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Protection of Rights of Women Labour Force as Development Actors in Indonesia

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Abstract

This paper examines the current trajectory of Indonesian Government in protecting the rights of female labour force. The World Bank data shows that female labour participation rate in Indonesia has been rising form 38% in 2015 to 39.3% in 2020. Women has indeed make an essential contributions to economic development in all developing countries. Their roles vary considerably between and within regions and are changing rapidly in many parts of the world, where economic and social forces are transforming the agricultural sector to industrial sector. However this positive outcome is sometimes does not followed by the equal protection of rights toward female labour in Indonesia. Invariably women are over represented in unpaid, seasonal and part-time work, and the available evidence suggests that women are often paid less than men, for the same work. This study employs qualitative and descriptive methods with comprehensive analysis. It will also apply combination of primary and secondary data that will be collected from every sources particularly government official publication. Using the concept of Gender and Development (GAD), the aims of this research is to analyse the current condition of female labour force participation in Indonesia, and also how the Government attempt to protect the rights of female labour as one of the main actor in Indonesia's economic development from gender point of view. Our projection shows that the Indonesia Government current policy still was not able to provide protection toward female labour force's rights despite its rising in participation rate.

Key words: Gender, Development, Economics, Indonesia, Female Labour Force

Introduction

The role of women in development is often doubtful because it is considered inappropriate and incapable, because of women are seen as second-class society (Probosiwi, 2015). The World Bank states that gender equality is a key development issue that will strengthen the country's ability to develop, reduce poverty and effectively govern. In that context, if our country wants to develop an advanced government, at least pay attention to a particular problem related to gender equality. During the 1950-1960s the role of women made it impossible to get awards in the form of material, all activities carried out by women were considered social value. Development with the characteristics of modernization, especially in agriculture with technology and mechanization, places men as agents of progress and modernization. Women are placed in the reproductive role of managing the household.

In increasing the role of women in development, Indonesia must face many challenges. The community tends to view women as second-class society, even in the family



environment. Boys are seen as better and bring more proud than girls. Boys are given more opportunities to attend school and get education than girls. The socio-cultural factors of the community and parents who tend to use female child labour to help with household affairs often result in low academic performance and even drop out of school. The thought that sending girls to school is a quiet investment (Manembu, 2017).

The dilemma is always faced with female workers. Previously the participation of women as workers was seen as unnatural because of various reasons, especially poverty, the participation of women as workers at this time was actually considered as the same rights and obligations as men. However, the increase in female workers both in the informal and formal sectors does not necessarily make the economic development process go well, many problems that actually arise when women work. One of them is that women workers are vulnerable to sexual violence and are often marginalized both in terms of fulfilling their rights or circumstances. This paper wants to see whether the Manpower Act has been able to accommodate the rights of women workers and what is the relationship of protection for women workers and the development of the State.

Women's Role in Development

In two decades, during 1970s to 1990s, there are three approaches that recited gender studies. They were *WiD (Women in Development), WaD (Women and Development),* and *GaD (Gender and Development)* (Mosse, 1996). The approach that will be used in this study is Women in Development (WiD). *WiD* approach was emerged during the early 1970s in Easter Boserup's publication about *Women's Role in Economics Development*. WiD approach is highly influenced by modernization theory that assume women disability in social environment is caused by the individual itself, for example because of low education. Therefore, according to Boserup, to increase women status in the society is by increasing the education level and involve them in development process.

Afterwards, this approach was used by *Women's Committee of Washington DC*, and expressed mostly by liberal feminist in the United States Amerika (*American Liberal Feminist*), which created consideration among people that legal and administrative changes is needed to improve women integration in development. Hence, the main concern of WiD is to change the egalitarian system and determine development strategy that can reduce women's deprivation in the production sectors, and diminish discrimination toward women in society (Boserup, 1997). WiD then become the integral part of development discourse and considered as the dominant approach to resolve women's problem in the Third World Countries. However, after a decade, scholars tend to hesitate and criticize the groundwork of WiD approach. The critics was in fact address by the Feminist. According to them, WiD is considered as merely a part of First World countries' agenda to dominate the Third World countries. The concept of WiD was assumed to create bias among liberal feminist, the white middle class people who have no interest in women freedom.

