Sosioedukasi
JURNAL ILMIAH ILMU PENDIDIKAN DAN SOSIAL
ISSN: 2086-6135 E-ISSN: 2541-612x
Volume 15 No. 4 Desember 2026 https://ejournal.unibabwi.ac.id/index.php/sosioedukasi/index

POLITICAL WILL OF SURABAYA CITY GOVERNMENT IN PREVENTING VIOLATIONS OF WOMEN WORKER'S MATERNITY RIGHTS

Sevtya Zahrotul Audina[1a*], Sri Wibawani[2b]

[12] Public Administration, Faculty of Social, Cultural, and Political Science, Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" East Java, Surabaya, Indonesia, 60294

[a]*E-mail: 22041010191@student.upjnjatim.ac.id*
[b]*E-mail: sri_wibawani.adneg@upnjatim.ac.id*

(*) Corresponding Author
22041010191@student.upjnjatim.ac.id

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received : 19-05-2026
Revised : 26-05-2026
Accepted : 17-11-2026

KEYWORDS

Development, Gender, Labour, Maternity Rights, Political Will, Women Workers

ABSTRACT

This study examines the local government's commitment to preventing violations of maternity rights for women workers in Surabaya. Despite the existence of various national regulations governing reproductive labor rights, their implementation in practice continues to encounter significant challenges. Employing a qualitative method with a case study approach, this research analyzes the issue using the political will framework, which consists of source of initiative, in-depth analysis of the problem, mobilization of support, application of credible sanctions, and continuity of effort. The findings indicate that the commitment demonstrated by the Surabaya City Government in addressing violations of women workers' maternity entitlements remains insufficient across these dimensions. Existing efforts are still largely administrative and have not yet developed into a comprehensive and sustainable protection strategy. Therefore, stronger governmental commitment is needed through more gender-sensitive policies, strengthened labor supervision, wider dissemination of reproductive rights awareness, and the development of integrated evaluation and protection mechanisms.

This is an open access article under the CC–BY-SA license.

INTRODUCTION

Gender equality remains one of the central pillars of inclusive development. The Gender and Development (GAD) approach emphasizes that women's absence from development processes means that 50 percent of human resources go unutilized, making development efficient only when women are meaningfully included (Mosse, 1996). (Wani et al., 2024) further affirm that gender equality is a key dimension of inclusive growth, as it ensures economic opportunities and resources are distributed equitably across society. Yet global realities tell a different story. The International Labour Organization (ILO) reports that the labor force participation rate of women aged 25-54 stands at only 51.6 percent, compared to 94.6 percent for men. More strikingly, while unmarried women participate at 82.4 percent, this figure drops sharply to around 50 percent among married women with children, whereas men's participation remains stable at approximately 90 percent regardless of

Sosioedukasi
JURNAL ILMIAH ILMU PENDIDIKAN DAN SOSIAL
ISSN: 2086-6135 E-ISSN: 2541-612x
Volume 15 No. 4 Desember 2026 https://ejournal.unibabwi.ac.id/index.php/sosioedukasi/index

household status. These disparities indicate that reproductive roles continue to shape women's access to labor participation and economic security. United Nations Women (2025) further highlights that women in vulnerable work conditions face heightened risks of rights violations, including inadequate access to maternity protection (United Nations, 2025).

Indonesia mirrors this pattern. Data from the Badan Pusat Statistik (BPS) shows that women's labor force participation increased from 53.34 percent in 2021 to 56.42 percent in 2024, yet this remains far behind men's rate of 84.66 percent in the same year (Badan Pusat Statistik, 2024). This gap is not merely statistical, it reflects deep structural inequalities rooted in gender role constructions that place women in the false dilemma of choosing between caregiving and economic participation. Maternity rights sit at the heart of this structural problem. A quantitative study by Komnas Perempuan (2022) found that 88 percent of formal sector women workers at age 24 were unmarried, while only 50 percent remained employed after marriage and childbirth. Most women between ages 20 and 40 experienced at least one year out of the workforce following their first child. This pattern, though appearing individual, carries systemic consequences for Indonesia's human development quality, ultimately contributing to feminization of poverty (Komnas Perempuan, 2022).

