Perceived Femininity: Women Working in Male-Dominated Occupations

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Diterima : 19 Juni 2023 Disetujui : 19 Agustus 2023 Diterbitkan : 26 Agustus 2023

Abstract
Patriarchal society significantly affects how people interpret gender in Indonesia, which leads to segregation and gender stereotypes in the workplace. Current development, women are entering fields like mining and construction that were formerly dominated by men. This study seeks to understand how women perceive their femininity when working in environments where men predominate. The research method is interpretive phenomenological analysis (IPA), which uses a qualitative and explorative approach in line with the constructivist paradigm. The information gathered from interviews was analyzed using Smith, Flowers, and Larkin's (2009) data analysis techniques. The findings indicate that women who work in professions where men predominate regard their femininity as a combination of traditional femininity, new femininity, and adopted male traits as a means of adjusting to the workplace. This leads us to the conclusion that femininity is currently changing and that women today tend to express themselves more freely.

Keywords: femininity, gender, male-dominated occupations
INTRODUCTION

In Indonesian society today, despite several feminist movements and women's activists speaking up for and defending their rights, patriarchal cultural practices continue. This culture can be found in a variety of contexts and spheres, including the legal system, politics, and the economics. Lindsey (2016, p. 3) in her book defines patriarchy as a male-centered norm for all social institutions and a standard that everyone adheres to. This means that men play the main control role in community life, while women are often placed in subordinate positions where women are considered to have little influence on various aspects, both economically, socially, politically and psychologically (Lindsey, 2016, p. 8).

As time goes by, various social constructs are created in society, one of which is people's perception of gender. By definition, gender is defined as a social construction consisting of behaviors that shape femininity and masculinity in certain cultures (West & Turner, 2010, p. 520). Gender includes masculinity and femininity which are defined as things that both men and women learn from culture regarding beliefs, attitudes, values, and how to communicate and how to interact with each other (DeVito, 2016, p. 53).

Masculinity is a social construction of special traits and characteristics that are associated with the female gender. Conversely, masculine is a label given to individuals who are distinctive and behave like men (Rokhmansyah, 2016, pp. 8-9). The masculine label is not only labeled for someone who is male, but also for women who behave like men, and vice versa (Rokhmansyah, 2016, pp. 8-9). The terms masculinity and femininity describe gender identity which refers to the degree to which a person sees themselves as masculine or feminine or what it means to be male or female in society.

Starting from a patriarchal culture, gender labeling or stereotypes were eventually formed in society (Rokhmansyah, 2016, p. 1). Gender stereotypes themselves are defined as beliefs about what behaviors or characteristics are appropriate for men and women, especially regarding categories that are classified as masculine and feminine (Rokhmansyah, 2016, p. 11). Various societal constructions of feminine and masculine traits also have an impact on the roles that men and women have to play, especially in the context of work. Women are considered more suited to work in the domestic sector which represents their feminine nature, from cleaning the house, cooking, washing, ironing, to taking care of the children. This is because domestic work is considered to require delicacy, patience, and others (Rokhmansyah, 2016, p. 9).

According to West & Turner (2010, p. 511), the idea is that men and women are divided into jobs based on their gender, which results in a sexual division of labor. Sexual job differentiation is not only found in the domestic and public fields, but in public work there is also segmentation which causes the placement of men and women in different job segments (Rokhmansyah, 2016, p. 9). Not separated from gender stereotypes, one example of the impact is the dominance of types of work based on gender. For example, jobs that require more physical needs are dominated by men, so they include jobs that require masculine roles.

Data from the Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) regarding the labor force participation rate for the 2020-2022 range states that overall the percentage of labor force participation is still dominated by men. In 2022, the number of male workers will reach 86.55% while women
will only be 48.82%. In addition, the number of female workers actually decreased from 2020 to 2022, namely from 50.72% to 48.82% (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2022). The Indonesian Women's Profile 2022 annual report published by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection stated that in the employment sector, in the Non-Work Force (BAK) category, the percentage of women reached 35.5% compared to men which was only 3.73%. The reason for this happening is the demands of society's construction of gender which requires women to be in the domestic sphere, so they are not classified as the labor force (KemenPPPA, 2022, p. v). With data on the percentage of male workers in Indonesia which is still higher than female, it causes certain conditions, one of which is the presence of female workers in industries dominated by male workers.