The main agenda of WiD is about how to involve women in development agenda. Their assumption is that the cause of social disability among women was because of the lack of women participation in development process. Briskly, WiD become the only policy concerned about women that was applied in almost every the Third World Countries. Women in Development discourse then started when US Government released "The Percy Amendment to the 1973 Foreign Assistance Act" that determine the important of women in



development. US amendment then influence the United Nations to proclaimed the International Decade of Women in 1974. As soon as the declaration, all of the Third World Countries began to put WiD's agenda in their development project. The Department of Women's Affairs became role model in almost all Third World governments. WiD is always proposed as the answer of *Developmentalism* to critics of feminists who consider development have ignored women.

When WiD was emerged, many people have considered that this idea actually inhibits the movement of Third World's women rather than freeing them. So, it can be concluded that actually WiD is a developmentalism strategy and discourse to perpetuate the domination and oppression of women in the Third World, through women's cooptation and regulation. Means basically avoiding emancipation efforts. Therefore, WiD is doubtful capable of spurring the transformation process. The social transformation in question is a kind of process of creating relationships that are fundamentally new and better. What is meant here is an exploitative economic relationship towards a structure without exploitation, hegemonic cultural relations need to be transformed into non-repressive political structures, from the gender structure that dominates women to a liberating structure. Thus democratization is an alternative to the process of social transformation. If WiD aims to process equality between men and women, then gender transformation is a movement to liberate women and men from unfair systems and structures. Thus, transformationalism is an effort to liberate from all forms of oppression both structural and personal, class, colour and international economy. The purpose of the gender transformation movement is not just to improve the status of women whose indicators use male norms but fight for the dignity and strength of women

The second approach, Women and Development (WaD) arose in the mid-1970s and was influenced by the Neo Marxist feminist approach. The main focus of this approach is to look at women's relationships in the development process. The development process often leads to the marginalization of women. This is due to the unjust social, economic and political structures in society. The backwardness of women is considered as a result of the unfair structure. The process of marginalization, which causes poverty, is actually a lot happening in the society and the country that befalls men and women, which is caused by several events, such as eviction, natural disasters, or the process of exploitation. But there is one form of impoverishment of one particular sex, in this case women, caused by gender. There are several different types and forms, places and times and mechanisms of the process of women's marginalization due to gender differences. In terms of sources, it can come from government policies, beliefs, religious interpretations, traditional beliefs and habits or even scientific assumptions. Many studies have been conducted in order to discuss government development programs that are the cause of poverty for women.

The third approach of Gender Studies, named Gender and Development (GaD) emerged in the 1980s and this approach was strongly influenced by the socialist feminist approach. This approach is known as an effort to empower women. GaD sees women as agents of change rather than passive objects in development. Therefore, women must be able to organize themselves in the development process. Development must be seen as an effort to establish and build women's internal strength. This approach has a tension between the need for feminist awareness on the one hand and the need to maintain the



integrity of Marxist materialism on the other, so that patriarchal analysis needs to be added to the analysis of mode of production.

They criticize general assumptions, the relationship between women's participation in the economy is necessary, but it does not always raise women's status. The low level of participation correlates with the low status of women. But the involvement of women is actually considered to plunge women, because they will be made slaves (virtual slaves). For socialist feminists, increasing women's economic participation has more to do with the role of sexual antagonism than status. Gender is related to social construction of women. Communities often consider women to be weak and limited to doing domestic or household work. While men are superior beings and are assigned to non-domestic affairs. In the view of the patriarchal tradition, women are structurally under men, and this condition is structurally and culturally unfavourable to women.

GAD adherents emphasize the need for empowerment in women and change the social construction above. This approach understands the goals of development for women in terms of independence and internal strength, and more or less emphasizes the making of laws relating to the similarities between men and women rather than empowering women themselves to try to change and transform structures that are very contrary to them. This approach recognizes the need for supporting legislation, arguing that the development of women's organizations, which leads to political mobilization, awareness raising and public education, is an important condition for sustainable social change.

For the GAD strategy, the problem lies not with women as originally assumed, but on how to eliminate all forms of gender discrimination and injustice. This second strategy focuses on empowerment and changes in the gender structure, which is known as the Gender and Development (GAD) approach which previously changed to the WAD (Women and Development) strategy after the success of the WID strategy. In contrast to WID which gave rise to projects to increase women's roles such as women's income generation projects and the establishment of women's role ministries, the culmination of the success of this third strategy resulted in a monumental global policy for these women's struggles, namely the globally accepted anti-discrimination discrimination women known as CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women).