Decades later, Indonesia ratified CEDAW through Law No. 7 of 1984 and *Undang-Undang Nomor 13 Tahun 2003 tentang Ketenagakerjaan* (Law No. 13/2003) subsequently codified rights to menstrual leave, maternity leave, breastfeeding time, post-miscarriage recovery, and prohibition of dismissal due to pregnancy (UU No. 13 Tahun 2003 tentang Ketenagakerjaan, 2003). These protections were most recently strengthened through *Undang-Undang Nomor 4 Tahun 2024 tentang Kesejahteraan Ibu dan Anak* (Law No. 4/2024), which extends maternity leave to up to six months with guaranteed wages and lactation facilities (UU No. 4 Tahun 2024 tentang Kesejahteraan Ibu dan Anak pada Fase Seribu Hari Pertama Kehidupan, 2024). Despite this robust legal framework, implementation remains deeply problematic. Research by Jannah & Setiawati (2025) found that six out of ten companies studied across sectors had not optimally implemented maternity leave provisions (Jannah & Setiawati, 2025).

Cases ranged from PT. Tyfountex in Surakarta paying only one month's equivalent wages during maternity leave, to Inner Glow Spa providing only 1.5 months of unpaid leave. More alarmingly, research by Nopianti et al. (2024) documented that PT. Alpen Food Industry in Bekasi continued assigning night shifts to pregnant workers, resulting in 14 miscarriages and 6 newborn deaths since 2019 (Nopianti et al., 2024). These recurring cases demonstrate that formal legal protection does not automatically translate into substantive protection in workplace practices. Surabaya as Indonesia's second-largest city is no exception. In 2021, PT Gorom Kencana, where 90 percent of workers are women, was publicly exposed for withholding wages during maternity leave (Pradita & Handoyo, 2021). More recently, the Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum (LBH) Surabaya (2025) reported that PT. Tunjungan Crystal Hotel unilaterally dismissed 41 workers, including a woman nine months pregnant, while also forcing other women workers to return during their postpartum recovery period (LBH Surabaya, 2025). These recurring violations point to a structural problem demanding stronger policy intervention and political commitment.

Two factors dominate the literature as root causes of persistent violations. First, a lack of socialization of regulations among both workers and employers. An ILO survey found that only 31 percent of 479 women worker respondents knew the detailed duration of maternity leave under Law No. 13/2003, while 10 percent had no knowledge of maternity rights whatsoever (Setyonaluri, 2022). Second, inadequate government monitoring and enforcement, which creates conditions where companies can repeatedly violate maternity rights without meaningful deterrence (Jannah & Setiawati, 2025). However, most existing studies primarily examine maternity rights violations from legal and labor perspectives, while limited attention has been given to the government's political commitment in preventing such violations at the local level.

These conditions call for a closer examination of political will that defined by Brinkerhoff (2010) as the commitment of policy actors to take action toward a set of objectives and bear the consequences of such actions over time (Brinkerhoff, 2010). (Huss et al., 2021) operationalize political will into five components: source of initiative, in-depth problem analysis, mobilization of support, application of credible sanctions, and continuity of effort (Huss et al., 2021). As Mendrofa & Sonuari (2025) caution, political commitment at the implementation level often exists only normatively, without being comprehensively reflected across each of these components (Mendrofa & Sonuari, 2025). This study therefore examines the political will of the Surabaya City Government, specifically the Dinas Perindustrian dan Ketenagakerjaan (Disperinaker) as the leading sector in preventing violations of women workers' maternity rights. Given that research approaching maternity

Sosioedukasi
JURNAL ILMIAH ILMU PENDIDIKAN DAN SOSIAL
ISSN: 2086-6135 E-ISSN: 2541-612x
Volume 15 No. 4 Desember 2026 https://ejournal.unibabwi.ac.id/index.php/sosioedukasi/index

rights issues through the political will lens remains scarce (Putri & Nawangsari, 2024), this study contributes a critical perspective to both gender and public policy scholarship, while generating concrete insights for local government accountability in Surabaya.

METHOD

This study adopts a qualitative approach with an exploratory single-case study design to investigate local government political will in preventing maternity rights violations against women workers. A case study framework is highly effective for examining complex social interactions and policy dynamics within real-life institutional settings (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). The analytical boundary is set on the City Government of Surabaya, East Java, which presents a critical paradox. Which while promoting a humanist and sustainable development vision, the city faces persistent challenges regarding the protection of women workers's maternity rights. To operationalize the assessment of political will, this research utilizes the analytical framework adapted from (Huss et al., 2021), focusing on five core dimensions: the source of initiative, in-depth analysis of the problem, mobilization of support, application of credible sanctions, and continuity of effort.