Badan Pusat Statistik, which is conducting the National Labor Force Survey (Sakernas) regarding labor conditions in Indonesia in 2022, states that out of 17 job categories, 13 work sectors are dominated by male workers. One example of an industry that has the largest gap between the number of male and female workers is the Mining and Quarrying sector, where the number of male workers increased as of February 2022 from 92.1% to 93.6% as of August 2022 and the Construction sector with male workers increased as of February 2022 from 98.2% to 98.4% as of August 2022 (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2022).

Returning to the context of femininity, the term was explained by Natalie Fixmer-Oraiz and Julia T. Wood which means physically attractive, emotionally expressive, nurturing, and concerned with people and relationships (Fixmer-Oraiz & Wood, 2019, p. 21). This research will be based on feminine characteristics according to Natalie Fixmer-Oraiz and Julia T. Wood because they are considered capable of explaining feminine characteristics broadly, especially in socio-cultural contexts.

Reflecting on patriarchal culture, the existence of women in a work environment that is dominated by men and masculine values that have been constructed by a patriarchal culture can unconsciously affect the meaning of their identity as women in society. Thus, it would be interesting to explore the meaning of femininity from women who work in male-dominated industries in line with the characteristics of femininity by Fixmer-Oraiz & Wood (2019).

Studies that address the topic of gender, especially femininity, are still relatively few. Of the eight journals that discuss femininity, there is a diversity of research objects studied, ranging from media workers (Herawati, 2016); crossgender players in Toram Online Mobile Game (Askamal, 2021); male influencers on Instagram (Sumardiono, 2022); Juno's character in the film “Kucumbu Tubuh Indahku” (Wijaya & Sukendro, 2021); short story “The Other Two” by Edith Wharton (Amsarani, 2022); novels by Eka Kurniawan (Zulkarnain & Wiyatmi, 2018); the short story “Fatamorgana” by Aam Amilia (Rani et al., 2017); and several young girls from Norway, China, and Australia (Caldwell & Kleppe, 2006). Not only that, based on six previous studies discussing female workers who work in industries dominated by men, there are also various research subjects, such as female coal mining operators at PT Kaltim Prima Coal (KPC) (Mahmudah, 2019); female architect (Troiani, 2013); women working in male industries, such as IT, mining, engineering, and energy (Martin & Barnard, 2013); masculine women (Dozier, 2017); women working in manual
trading and information technology (IT) (Smith, 2013); women working in the male-dominated informal sector in Ghana (Forkuor et al., 2019).

In general, previous studies focused on discussing femininity from the point of view of short stories, films and novels, and mostly analyzed the female characteristics of a character in these works. The remainder discusses the meaning of gender associated with media workers, and also discusses the gender identity of cross gender players and male influencers with feminine gender expressions. In addition, journals regarding the existence of female workers in male-dominated industries also discuss more from the perspective of women's experiences and ways to survive in male-dominated industries, no one has linked them to the meaning of femininity. Thus, this study aims to find out how femininity is interpreted by women who work in male-dominated industries.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses a constructivism paradigm which, according to Creswell & Creswell (2018), social constructivists believe that each individual has their own interpretation of the world in which they live. Questions will be broader and general which will provide opportunities for participants to construct meaning from a situation which is usually supported by the process of discussion and interaction with other people. The type of research used in this research is qualitative and explorative. According to Creswell & Creswell (2018), qualitative research is an approach that aims to explore and understand the meaning that comes from individuals or groups. Exploratory research rarely yields definite answers because it poses a “what” question and all the information obtained is potentially important.

The method used in this study is interpretive phenomenology or Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) in this study. IPA is closely related to phenomenology because it relates to the exploration of individual experiences (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009, p. 7). When people deal with 'experiences' from their lives, they will reflect on decisions and things that have happened (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009, p. 8). Usually, IPA researchers use double hermeneutics because they try to understand participants' understanding of the experiences they experience (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009, p. 8). The data collection technique used by the researcher was in-depth interviews carried out in a semi-structured form in which the interview schedule took place flexibly according to the participants.