Female Labour Force Participation in Indonesia

Indonesia is the fourth dense country in the world with the population of more than 252 million people (Schaner & Das, 2016). According to Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO), Indonesia is one of the country which the number of female is more than male population. Even though, this gap has been narrowed during the 2003 to 50:50 (FAO, n.d.). With the high number of female population, it then considered as one of the main asset to improve development through female labour force. In Indonesia, the beginning of female labour participation was happened in 1998 during the economic crisis which made the women required to work to help the household consumption. The crisis had increased commodities' prices and budget cuts. Numerous protests and movement aimed the government to take action to reduce poverty and violence, particularly against women (Garcia, Greenley, Martin-Onraët, & Pollack, 2015). They country's GDP then moving downward to 6% in 1996 – 14.4% in 1998 (Schaner & Das, 2016). Inflation also risen up to



54.4% in 1998 because of high price of food along with low-income household. Therefore, women were forced to take up employment to promoted national economy.

There is actually not much data sources that can be used to track down the history of female labour participation before 1990s. The oligarchic system that was commonly adopted by most Indonesian people, in which women role as mother and have to be stay at home, might explain the causation of the lack of information about female labour from the past centuries. However, several data sources indeed provided the current trend about female labour during 1990 until recent years.

According to Asian Development Bank (ADB), the participation of female in labour force was actually stagnant since 1990 (Schaner & Das, 2016). Although there is a changing during 1997-1998, but it was only a slightly improvement. As mention before, the era of 1998 has been described as the great crisis in Asia. The crisis started in Thailand and then gripped much of Asian countries, including Indonesia due to the lack of foreign direct investment in Asia. As one of the countries who suffered most impact of the crisis, Indonesia had to bear severe economic distress that cause rise in food price and unemployment. The global financial turmoil also forced this country to change from being agricultural based economic into more balance economy.

Agriculture has been the main source of income of Indonesian people because more than 50% of its population lives in rural areas. Agriculture contribute 17.5% of Indonesian GDP in 1990s and women played a significant role in agriculture. The ability of women in domestic work is beneficial for them to work in agricultural sector. 75% of farm labour in rice production are mostly women. And the kitchen gardens managed by women also produce domestic food supply up to 40% (FAO, n.d.). However, there's still limitation for women to improve their skill of work. It is because the Indonesian labour system only provide opportunity for male farmer to join farm training as they are the head of the household. Besides agricultural sector, women also involved in another working sector such as forestry, fisheries, and livestock. But it is not as much as their role in agriculture because of limited access and ability of women in those areas.

The 1997's crisis shifted people's income that used to highly depend a lot on agriculture to informal employment or formal employment. An increase in economic development indeed usually followed by the decrease in agricultural economy. In 2014, the agricultural employment growth rate decrease to -1.6% from 0.2% in the 2000s. While financing, insurance and business services experience increase in its employment growth rate to 11.2% from 6.8%. Not only shown changes in economic sector, the National Labour Force Survey or SAKERNAS (Survei Angkatan Kerja Nasional) also recorded the information about the improvement in female labour participation in Indonesia. The data reported that the varying percentage of women who are working since 1990 to 2011 has steadily increase from 53% to 55% (Schaner & Das, 2016). While the World Bank's data in 2014 shows that 51.4% of Indonesian women (15 year old and older) were participating in the labour force in 2011, either currently working or still looking for a job (Cameron, Suarez, & Rowell, 2019). Although the employment number doesn't improve quite high during the period of 10 years, these number is averagely high for a country in which more than 50% of the female population are contribute in economy. But, the classification of female labours are mostly in informal sectors such as family work, self-employed, and casual worker, although casual worker began to conduct by women in 2001. The economic crisis then has dropped the