Informants were selected using an emergent sampling design that combined purposive and snowball sampling techniques to obtain richer and more comprehensive data relevant to the research objectives (Sugiyono, 2019). Primary institutional actors were purposively selected as the initial informants, including Dinas Perindustrian dan Tenaga Kerja Kota Surabaya, DPRD Kota Surabaya, and KASBI. Additional informants were then obtained through snowball sampling, including DP3APPKB Kota Surabaya, *Dinas Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi Provinsi Jawa Timur*, YLBHI Surabaya, and women workers. In total, this study involved total twelve informants and was conducted from March to May 2026.

Data collection was conducted through semi-structured in-depth interviews, direct observation of policy enforcement, and document analysis of local regulations, departmental reports, and union advocacy dossiers. The gathered data were analyzed iteratively using the interactive model of Miles and Huberman, which encompasses data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing or verification (Sugiyono, 2019). Qualitative findings were coded according to the five dimensions of political will to identify institutional bottlenecks and policy convergences. To ensure trustworthiness, this study applied credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability criteria. Credibility was strengthened through prolonged field engagement and source triangulation by comparing government narratives with union data and worker experiences. Dependability and confirmability were maintained through systematic documentation and supervisory review to ensure that the findings reflected empirical data rather than subjective interpretation.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Source of Initiative

The assessment of the "source of initiative" dimension within the political will framework reveals a complex institutional landscape that falls short of demonstrating a genuine, internally driven commitment by local authorities. According to (Huss et al., 2021) meaningful political will requires key political and administrative actors to proactively identify an issue as a priority for reform, ensuring that policy actions originate from autonomous internal motivation rather than merely surviving as passive responses to external pressures. Empirically, the policy framework for protecting women workers' maternity rights in Surabaya remains heavily reliant on national mandates, specifically Law No. 13/2003 and Law No. 4/2024. While local governments are not legally obligated to draft derivative regulations for every national policy, this reliance reflects a strictly compliance-driven approach. Under the Indonesian regional autonomy framework, local governance operates on the principles of deconcentration, efficiency, and effectiveness. The City Government of Surabaya formally fulfills the deconcentration principle by acting as an extension of the central government to ensure national mandates are executed locally.

However, when evaluated against the principles of efficiency and effectiveness, the administration exhibits significant passivity. Maternity rights protection in Surabaya operates through routine administrative channels without the reinforcement of local initiatives capable of addressing the precarious realities faced by women workers in the field. This passive stance contradicts the national development direction outlined in the *Asta Cita* agenda for the "Indonesia Emas 2045"

Sosioedukasi
JURNAL ILMIAH ILMU PENDIDIKAN DAN SOSIAL
ISSN: 2086-6135 E-ISSN: 2541-612x
Volume 15 No. 4 Desember 2026 https://ejournal.unibabwi.ac.id/index.php/sosioedukasi/index

vision. Furthermore, the Strategic Plan (*Renstra*) of the Dinas Perindustrian dan Tenaga Kerja Surabaya explicitly identifies the protection of women workers as a critical industrial relations challenge that must be actively managed. The sole indication of an internal institutional initiative is the draft of regional regulation on the Protection of Women and Children initiated by the DP3APPKB Surabaya. Although initial consultative meetings have commenced with the DPRD Kota Surabaya, this initiative cannot yet be classified as a concrete manifestation of political will. In political science, authentic initiative is verified through enforceable, institutionalized, and sustained actions rather than preliminary planning cycles (Brinkerhoff, 2010)

The reactive nature of the local government is further corroborated by empirical field evidence from the Chairperson of FSBK-KASBI Surabaya, which reveals that active state intervention occurs almost exclusively after protracted reporting processes or mass labor demonstrations. This pattern confirms that reformative impulses are externally induced rather than internally driven, echoing the caution by Huss et al. (2021) that an authority's reluctance to initiate or champion independent policy actions signals a deficiency in political will (Huss et al., 2021). This structural negligence carries wider socio-political implications, as Mosse (1996) argues that development paradigms fail to achieve inclusivity if they fail to structurally safeguard women (Mosse, 1996). The absence of proactive local initiatives to protect women workers from maternity violations in Surabaya is not merely a technical-administrative lapse, but a fundamental failure in translating formal, gender-inclusive development agendas into operational local realities. Consequently, the source of initiative for enforcing maternity rights in Surabaya remains weak, characterized by compliance to national directives and responses to external pressures, while otonomous, institutionalized local commitment remains severely constrained.

