... that is providing for the family and wife caring for the house and the kids...” (Wife of Couple A, Housewife)

“I wanted to help my wife, but I know my priority is to provide my family...” (Husband of Couple A, Lecturer)

This statement emphasized the dominant cultural and religious discourse that uphold traditional gender roles, which place father in holding a prominent authority and mother hold the household chores and caregiving. As highlighted by Wieringa (2015, P. 41), the idea of these harmonious respective values towards husband is not built mutually and equally, but it is based on the oppression of women and in this context is the wife who is bearing childcare duties. These situations strengthen the generational values that restricts men participating in domestic responsibilities and caregiving, making it harder in challenging these attitudes towards a more equitable household and the wider acceptance of paternity leave.

Another example is from couple J shared their experience in challenging the traditional gender roles among their families. The wife explained that:

“...my husband asked me to wash the dishes or change the child's diapers, but my parents said that it was wrong for my husband to do it, so I also had to explain to my parents that housework and taking care of children should be done by both of us...” (Wife of Couple J, private sector employees)

“I feel pressured with how my family should think about my role as a husband but at the same time, I also helped my wife sometimes...” (Husband of Couple J, private sector employees)

From this statement, we can see the resistance from the older generation to change generational perspective over the shared domestic responsibilities. She highlighted there is such a barrier in practicing a contemporary gender role within the family dynamics, and that

there is a need in consistently communicating the narratives of gender roles among the family in realizing the involvement of her husband in sharing responsibilities at home.

4.3.2 Financial Barriers and Job Insecurity

In order to achieve a more equal household chores responsibilities and childcare between men and women, it is significantly constrained by financial barriers and employment insecurity. The pressure between economic aspects and unsupportive environment are greatly influenced these barriers in achieving a harmonious equitable gender role.

First, a lot of families in Indonesia are depending on dual income to cover their expenses, which lead both husband and wife working full-time. Even when women significantly participate in earning the income, they frequently handle such an excessive amount of time in doing household chores and taking care of children. For instance, the wife of couple J where she is working as a lecturer in private university revealed that:

“As mother, I take care of my children, from clothes to cooking... for my husband, usually he accompanies his children to play” (Wife of Couple J, Lecturer in Private University)

From this statement, we can see there is disproportionate responsibility even when it comes from dual-income family. This partly due to persistent conservative views that often marginalize women and put such an unbearable duty.

Secondly, challenging this issue is made even more complex by employment insecurity. For instance, couple J that both wife and husband is working in private sector, face the economic and employment challenges in taking paternity leave:

“...there is not in-contract regulation regarding paternity leave in his workplace, so I am the only one who can take leave because I have maternity leave, my husband cannot. But sometimes we have to take care of the children; nor I am a mother of two, it is indeed difficult, especially when I have to deal with both children and my husband works all day...” (wife of Couple J, Private Sector employees).

From this statement, it reflects that financial and employment-related pressures may have on establishing a more equal allocation of household chores and childcare, underlining the necessity for structural reformation in promoting shared responsibilities in household. Even in formal sector, men are worried to take paternity leave as it may cause such an impact towards their job stability. Due to this concern, many people choose not to take the advantage of paternity leave, which lead to the normalization of men as breadwinners and women should bear the household and children’s duties despite of her financial contributions within the family.

4.3.3 Social Pressure and Structural Inadequacies

The general perceptions which include the attitudes and norms around gender roles and family structures significantly impact the allocation of household chores and the implementation of paternity leave in Indonesia. In many communities in Indonesia, there is still existing a negative perception with men who are engaged in household duties or for the father who is taking a paternity leave. This could happen as they are seen as “different” from the general social norms as a main earner. The existence of this unfavourable views prevents men from actively involving in domestic duties and taking the paternity leave, which lead them “forcedly” endorsing the traditional gender roles. For example, Couple I expressed their feelings of how they were afraid of being judged, the husband of couple I mentioned:

“Well, because there were some unexpected situations within my wife conditions, I asked for an extension (paternity leave), and they allowed. But if I wanted to continue my leave, I am afraid the colleagues would assume that I was on a holiday all the time...” (Husband of Couple I, private sector employees)

“The judgement made him hesitant to take more days off...” (Wife of Couple I, housewife)

From this statement, there is such an indication of the existing of stigma that is underlying in both the workplace and society, where the idea of paternity leave is not fully accepted, but rather interpreted as a pointless facility. The concern of being seen as “in a holiday” rather than being a supportive father figure.