The object of this research is the phenomenon of women working in male-dominated industries in Indonesia. The participant determination technique in this study used purposive sampling because participants could provide in-depth information about certain related experiences. IPA research uses the term participant as the subject of research. There were five participants in this study who met the criteria; 1) Women who work in industries where more than 50% of the workers are men; 2) Have worked in the industry for a minimum period of six months, calculated from the year this research was written. The data collection process took approximately three weeks, starting from March to April 2023. The participant data can be briefly described as follows.

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Tabel 1.1 Participants Job Background

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In measuring data validity, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) uses Yardley's criteria, among others; 1) sensitivity to context; 2) commitment and rigour; 3) transparency and coherence; 4) impact and importance; and 5) independent audits. Meanwhile for data analysis techniques according to Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009), there are six steps in analyzing data in interpretive phenomenology (IPA) research, namely; 1) reading and re-reading; 2) initial noting; 3) developing emerging themes; 4) look for relationships between themes; 5) move on to the next case; and 6) look for patterns between cases. These six steps of data validity was done to the five participants.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Based on the results of the interviews, the researchers realized that each participant had different work experience so that it had an impact on the diversity of answers about the meaning of themselves as women. In order to clarify the research results, here’s the table to describe each topic.

Tabel 1.2 Emergent Themes

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<td>Perceived Femininity</td>
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<td>Self-Confidence</td>
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<td>Career Women</td>
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| Independent |
| Open-Minded |
| Emotionally Sensitive |
| Care with Relationship |
| Quality |
| Taking care of appearance |
| Tough |
| Rational |

Perceived Femininity

The existence of female workers in industries dominated by men for a certain period of time shows that the five participants have several characteristics in common that refer to the new femininity which is described in articles that discuss femininity and new femininity (Taylor, 2003). The five participants stated that they were someone who dared to be
themselves. Participant one (N.S.) accepted all of her conditions, both her voice and the way she walked like a man, she was still proud to be a woman and acted as she wished. The other four participants also dressed according to their wishes and convenience at work.

If femininity is usually associated with labeling how women should act in social society and women are considered as objects in the patriarchal system to be able to achieve something 'ideal', Taylor (2003) states that new femininity refers to social shifts in which women become subjects and make women can express themselves based on their own desires and ways. This is related to the new femininity which is a form of oppression from the current patriarchal system (Taylor, 2003). The statements of the participants are in line with the statement that another form of new femininity is their satisfaction when they dress because they feel appropriate when wearing these clothes. Women are also encouraged to be able to 'enjoy their bodies' in which they are free to do whatever they think is ideal for their own bodies according to their convenience (Taylor, 2003).

Apart from being themselves, self-confidence is one of the characters that appears in three out of five participants. Participant one (N.S.) and participant four (H.A.) really believe in women's capabilities at work which can lead to career success. While participant five (C.I.) believes that women's physical abilities are no less strong than men when they are in the world of mining. This is in line with the term new femininity which in the A Vogue article cited by Susan Hopkins (in Taylor, 2003) which states that women today have confidence and fully embrace their femininity as women. Women are also directed to be confident, both in themselves, their bodies, and the things they do.

The five participants indicated that they were career women. Starting with participant one (N.S.) who said that he didn't want to be limited about achieving his dreams. Participant two (S.A.) who in the future still wants to survive in the world of mining. Participant three (M.C.) who has worked for 26 years in the field of paving blocks. Participant four (H.A.) is currently carrying out undergraduate studies while working and participant five (C.I.) has been working for approximately four years. This statement is supported by an explanation of masculinity, one of which includes attributes that emphasize career achievement (Griffin, Ledbetter, & Sparks, 2019, p. 382).

The characteristics of career women are also in line with the statement of a participant in the book that currently some young women are prioritizing careers over marriage, some do not want children, and many think of becoming the head of the family like men (Fixmer-Oraiz & Wood, 2019, p. 25). This is also explained in the explanation of the third wave feminist movement which focuses on the choices of each individual that will determine their lives in the future. In the third wave, many women believe that if they are successful in school, they will also be successful in their chosen career (Fixmer-Oraiz & Wood, 2019, p. 70).