In-Depth Analysis of the Problem

The evaluation of the "in-depth analysis of the problem" dimension demonstrates that the local government's assessment of maternity rights violations remains superficial, failing to capture the structural complexities of the issue. (Huss et al., 2021) posit that a systematic analysis is crucial to recognizing the multi-layered nature of social problems and formulating rational policy responses. Conversely, a superficial approach merely reflects a shallow willingness to pursue meaningful change (Brinkerhoff, 2000). Empirically, the Dinas Perindustrian dan Tenaga Kerja Kota Surabaya exhibits a fundamental analytical limitation by interpreting the low number of formal labor complaints as an indicator of minimal violations. This methodologically flawed perspective relies strictly on surface-level data while overlooking hidden, underlying variables (Brinkerhoff, 2010).

Field realities reveal that the silence of women workers does not indicate compliance or satisfaction; rather, it represents a rational response to systemic fear, intimidation, the threat of dismissal, and severe economic pressures. By ignoring these structural barriers, the local authority fails to understand why vulnerable women workers actively avoid formal reporting mechanisms. This analytical deficiency is vividly illustrated by the local government's response to a specific labor dispute at PT Tunjungan Crystal Hotel involving the termination of a pregnant worker. The Dinas Perindustrian dan Tenaga Kerja Kota Surabaya reduced this systemic violation to a mere isolated, incidental administrative misunderstanding. Such an interpretation demonstrates that maternity rights infractions are viewed as detached technical anomalies rather than symptoms of broader structural patterns within industrial relations. This assessment is corroborated by YLBHI Kota Surabaya, which notes that state responses to labor complaints consistently fail to interrogate the specific gender dimensions of labor exploitation.

This limitation is also reflected in the statement of a member of Komisi D DPRD Kota Surabaya, who argued that gender issues are no longer relevant because workplace equality was perceived to have been achieved. This stance reflects a dangerous gender-blind approach. As (Clausen et al., 2026) argue, gender-blind practices often appear progressive because they align with formal definitions of equality, yet they ultimately obscure the deep-seated mechanisms that reproduce substantive inequalities. By declaring gender discrimination "resolved," the legislature removes women workers vulnerability from the strategic agenda, reframing structural state failures as individual capacity deficits of the workers themselves. This shifting of accountability directly contradicts the core principles of GAD, which demand that the state actively dismantle the structural obstacles hindering women from accessing their rights (Mosse, 1996)

(Clausen et al., 2026) emphasize that focusing primarily on the absence of formal barriers prioritizes procedural milestones over the substantive, real-world impacts experienced by women. From a GAD perspective, the integration of

Sosioedukasi
JURNAL ILMIAH ILMU PENDIDIKAN DAN SOSIAL
ISSN: 2086-6135 E-ISSN: 2541-612x
Volume 15 No. 4 Desember 2026 https://ejournal.unibabwi.ac.id/index.php/sosioedukasi/index

women into the industrial sector does not automatically equate to empowerment. Instead, it often reveals how patriarchal hierarchies are reproduced within flexible and exploitative labor systems. Industries frequently prefer women workers due to perceived docility, making them primary targets for low-wage, temporary contractual arrangements where they can be dismissed without compensation when production needs shift (Mosse, 1996). This vulnerability is further exacerbated within outsourcing and short-term contract structures, which systematically create loopholes for circumventing maternity protections.

Field evidence reveals highly discriminatory recruitment practices, such as inquiring about pregnancy status, alongside the unpaid suspension of contracts during maternity leave. Ironically, the Dinas Perindustrian dan Tenaga Kerja Kota Surabaya rationalizes these systemic abuses as the logical, voluntary outcome of mutually agreed-upon contracts, ignoring the profound imbalance of bargaining power between employers and desperate job seekers. This regulatory passivity fails to address corporate strategies that treat maternity rights as a costly operational burden to be minimized. (Mosse, 1996) notes, the sexual division of labor and women's roles as perceived secondary breadwinners structurally force them to accept precarious working conditions to preserve household survival. Consequently, the local government's problem analysis remains weak and superficial, relying on formal complaints, treating systemic violations as isolated incidents, and ignoring the gendered dynamics that lie at the root of labor exploitation.