Moreover, Indonesia faces serious difficulties in obtaining egalitarian household labor distribution and enforcing the implementation of paternity leave due to structural deficiency. Both governmental regulations and the employment practices promoting the deficiency, which do not effectively support or facilitating a more balanced shared responsibilities within the household. Such a significant number of enterprises in Indonesia are lack in facilitating paternity leave, even when the regulations towards paternity leave exist. For example, the husband of couple J, mentioned that:

“...Because I do not know, maybe I lack information... it depends on the institution, because it seems like many people do not know about this leave (Paternity Leave). I think it goes back to whether they (the institution) want to socialize it...” (Husband of couple J, private sector employee)

The statement above reflects that many employees are not aware of the existence of paternity leave, or they are not informed in accessing the paternity leave. This concern is happening, since the culture of their workplace mostly emphasize such high commitment, which might put the employees in a situation where taking paternity leave is not necessary. Such companies might have paternity leave policies; however, it is not actively promoted among the employees. To this extent, men can be reluctant to use the paternity leave because of afraid in taking risk of negative outcomes, from the company. Such situation can lead them to be afraid to be seen as “less dedicated” to the job, or concern that taking leave to take care of the children could negatively affect their opportunity to get promoted and salary.

Furthermore, another statement from couple D highlights there is disparities or gap in paternity leave regulations between civil servants and private sectors employees in Indonesia:

“...for paternity leave, it only applies to civil servants. In private sectors employees, not all husbands can take leave...the presence of a father would greatly help the recovery process for both mother and children...” (wife of couple D, housewife)

“I wish I could take it, but it’s not available in my company. It makes it hard to balance family life and work” (Husband of Couple D, private sector employees)

The wife analyzes that paternity leave is mostly accessible for civil servants, that not all husbands that are working in private sectors have the same facility. In other words, not all husbands can provide such assistance for their wives in taking care of the children after the wives give birth. She believes that paternity leave should be accessible for all sectors.

4.3.4 Discussion

Conversely, Indonesia is still facing significant barriers in the implementation of paternity leave and the shared responsibilities within household and childcare. The resilience of the traditional gender norms and social construction contributes to prevent men from shared responsibilities and participating in paternity leave, due to the general stigma of men as the main earners and those household duties and childcare are meant for women. The

existence of this stigma is showed by the experience from couple I, where they fear of being judged if the husband takes leave.

Furthermore, the lack of socialization of the institution in promoting paternity leave, contribute to hindering the fathers in involving in childcare. It is said by the statement from couple D and couple J, highlights the imbalance between civil servants and private sectors, where the paternity leave is more accessible for the civil servants. These combination between social expectations and structural barriers display the needs of inclusive regulations and cultural modification in supporting the discourse of egalitarian family dynamics in the involvement of the fathers in childcare, particularly in Indonesia.

Chapter 5. Factors Influencing the Perspective and Practices of Household and Childcare Responsibilities

In this chapter, I analysed the perceptions of Indonesian parents regarding paternity leave and its impact on gender roles within the household. This analysis explains the impact of paternity leave on the division of domestic chores and childcare responsibilities, with a focus on the cultural and generational shift that are occurring in Indonesia, based on qualitative interviews with both husband and wife.

5.1 The Persistence of Patriarchal Norms

The social problem that this paper focuses is the strongly embedded gender inequality in Indonesia, specifically in the division of household labor and childcare responsibilities. Patriarchal norms allocate these responsibilities largely to women, which results such a major inequality that that impacting the participation of women in the labor market and their well-being (World Bank, 2023). Despite the implementation of paternity leave, these patriarchy cultures are mainly embedded among older generations which can have a big influence. These traditional values encouraged such patriarchal household, whereas men are generally viewed as providers and the one with power, while women are taking care of the household and children (Ashraf & Jepsen, 2024, P. 28).