Independent traits was also shown by three out of five participants. Participant one (N.S.) has been used to being independent since he was little thanks to his father's upbringing. Meanwhile, participant three (M.C.) is used to doing activities alone or independently because of her position as the only woman at the management level. Participant five (C.I.) admitted that he inevitably depended on himself because of his environment where the majority were men.
In addition, being open-minded is also an attitude shown by four out of five participants. This is reflected in the statement of participant one (N.S.) who understands that women are diverse and cannot be compartmentalized, participants two (S.A.) and three (M.C.) who understand that work should not be segregated, but adapted to capabilities. While participant four (H.A.) considered that women have the right to choose their own path, whether to be housewives or working moms. This is also in line with the core value of feminist thinking, namely the right of women to choose, starting from personal sexual preferences and family planning to career choices (Nally & Smith, 2015, p. 95)

Another character shown by two of the five participants is emotionally sensitive. Participants four (H.A.) and five (C.I.) both admitted that women still involve feelings at work, so they are not used to being easily offended when they are treated by their male colleagues.

This can be supported from a biological point of view, according to which women and men have different hormones and different body systems that make women more emotional, nervous and irritable than men (Simone De Beauvoir, 2011). The feeling of feeling towards these participants is also in line with the feminine characteristics described by Natalie Fixmer-Oraiz and Julia T. Wood (2019), namely being emotionally expressive. He also considers that femininity is now more flexible than before. In addition, the majority of women also feel that they are expected to be kind, respectful, helpful, and show concern for others (Fixmer-Oraiz & Wood, 2019, p. 148).

Two out of five participants also showed caring traits with relationship quality. Participant three (M.C.) stated that because she is the only woman in a row of managers, she is often used as a place to vent and she doesn't mind if it can improve the quality of team work. Participant five (C.I.) also cared about the comfort of his male co-workers by dressing appropriately. This is in line with the feminine characteristics described by Natalie Fixmer-Oraiz and Julia T. Wood (2019), namely caring about people and relationships.

Taking care of appearance is also one of the characteristics shown by two out of five participants. Participant two (S.A.) admitted that when she was on leave, she wanted to dress up, but when she was working she chose not to. While participant four (H.A.) dared to dress up while working. This is in line with the explanation of one study that women are still judged by their appearance. Starting to be expected to be beautiful, direct, and well dressed (Fixmer-Oraiz & Wood, 2019, p. 147).

In addition, with the existence of the five participants in jobs that were dominated by men, the five participants eventually adopted characters that were closely related to masculinity. Participant one (N.S.) was very firm about what he wanted, namely not to be bothered too much about her career dreams. Participant two (S.A.) considered assertiveness to be the key to survive in the construction industry. The third participant (M.C.) admitted that he had become very tough and participant four (H.A.) adapted the hard nature of the people in the field.

This statement means that women who work in male-dominated work industries tend to follow traits that are closely related to the masculine. In other words, the behavior of the five participants became transgender because they were required to follow the standard behavior of a man in the professional realm. The term 'transgender' here means that the
participant's gender expression, i.e. their behavior is considered inconsistent with a set of attitudes usually associated with women (Troiani, 2013, p. 355) In addition, Lindsey (2016, p. 338) states that when women enter professions that are considered masculine, they tend to adopt masculine traits and behaviors.

Still related to masculine attitudes, participant five (C.I.) also shows a rational attitude in which he learns to be indifferent and works according to logic like other male workers. This is in line with Simone De Beauvoir's (2011) explanation which states that men are considered more balanced and rational in their work. Research conducted by Rudman and Glick (in Dresden et al., 2018) states that women who display attitudes that are close to masculinity are seen as someone who is less socially skilled than men with the same attitude and experience discrimination because they do not meet society's expectations of ideal woman.