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labour force participation in agriculture from 55% in 1990 to around 35% in 2014. Based on data from SAKERNAS on 2011, under 30% who actually work in formal sector or wage worker (AIPG, 2017). Since 2014, as the number of employment has rising, the participation rate of female labour in Indonesia also keep increasing significantly for the last five years. According to the World Bank, Female Labour Force Participation (FLFP) rate has increased from 38% in 2015 to 39.3% in 2020 (The World Bank, 2022). Indonesia Ministry of Finance stated that based on Statistic Indonesia (BPS) data, the unemployment rate was reduced by 50 thousand people which cause the Open Unemployment Rate to fall to 5.01 % in February 2019 compared to the previous year. The number of workforce has increased 2.24 million compared to 2018 (Ministry of Finance Indonesia, 2019). While according to data from Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (KEMENPPA) in 2018 shows that only 49,15% of women aged above 15 were employed. This number is lower than men that up to 78,23%. Their Labour Force Participation rate also lower than their male counterparts at 51,88% compared to 82,69% (KEMENPPA, 2019).

The reason of the increasing number of female labour participation was due to the improvement in educational system. Education is recognised as the main factor to reduce poverty in developing countries and determined labour participation gap between male and female, including wage gap (AIPG, 2017). Since 1990, female illiteracy in Indonesia has been dropped from 24.8% to 17.9% in the 2000s. In 2013, 78% women in rural areas and 81% in urban areas are in school. These number shown a significant progress regarding women's educational achievement in Indonesia as well as progress toward equality with men in terms of education which men possess 80% and 77% in urban and rural areas respectively (FAO, n.d.). Women who had at least completed upper secondary education are more likely to participate in workforce rather than those who only completed lower secondary school by about 8% (Cameron et al., 2019). Although the percentages were differ across province, it did impact the number of working women in the country. However, this improvement, doesn't seem to give so much changes in terms of gender gap on work and gender-based discrimination.

Gender Wage Gap

The positive improvement in female labour force participation in Indonesia unfortunately does not followed by gender equality and protection. In 2014, Women's economic opportunity index in Indonesia was at 47.8% with female labour force participation in informal market count 51.4% and 16% in formal market (Garcia et al., 2015). This number is lower than male percentage that reach 80% in 2014. It means that women participation is almost less than two-thirds of the male equivalent. Among female labours, single women are mostly have high participation in working compared to married women or women with more dependent children (AIPG, 2017). The higher fertility rates then will cause the less participation rates among women. Women with young children are less likely to work than those who have no children. It could be said that childcare responsibilities could be considered as another factor that limits women's engagement in the labour force (Cameron et al., 2019). Moreover, married women who are come from a poorer family will tend to participate more in labour force than those who are from wealthier family. The survey from Van Klaveren et al. in 2010, AIPEG Report shows that the rate of unemployed women in 2012 is around 6.7% which mostly affects young and highly educated women.



While poorer women are likely to be underemployed or working but with relatively low income. It seems like better off women have the ability to stay unemployed longer than poorer women. However, from all population, the ratio of unemployed and underemployed women is still higher than male across the regions. With percentage 6.7% in 2012 unemployed women (compared to 5.7% men) and 41% underemployed women in 2013, compared to 25% men (AIPG, 2017).

Another tendency of female labour force in Indonesia is that the majority of female are mostly enrolled in informal sector rather than formal sector. Formal market in Indonesia is still dominated by male. While women mostly played role in informal market, particularly service industry like household, health and social work, restaurant and hotels services, agriculture or farming, and education services. This indeed creates another risk with the possibility of lower and unstable income, and also lack of basic protection and services (Garcia et al., 2015). Informal sectors are seem to be the possible way to have a job because unemployment is something that is not affordable for poor household. Data from Statistic Indonesia in 2018 shows that women aged above 15 are more likely to work in a household with percentage at 22,57% compared to men that only at 5,67%. Followed by private business at 19,79%. While in terns of formal work, the number was low behind men at 36,34% compared to 41,82% (KEMENPPA, 2019).