Based on the findings in chapter 4, the wife is typically responsible for taking care both household chores and childcare duties even when both of husband and wife are working. For example, couple E in 4.2.2 – two Bataknese and working as civil servants revealed that, even though the husband sometimes helps within the household duties including childcare, the wife takes care the majority of the household chores and childcare. The wife described her role in doing daily tasks such as waking up the children in the morning, preparing breakfast and getting ready for school. These findings show the strongly embedded patriarchy mode of division of labor, where women still carry the majority of unpaid jobs at home, even in dual income household.

Thus, it shows there is a contradictory within the economic rationality theory by Becker (1991, P. 57), which argues typically paid and unpaid labor are divided based on the potential income of each partner. In the context of civil servant couples, both partners may earn similar salaries, yet the persistence of unequal division of labor shows that cultural norms are leading this narrative, rather than economic rationality theory. These circumstances support the critique from feminist scholars (Hochschild & Machung, 1989, P. 51-57) who argued the development career of women and financial security are greatly affected by unequal allocation of unpaid jobs.

The interviews with couples from older generations showed the traditional gender roles are still leading the family dynamic, for example couple E. The wife of couple E said that: *“I manage the majority of household duties and childcare... it is indeed my responsibility.”*. Based on the comprehension of the wife of couple E, it is aligned with Marcus & Somji (2024, P. 17-19) that, even when the women are actively participate in labor market, societal norms tend to ask women to take care of childcare responsibilities. This emphasizes the persistent norms that women should take care of others, which encourage gender roles in the allocation tasks.

Additionally, the resilience of these gender roles can be linked to the New Order (*Orde Baru*) regime, which back then actively promoted a gender ideology that encouraged the patriarchy norms, with such policies that enforced women’s roles as mothers and housewives

while the role of men is being the main earners and head of the family (Hapsari et al., 2020, P. 486-487). This historical background helps in explaining why the concept of paternity leave policies, where it is designed to motivate father in involving within childcare, were hardly accepted within the society. Based on the qualitative interviews in chapter 4, we can see how the older generations found taking leave for childcare as a strange concept back then. In another case, father contributed to engaging the children within their self-disciplined especially in education, as revealed by husband of couple A and husband of couple B section 4.1.1. However, when it comes to day-to-day childcare responsibilities, it goes to the mother, whereas the father did not involve with. This case revealed how the family dynamics back then has stronger gender roles influence.

In this case, with the strong patriarchal values, it can be said that just because they have such opportunities to take leave, does not mean it will automatically motivate the fathers to take the leave. It can be challenging especially in areas where patriarchal values have been structurally grown. This situation needs to be actively encouraged those childcare responsibilities is not only mother's duties. According to Ashraf & Jepsen (2024, P. 28), in such strong patriarchal community, endorsing such policy such as the paternity leave could be challenging in order to result such a significant impact in a broader scope. Moreover, the imbalance distribution of household duties is not only creating inequalities in gender roles but also has significant economic side effect. As indicated in World Bank (2023), the female participation in labor market is only 53.3%, which is drastically different by men participation which is 81.9%. In this case, we can see how inadequate support such as paternity leave for working mothers can bring a significant impact in resulting low chance of mothers to be actively participated in the economic growth. As stated by International Labor Organization (ILO) of Equal Opportunities and Equal Treatment for Men and Women Workers Convention 183 (2012, P. 39-45) , even if paternity leave policy exists, but if it is without the enforcement to the people to change their perspective within the shared responsibilities. Therefore, it is mandatory to improve the progressiveness of general perceptions towards shared responsibilities, so that the society are aware with the role of paternity leave.