Women Workers and Patriarchal Culture in Indonesia

With the strong patriarchal culture in Indonesia, the researcher wanted to find out more about the participants' opinions regarding the condition of women workers and its relation to the patriarchal culture that exists in Indonesia. Of the five participants, all stated that occupational segregation based on gender was still very strong in society.

Segregation of work is divided into horizontal and vertical. Horizontal occupational segregation is when women and men are concentrated in different jobs. While vertical segregation is when the majority of women occupy lower positions at work (Haim, 1979; in Wright, 2016, p. 18). In this study, the focus will be on the type of horizontal segregation, especially in male-dominated occupations.

According to Lindsey (2016, p. 331), women are not spread evenly in all occupations, instead there is segregation or division of work based on gender, especially in relation to gender roles that have been constructed by society. Based on his book, the professions as accountants, architects, and engineers are mostly male. While teachers, nurses, social workers are mostly women. Some of these types of professions are considered psychologically tiring and require emotional support for the people served, so they are considered more suitable for women (Lindsey, 2016, p. 331).

This is in line with the statement of participant one (N.S.) who thinks that many women are forced to give up their dreams because they are hindered by stigma in society, such as being associated with a domestic role, or work in the health sector, such as doctors, nurses, and nutritionists.

This stereotype of women's roles in the domestic sphere is supported by the statement that women, with all their inherent feminine characteristics, are deemed more fit to work in the domestic sector, from cleaning the house, cooking, washing, ironing, to taking care of the children. This is because domestic work is considered to require delicacy, patience, and others (Rokhmansyah, 2016, p. 9).

Meanwhile, participants two (S.A.) and four (H.A.) said that their co-workers often questioned their existence because they thought that the mining and construction sector was the 'realm' of men and was instead associated with domestic roles, such as being a housewife. Research shows that jobs related to objectivity, leadership, and candor are
defined as masculine jobs (Lindsey, 2016, p. 338). In addition, with the construction of jobs based on gender, women are eventually forced to play a role in domestic affairs (Saguni, 2014).

Participant three (M.C.) said that there are several jobs that are dominated by female workers because they are considered to have a thorough and delicate nature. This can be explained that starting from gender stereotypes, feminine jobs are associated with jobs that require nurturing, helping, and high empathy roles (Lindsey, 2016, p. 338).

While participant five (C.I.) compared their experiences working in multinational companies that value women, national companies still apply job segregation aliases. According to researchers in the field of gender and employment at the Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (UPI), segregation of professions in Indonesia is still very high. Apart from that, stereotypes also cause many companies to refuse to accept women workers, especially in fields that require employees to be away from their families, such as the mining sector (Geopani, 2021).

Not only that, another impact of patriarchal culture on the fate of women workers in Indonesia is the glass ceiling phenomenon. Participant one (N.S.) said that many women workers only held positions as ordinary staff and it was difficult to hold the top level because of a glass ceiling where women could not climb the career ladder to a higher position because they were stuck by the prevailing stigma.

According to her book, Lindsey (2016, p. 343) explains that women workers at all levels accept obstacles in terms of upward mobility, whether caused by role conflicts, gender stereotypes, lack of mentors, to training and providing inadequate evaluation. Even women globally admit that they often feel gender discrimination as the main reason that hinders them from moving forward. The glass ceiling phenomenon describes the condition of women's failure to rise to senior positions due to invisible barriers created by men so that they fail to develop hierarchically (Lindsey, 2016, p. 343).

Explained further, executive positions usually employ employees with prevailing masculine stereotypes, which consider men to be more capable, bossy, aggressive, and objective leaders than women. Meanwhile, the role of women in the family, such as being a mother, is considered to be detrimental to the quality of leadership. With the existence of a glass ceiling, in the end women again become victims of discrimination which is removed from the upper ranks (Lindsey, 2016, p. 343).

**Women’s Dual Roles**

Reflecting on patriarchal culture, the phenomenon of multiple roles is one of the issues that is commonly discussed. In responding to this issue, the researcher wanted to find out more about the meaning of the five participants about this dual role. According to Samsidar (2019), there are two roles according to their objectives, namely the domestic role which is in the form of household activities carried out by a person and does not generate income, and the public role, namely activities outside the home which have the aim of generating income.