According to ILO data in 2010, women have a tendency to face significant barrier in terms of accessing employment compared to their male counterparts (ILO, 2011). Although this tendency is begin to decrease from time to time since the 1990s crisis, but it still constitute to 75% of total employment in 2013 (AIPG, 2017). The difference in market type then worsened by the difference in wages received by male and female. According to Asian Development Bank Economic Working Paper report, women are mostly earn less than men in all job sectors and at all levels of education (Taniguchi & Tuwo, 2014). A research conduct by Erwin Karnadi form Katolic University of Atma Jaya shown that the higher wage gap exist particularly for women under 30 years old with the percentage up to 27.6%. As older the women get, the wage gap has become narrowed (The Conversation, 2019). Statistic Indonesia (BPS) in 2018 shown that women are paid on average RP 2,3 million per month, while men are paid for Rp 3,06 million per month on average (KEMENPPA, 2019). And in 2020, the official data from Statistic Indonesia shows that Indonesian women still earn less money on average than men per month. The gender wage gap stood at nearly 23% percent in February. In 2020, women are usually earn Rp 2.45 million per month on average, compared to men that earn on average at Rp 3.18 per month (Rahman, 2020).

The cause of why so many women chose to work in informal sector is that because of the decrease in agricultural economy in rural area during economic crisis, a lot of people migrated to urban area with a lot of industrial sectors. They hope that industrial company will provide better job opportunity for workers. This urbanization give an impact to the density in urban area. More people means more job application. However, it was not followed by the number of job available in the area. Furthermore, to avoid unemployment, people, mostly women, can only have informal work which has low income to help them fulfil their basic needs. And as the city grows, the income gap become wider among different type of worker and also between male and female. Another reason why women tend to pick informal job or a job with low career stage was mostly due to their need to balance work and child care responsibility (ILO, 2011). Flexible working hours has become



the best option for those who seek to maintain their availability for their child and family. Hence, some women also tend to stop working after having children in order to be able to spend more time with family.

The gender studies has been long examining gender inequality in labour market that focus on gender wage gap between male and female. According to AIPEG, wages gap between male and female in Indonesia is differs depend on the industry. In agricultural and services in private household is the lowest with women's hourly wage is around 64% of the male average wage. While in the highest paying sector, finance, women earn 6.2% less than male average wage (AIPG, 2017). In 2020, Indonesia Minister of Finance stated that less than 50% of all women in the labour force are working as professionals and only 30% of them had occupy managerial positions where they are also paid less than men. While the Minister of Manpower argued that although Indonesia had ratified ILO Convention No 100 on Equal Renumeration in 1958, the equal renumeration for men and women workers has not changed since then (ILO, 2020).

Protection Rights of Women in Indonesia

In 2014, during the Summit in Brisbane, Indonesia along with other G20 countries had committed to decrease gender gap in labour force participation by 25% in 2025. This policy also support the 2030 Agenda of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) that was adopted later in 2015 (ILO, OECD, IMF, & World Bank, 2016). Then in 2017, UNDP Indonesia established Gender Equality Strategy and Action Plan 2017-2020, that aims in advancing gender equality in every aspect of work. There are several outcomes addressed in the action plan that aimed to be achieved by 2020. It is include sustainable employment and incomeearning opportunities for women, better and more equitable access to quality social services and social protection, and access to justice and public institutions (UNDP Indonesia, 2017). Indonesia had also ratified ILO Convention No.100 on Equal Enumeration in 1958 (ILO, 2020). The convention promote the importance of equal enumeration without discrimination based on gender. Under the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia Article 28D (2) it is stated that "Every person shall have the rights to work and receive fair and proper renumeration and treatment in employment". Indonesia Government also has Act of the Republic of Indonesia No.13/2003 on Manpower (Manpower Act) that regulate the equal opportunity for every person to get a job without discrimination as well as protection, payment of wages and welfare. It means that in terms of policy and regulation, Indonesia has already fulfil the labour norms as arranged under ILO Convention. However, these policies do not seem to be able to protect the rights of female labour force in Indonesia to receive equal opportunities and access including equal wages.

Policies in Indonesia concerning female labour are only included in the Manpower (*Ketenagakerjaan*) Act and their rights are not accommodated. This is because, in general, labour laws only generally explain the rights and obligations of workers and tend to equate the rights of both male and female workers. Main focus of labour law is the problems emerging from the employment relationship between the employer and employee, and the relative power of the two parties, normatively ordered by the nature of the contract and conditions of employment; statutory conditions of employment; state systems for the settlement of industrial disputes; and the right to collective organization and industrial action. In an edited compilation of articles on labour law in a number of East Asian states,



including Indonesia, Cooney have argued that labour law in East Asia had been characterised by combining a more 'traditional' focus on the protection of employees in the employment relationship, and a focus on the broader labour market dimensions of state policy-making and regulations. Cooneyidentify three important and interlinked influences that shape the contents of labour laws in many East Asian countries: (1) 'legal transplants' or borrowing from Western states and from international institutions; (2) economic development policies; and (3) strategies of political control. As they note: 'most of the developed or developing East Asian states have adopted, in broad outline at least (and some more recently than others), systems of labour law that reflect the form and content of the systems of Western countries'.