5.1. Shifting Paradigm Among Younger Generations towards Gender Equality

The shifting paradigm among the younger generations in Indonesia is such a notable trend in pursuing the gender equality, particularly in household duties and childcare responsibilities. In contrast with the older generations, who are generally endorsing the domestic duties onto women's shoulder, younger generations in Indonesia are in path where they realize it is time to challenge such gender roles. This progress is highly influenced by the increasing access to education (OECD, 2022, P. 45) the exposure to global perspectives to gender equality and the improvement of general perspectives towards shared responsibilities as revealed by couple C in section 4.1.2. Conversely, education is such a powerful tool in challenging the social construction in creating such an egalitarian family dynamic, particularly in household duties (Sullivan, 2021, P. 346). This is revealed by the younger generations' participants, particularly those who have pursued their education within diverse environment, specifically in international communities. The idea of shared responsibilities in household and how they interact with a broad community and culture where it is more gender friendly, resulted them (younger generations), re-evaluating a contemporary discourse. The interviews revealed that household duties and childcare are not limited by the gender role, but it is supposed to be both sides' responsibilities. This shows how progressive the younger generations in absorbing such culture and that could help them creating a healthier and supportive family.

A study from Bianchi and Milkie (2010, P. 705-708), as these younger generations become dominant within the demographic, there is a high possibility for a broader cultural

shift towards more gender-friendly household. This could significantly decrease the gender disparities that has been long existed within the society. This is crucial point, given the fact that such significant gender gap within the workforce participation, which caused by the lack of shared domestic responsibilities where it limits the chance of women to engage in paid labor (World Bank, 2023).

Additionally, the generational shifts implied that, within the time evolution, Indonesia can move forward into a more egalitarian society, where both men and women are appreciated within the same responsibilities within household and domestic duties. This potential movement underlines that how education can be a powerful tool in shaping discourse towards an equal responsibility between husband and wife in the future generations.

5.1.3 The Division of Childcare Responsibilities and Shifting Culture in Indonesia

The division of childcare tasks between father and mother are explained in this section, including with the factors that contributed to the dynamics. This research aims to provide insights on how gender roles are shifting in Indonesian families.

Contemporary Division of Childcare Responsibilities

The allocation of tasks is much more difficult by the influence of cultural background. Men are commonly viewed as breadwinners and women as the caregiver in patrilineal societies, such as Batak tribe, where they emphasized the male authority, following the traditional gender roles. This dynamic is supported by Sorensen and McLanahan (1987, P. 659-662), emphasized that power imbalances in relationship frequently lead to the weaker partner, meaning mostly women, which doing more unpaid labor. The interviews show how these cultural systems highlight the role of women by limiting their capacities for a more egalitarian domestic arrangement.

On the other hand, younger couples like C and D IN 4.1.2, showed a more egalitarian family dynamics particularly in childcare tasks. Their experiences represented the shifting dynamics of gender roles in Indonesia and highlighted an evolution in social construction towards household and childcare duties. For example, by the wife of couple C: *“Housework is not a gender job, but it is a life skill... so all women and men must be able to do it”*. This shows there is an acknowledgement among younger couples in the practice of shared responsibilities. This shows how education influence in re-shaping contemporary norms, as emphasized by Sullivan (2021, P. 346), in adopting egalitarian family perspective.

Factors Influence the Cultural Shifts in Childcare and Household Tasks

The traditional gender norms in Indonesia are being re-constructed among younger generations by several factors. One of the biggest influences is education. I found that there is a strong connection between higher education level and family that is adopting egalitarian perspective. In chapter 4, younger couples promoted strong commitment and perspectives in implementing shared responsibilities, despite of the cultural background that emerged around them. This finding correlates with Simulja et al. (2014, P. 119), which emphasized the role of education in promoting an equal gender role. This education weapon enables people to address traditional gender roles and promote shared responsibilities within the family. In this case, studying where it holds a completely mindset would allow this couple to experience or even managing such a more egalitarian atmosphere within their marriage.

Moreover, the historical and political context played a major influence on this “transformation”. The legacy of New Order (*Orde Baru*), which demonstrated gender roles,

seem persist in shaping the contemporary dynamics. However, such a more progressive perspective has emerged among younger couples post New Order regime. According to Hsiao (2023, P. 02-05), such a more flexible policy culture enhancing the discussion among gender equality, resulting in re-evaluating the traditional discourse of gender roles among domestic work and the practices.