One of the participants was married, namely participant three (M.C.), she also shared many of her experiences regarding his own dual roles. His interesting point is one of the
reasons M.C. performing a domestic role and a public role at the same time is to provide for his family's living expenses so that she and her husband need to work. This is supported by a study which states that responsibility as a family provider and family care motivates workers to get higher salaries. Apart from that, it is also stated that married people tend to have higher salaries than other statuses, be it single, divorced, or widowed (Purwanto, 2021). Added from Egelman (2004, in Riskasari, 2016) which explains that one of the motivations for women to carry out their roles as workers and mothers at the same time is money, which aims to improve the economic welfare of their families.

Another finding from Purwanto (2021) states that the number of married women tends to take on a much higher dual role than married men, who act as breadwinners as well as family caregivers. This is in line with the statement of participant three (M.C.) who said that her husband only carried out a public role in which all his daily needs were prepared by M.C.

Unfortunately, the phenomenon of the gender pay gap still occurs. It is stated that the effect of the glass ceiling has actually occurred which makes married women workers have to deal with inequality in terms of wages compared to married male workers even though they have the same level of productivity and position (Purwanto, 2021).

Three out of five participants responded that their own dual roles were carrying out several roles at once. The three of them, namely S.A., M.C., and C.I. highlighting the domestic role (including taking care of family, children) and the public role which is professional work. However, participants two (S.A.) and five (C.I.) added about how a person can also have time for himself, one of which is self-care as a woman. While participant three (M.C.) added about a person's ability to be able to maintain relationships with friends and religion.

This is in line with Lindsey's book (2016, p. 164) regarding the role of women in the domestic sphere including as mothers, wives, and housewives, and is often underestimated. It is also stated that the dual role is a pattern of more than one behavior owned by an individual in the form of expectations from society (Riskasari, 2016). Other research also suggests that not only acting as operators, women workers in men's industries, which is mining also play the role of a mother and wife (Mahmudah, 2019). According to Guarsa dan Gunarsa (2000, in Riskasari, 2016), the dual role of women includes women as family members, as a wife which includes being a husband's lover, helping to lighten the husband's burden, being a husband's companion, to being the husband's financial manager.

According to research on women workers in mines, the dual role itself can be interpreted as two or more roles that a woman must carry out at the same time. The roles referred to are related to the domestic role as a housewife and the public role, namely as a worker (Mahmudah, 2019). The success of women in carrying out their dual roles cannot be separated from their awareness of women's nature, which is household duties.

Talking about the nature of women, this is in line with the statements of two out of five participants. Participant three (M.C.) commented that even though we work, in the end we still have to remember the nature of women, starting from giving birth, which is carrying out the reproductive function, taking care of the family, children, husband. Meanwhile, participant five (C.I.) commented that women still have to be aware of their nature, namely
in the form of a domestic role, but there is also nothing wrong with trying to play a public role.

CONCLUSION

Women who work in industries dominated by men interpret themselves as women with the characters of being themselves, confident, career women, independent, open-minded, sensitive, cares with relationships quality, rational, tough, and pay attention to their appearance. The various characteristics that have been mentioned are a combination of traditional femininity, new femininity in which women represent themselves based on their own will, as well as characteristics of masculinity in which some of them adopt traits that are closely related to masculinity in order to survive in an industry where the majority is male.

Because research themes are rarely discussed, researchers suggest broadening the reach of participants and the work industry for more comprehensive results. Not only that, based on one of the findings regarding the glass ceiling, the researcher suggests further research to examine more deeply the glass ceiling phenomenon among female workers in Indonesia. The researcher also hopes that women in Indonesia can have the courage to pursue their dreams without being affected by the current societal stigma, especially regarding their decision to have a career in a male-dominated industry. The more women have the courage to break the stigma, the less negative the stigma about women in society will fade. In addition, the researcher hopes that there will be more companies that support gender equality in work and provide opportunities for women to reach high positions in their careers.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The authors would like to thank Universitas Multimedia Nusantara for the support given in this research, as well as the five participants who were willing to contribute data.

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