Cooney want to explain the so-called 'gap' between law and practice, which they argue is an obvious phenomenon in many East Asian countries. Although extensive labour laws exist in East Asian countries, there remains in all cases a large gap between law and practice. According to Cooney, labour law regimes in East Asia have not been 'invoked in the same ways or utilized to the same ends as in the West during the comparable period of economic development'. The law/practice gap in East Asia, they argue, is different not only in degree but also in nature from the law/practice gap that is the focus of socio-legal scholarship in developed countries. Several examples provide evidence for this claim: for example, despite the fact that democratization has allowed labour movements to increase their ability to challenge the state, this capacity remains well below that of their Western counterparts; and despite growing numbers of trade unions, the levels of collective bargaining remain relatively low, as does the frequency of industrial action under legal procedures.

Referring to the rhetorical question in Donald Clarke's article on China: 'What's Law Got to Do with It?', Cooney and Mitchell point out: '[It] is not that law doesn't exist but that it has little capacity to significantly influence other social systems, such as the state or the market.' However, they also note that labour laws are not uniform or consistent in effect; similar laws have different effects in different countries and over time. Different areas of labour law are associated with different gaps: for example the adjudication of 'interest' disputes (disputes over entitlements of future working conditions during collective bargaining) is utilised in different ways in Malaysia, the Philippines and Taiwan. Similarly, laws on the formation of trade unions have influenced the shape and activity of workers' organizations to different extents in different countries: for example, laws limiting trade union formation in South Korea and Taiwan became ineffective, because most unions were actually formed outside the parameters provided by law, while in China, employment contract laws had a marked influence, radically altering that country's employment practices.

Female workers also predominate in the informal sector, where the sector has not been touched and is certainly not protected by the Manpower Act. In addition, the weak protection of women workers even in the formal sector is also due to several things such as companies (and often employees) are often simply unaware of the relevant legal provisions. A second common reason is economic necessity: legal penalties may be too high for companies to bear, with the cost of compliance exceeding a company's capabilities, as is in early-1950s South Korea, and in Indonesia after the 1997-1998 crisis. A third proposed reason is a lack of effective enforcement, with companies simply refusing to comply regardless of having the means to do so, if they know that there will be no sanctions any



way, or if they know that there are insufficient labour inspection officials available, or that officials can be bribed.

In the case of women workers in Indonesia, the three previous approaches namely WiD, WaD and GaD have similarities in seeing women and development is also said to be a failed assumption in the context of women workers in Indonesia. The concept of WiD, for example, has a productive focus on women who have tried to realize the goal of integrating women into development in various ways, namely starting a special program for women to increase economic independence. The main objective of this WID-based project is to increase the role, access, control and benefits of women in development. The opposite is true, the increasing role of women as workers is not directly proportional to the welfare of women workers.

Development is a multi-dimensional effort to change conditions from certain to better conditions. The change must be accompanied by an increase in human dignity and dignity indiscriminately. Everyone from any layer has the right to benefit from development. If one of them is underdeveloped, then development is considered unsuccessful.

Conclusion

Indonesia has experienced changes in the employment structure since the economic crisis in the 1990s. The Indonesian economy, which was initially based on the agricultural sector, has shifted to become the dominant industrial and infrastructure sector. This change brought Indonesia towards a more modern economy that was able to increase state revenues. Unfortunately, these changes are not accompanied by gender equality in employment. Increasing women's participation in economic development is not supported by labour protection toward women. This is because even though the role of women is getting bigger in helping to improve the economy, the majority of them tend to work in the informal sector which is prone to discrimination and lower income. Although the government has established a Manpower Act that protects the welfare of workers, it is not enough to cover the informal sector workers who are mostly women. These workers still suffered from wages inequality when compared to male workers in the same sector. In addition, in practice, there are still many employers who have not fully implemented labour policies so that the rights of workers are not fulfilled properly.

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