Furthermore, the findings indicates that generational shift in the allocation of household and childcare tasks among younger Batak and Minang couple showing a more egalitarian family dynamic, with shared responsibility between husband and wife. For example, couple G Batakese in 4.1.3 revealed there is a balanced between both partners to actively contribute to household chores and childcare duties. On the other side, as Zakia (2011, P. 41) stated that Minang women referred as *bundo kanduang* hold a significant authority in decision-making, this does not directly result an equal division of household labor and childcare duties for women. Based on couple F statement in 4.1.3, women frequently bear most of household duties and childcare, even though the husband is willingly to assist with the duties. This highlighted that, the expectation that woman needs to keep the path of family to be successful is still playing a big role even when the husband is egalitarian.

Last but not least, the implementation of paternity leave policies plays a focal role in increasing the involvement of father in childcare for some younger couples in Indonesia. For example, according to couple C and couple J in 4.2.2, paternity leave has provided an opportunity to be actively involved in childcare. The access of paternity leave is not only increasing the presence of father during early stages but also in the practice of shared responsibilities. The couple C emphasized how paternity leave allow the husband to nurture a balance family dynamic, while the wife emphasized how paternity leave promoted the husband commitment in building an equal responsibility. Nevertheless, there is a contrast experiences towards the paternity leave as revealed by couple E and couple B in 4.2.2, who come from older generation. They revealed that during New Order (*Orde Baru*), fathers had limited options in taking leave, and not to mention the social and political norms that enforced gender roles. As a result, women frequently handled most of the household duties and childcare. Thus, these factors revealed a shifting dynamic in which shifting of culture towards shared responsibilities among childcare are increased particularly among younger generation in Indonesia.

5.2 Structural and Policy Barriers to Paternity Leave in Indonesia

The regulations for paternity leave in Indonesia demonstrate big inequalities between civil servants and private sector workers, which accentuating bigger issues of structural inequality and gendered roles in division labor in the labor market. Although paternity leave policies encourage fathers to involve in childcare and promote gender equality for civil servants, private sector employees are targeted to a more strictive policies that limit their chance to support families during golden moments, such as childcare.

For instance, based on the findings couple J in 4.3.2 found it difficult to balance work and life balance, resulting minimum involvement in childcare duties. The wife of couple J revealed that her husband unable to take the paternity leave, which resulting her managing the childcare alone. In this case, the lack support from father indicates the needs for a more sufficient policy that can accommodate the objectives from both parents. Besides, the situation shows that there is a gap of Indonesian policy that is regarding family, especially with people that are employed within private sectors, resulting job insecurities.

In various organizations, as revealed by couple I in 4.3.3, there is such a strong stereotype around fathers who are taking leave for childcare purposes. As has been stated by couple I, the potential judgement from workplace often prevents fathers to take longer leave as they are afraid seen of taking “holiday”. This stigma prevents father to fully use the leave they are afraid of seen being “less dedicated” which can bring impact to the job’s sustainability. In this context, Wulaningsih (2023, P. 25) had emphasized that social construction in workplace towards dad as a breadwinner and leader, supporting the perception of childcare duties inferior to their natural function as a leader.

5.2.1. Legal Perspective on the Disparities in Paternity Leave Policies in Indonesia

Furthermore, the spouse of Couple J in 4.3.3 stated that paternity leave is often not well-informed within the institution, leading to many workers that are not aware of their rights in the access of paternity leave. From the interview, they revealed that Civil Servants has more access in taking paternity leave, which resulting inequalities rights between public sector and private sector workers.

Such a more progressive perspective on the role of fathers in early time of childcare is shown by Presidential Decree No. 4 of 2024, which gives civil servants one month of paid paternity leave. This policy is in line with the international movements that acknowledge the significance of father engagement as a crucial point of child’s development, despite of upholding shared responsibilities with mother.

However, there are noticeable gaps in implementing these international commitments within Indonesia’s domestic policies, as proven by the inequality implementation of family policies, particularly regarding to paternity leave. Although the private sector working fathers are only entitled to two days of paid leave with the possibility of extension for three days if both employer and employees are agreed, represent these inequalities. More generous paternity leave quota is available to civil servants, but less guarantee for private sector workers, highlighting that the regulations seems to be more symbolic rather than practical. Two-day paternity leave is insufficient in challenging such embedded patriarchal values that limit father’s ability in providing childcare and support system to the family.

These structural barriers can enforce the terms of father as a breadwinner, and that the paternity leave is seen as symbolic movement rather than giving actual movements in increasing father involvement. As highlighted by Wiryawan (2023, P. 132), such regulations as Manpower Law do not effectively accommodate fathers who are working in private sectors in taking paternity leave. Initially, it guides to the unequal treatment that remains under the law, which contradicts to the article 27(1) of the Indonesian Constitution (*Undang-Undang Dasar 1945*) (Auli, 2024). According to this article, every citizen is treated equally and has the same rights and protection under the law. However, the existing policy creates an obvious distinction between civil servants and private sectors employees. The fact that civil servants receive a “privilege” when it comes to paternity leave shows that private sector employees cannot even “afford” to have the same access in providing a support system for the family, which lead to romanticizing inequality in labor market.

This circumstances not only creating big disparities but also as a bridge within society. Although there have been major shifts in the international narratives regarding shared responsibilities within household and childcare, the father in private sectors employees in Indonesia still favored as primary earners as they have limited “space to grow”. As a result, with the majority of Indonesian workers are in the private sector are left without an adequate legal protection. This is not only accentuating structural barriers but also the enforcement of unequal treatment of employees based on their employment sectors.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This paper has analyzed the perceptions of mothers and fathers towards the division of household labor and childcare responsibilities in Indonesia. Conversely, it has examined the impact of paternity leave on the discussion of traditional gender roles. The analysis of qualitative interviews with couples from two different generations and various cultural backgrounds were conducted in this research to investigate the factors that contribute to the cultural movement in the distribution of domestic duties. This paper reveals the substantial relations between policy, culture and gender roles by using the theoretical framework that integrating theories of economic rationality, feminist perspective on unpaid labor and cultural influences.

6.1. Perceptions on Division of Household Labor and Childcare Responsibilities

Based on the integrated research, the result suggested that the general perceptions of domestic duties and childcare responsibilities in Indonesia is still significantly influenced by the patriarchy values, particularly among the older generations. Mothers are expected to hold the majority responsibilities of household and childcare, even though in dual income household. Despite of their based income, fathers are generally seen as an “optional” person in helping the circumstances. This social phenomenon is valued especially in patrilineal community such as Batak origin people, where the distribution of household duties is less flexible, which prioritizing the involvement of men in labor market.

The persistence of these conventional roles can be analyzed by historical and cultural perspectives. The authoritarian regime under New Order (*Orde Baru*) romanticizing the idea of male as a breadwinner and women as a caregiver, within the mechanism in social control. In order to maintain social order and to prevent challenges to state’s authority, the regime prioritized male leadership and female domestic tasks. These regulations encouraged patriarchal norms that still played a big influence on the family dynamics until recently, even when paternity leave exists, many fathers still consider domestic chores are the obligations for women.

Nonetheless, the perspective among younger generations is noticeably different. The couple from younger generations, especially those with prominent education and access to international influences on gender equality, are more open to see domestic chores and childcare as shared responsibilities. Based on the findings, number of fathers in these families are actively engaged in childcare, seeing it as a responsibility that is crucial for both parents. Within matrilineal societies such as Minang tribe, where women have historically hold power, this dynamic is prominent, which adhering to a more egalitarian family especially in domestic duties.

6.2 Factors Contributing to Cultural Shifts in Household and Childcare Allocation

The shifting in attitude of household duties and childcare responsibilities in Indonesia are being generated by various factors. First of all, education and the access to global perspectives are focal points in challenging general perceptions regarding gender roles. The pursuit of higher education level, particularly among couple from younger generation has resulted the emergence of more progressive views on the division of household labor. Studies shows that people with higher education levels are more open to implement egalitarian family dynamics towards household duties and childcare, since they have improved awareness of worldwide gender equality discourse. For instance, according to Sullivan (2021, P. 346) higher education enhances not just critical analyses on gender norms but also impact on behavior in personal space, particularly the division of household duties. The research findings from this paper validated this theory, since younger generation fathers have a greater tendency to see household duties as shared responsibilities rather than strict by gender norms. This generational shift attitude is particularly obvious among couples who have had opportunity to be engaged in broad experiences, such as studying abroad, diverse organizational experiences, where gender equality discourse has been normalized within social and cultural aspects. Thus, couple that are exposed to broad circumstances are easier to embrace such an egalitarian family dynamic, since it will encourage them to reevaluate such traditional gender norms.

Moreover, paternity leave policies hold such a big potential to encourage public perceptions towards shared responsibilities, whereas it will play a big tool as a mechanism to be actively participate in childcare and household duties. If paternity leave is made more accessible and actively socialized among society, it will serve a pragmatic opportunity for fathers to be involved in childcare from the early stage of children's growth, making it easier for fathers to be more familiar within shared responsibility. Such study by Petts et al. (2019 P. 173-188) emphasized that fathers who are taking paternity leave will be more likely to be involved in childcare, which aligns with the goals of paternity leave. Nonetheless, in Indonesia, the impact of these programs is hindered by structural problems, such as the limited access of paternity leave for private sector employees. Fathers employed in the private sector enterprises are granted two days of leave, as mandated by the President Decree of 2024 No. 6, which is inefficient to enforce the substantial point. On the other hand, the civil servants are granted to one-month paternity leave, as said in National Government Service Agency Regulation No. 24 of 2017. This regulation highlights the imbalance enforcement of policies among different job industries.

Another critical point in these shifting attitudes is generational shift, whereas younger generations are increasingly addressing the traditional gender norms. These improvements are driven not only by higher level of education but also by wider socioeconomic and political transformation that have occurred since the downfall of the New Order dictatorship regime. The period of democracy that are happening right after the downfall of Soeharto authoritarian regime has encouraged more transparency within the sphere including gender movement. Hence, it is empowering younger generations to evaluate the discourse of the current gender norms towards division of household labor and childcare. In contrast, the older generations were most likely raised at a time where the government was still romanticizing the patriarchy values culturally and politically. This phenomenon transition among generations is intriguing since it reflects a broader enforcement within younger couples who are being more progressive in conducting egalitarian family dynamic.

Moreover, cultural backgrounds also have a big influence in shaping the perceptions of shared responsibilities. The demographic in Indonesia, which includes Patrilineal and

Matrilineal communities, impacting the perception and implementation of gender roles within the household. In patrilineal community i.e. Bataknese, the conventional gender roles endure within much less flexibility, since they believe that father should carry most of the economic responsibilities while mother are dominating the domestic duties and child responsibilities. Conversely, in Matrilineal society such as Minang origin endorse a more equal allocation on duties within the family, as women hold higher power in making decision within family. Although Minang tribe has a sense of female leadership within family, this sense is not necessarily influenced by feminism, but rather the traditional values on female authority. However, this Matrilineal system provides more opportunities for the allocation within shared responsibilities between husband and wife within the household, i.e. creating a more egalitarian family dynamic where the husband is familiar within the responsibilities.

Thus, many factors including education, policy initiatives such as paternity leave, generational movements, and cultural background contributing to the evolvement of perceptions on domestic duties and childcare in Indonesia. These influences are congruent, setting how Indonesian families develop gender roles in both conventional and contemporary circumstances. However, institutional challenges and cultural influences still prevent gender equality in domestic duties from being fully implemented, regardless of the increasing awareness in younger generations.

Appendix

List of Interview Questions:

- Would you mind sharing some of your best memories with your kids?
- Can you describe how household chores and childcare duties are divided between you and your partner?
- How do you perceive the roles of fathers and mothers in terms of household chores and childcare?
- Did you and/or your partner have the opportunity to take maternity and/or paternity leave after your child was born? How did taking maternity and/or paternity leave impact your and your partner's involvement in childcare and household chores?
- How do you feel about the current paternity leave policies in Indonesia? Do you think they help in changing traditional gender roles?
- do you think your education has influenced your views on and involvement in household chores and childcare? [if yes] Could you give an example for this influence?
- Do you perceive a change over time in the views on and involvement in household chores and childcare among different generations, for instance, in your family? If so, how and why?
- What change in the division of household chores and childcare in Indonesia would you find desirable? What would need to be done to achieve this?
- Is there anything else you'd like to share?
- I have been asking you many quite personal questions. Thanks again for your openness and time! are there any questions that you would like to ask from me?

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