Mobilization of Support

The evaluation of the "mobilization of support" dimension highlights a paradoxical institutional landscape within the local government's framework. (Huss et al., 2021) argue that the success of stakeholder mobilization relies heavily on the perceived credibility of state actors, which is essential for building collective, participatory, and sustained support while overcoming institutional resistance. This credibility is especially vital among the groups most impacted by the policy. In Surabaya, while formal, mandated stakeholder mobilization mechanisms are technically operational, they substantially fail to address deep-rooted structural vulnerabilities or build institutional trust among women workers. The primary administrative mechanism implemented by the state is corporate supervision. The Dinas Perindustrian dan Tenaga Kerja Kota Surabaya and labor inspectors actively conduct counseling, monitoring, and direct company inspections to ensure regulatory compliance.

Table 1. Data on Companies Implementing PP/PKB in Surabaya City, 2022-2024

Data	2022	2023	2024
Data on Companies with PP/PKB	1.283	1.438	1.522
Data on Companies in Surabaya City	10.592	10.592	10.592

Source: Rencana Strategis Dinas Perindustrian dan Tenaga Kerja Kota Surabaya 2025-2029, Pemerintah Kota Surabaya (2025)

Statistically, the number of companies possessing formal Company Regulations (Peraturan Perusahaan / PP) or Collective Labor Agreements (Perjanjian Kerja Bersama / PKB) increased from 1,283 in 2022 to 1,522 in 2024. While this upward trend indicates partial success in administrative coaching, a critical analysis of the broader context reveals significant limitations. Out of 10,592 registered companies in Surabaya, only approximately 14.4 percent had established a PP or PKB by 2024. This small proportion demonstrates that the vast majority of local enterprises remain entirely unreached by state supervision, underscoring the severely restricted outreach of government mobilization efforts within the private sector. This gap between formal bureaucracy and empirical reality is even more pronounced regarding the mobilization and empowerment of women workers.

Empirical findings indicate that women workersers suffer from extremely limited awareness of their legal maternity rights. This lack of knowledge is reinforced by the double burden faced by women workers, who must balance demanding factory shifts with unpaid domestic labor. The condition is further intensified by patriarchal household dynamics such as spousal prohibitions that restrict women from attending educational or labor advocacy sessions. This aligns with (Pradita & Handoyo, 2021), finding that patriarchal social structures impose rigid stereotypes, forcing women to remain passive within the domestic sphere and discouraging collective activism. While the previous analysis highlighted the state's superficial understanding of these labor dynamics, this dimension exposes how the government overlooks the double burden that traps

Sosioedukasi
JURNAL ILMIAH ILMU PENDIDIKAN DAN SOSIAL
ISSN: 2086-6135 E-ISSN: 2541-612x
Volume 15 No. 4 Desember 2026 https://ejournal.unibabwi.ac.id/index.php/sosioedukasi/index

reproductive-age women. In large urban centers like Surabaya, economic pressures force households to rely on multiple income streams.

Concurrently, traditional gender roles continue to frame domestic duties as an exclusively women responsibility. As (Mosse, 1996) notes, as long as family survival remains disproportionately placed on women without an equitable division of household labor, they will continue to bear an unequal burden resulting from developmental failures. This systemic failure prevents women workers, as the main beneficiaries of maternity protection policies, from developing the capacity to claim their rights. (Brinkerhoff, 2010) states that the willingness and capacity of policy actors are fundamentally shaped by their socio-political and bureaucratic environments; in this case, the capacity of the workers is actively diminished by an unsupportive socio-political environment. This educational gap directly contradicts the GAD paradigm, which prioritizes grass-roots empowerment so that women can secure the agency, material assets, and institutional spaces necessary to direct their own development (Mosse, 1996).

When the state fails to provide the basic educational spaces needed for workers to protect themselves, collective mobilization becomes highly restricted. As (Brinkerhoff, 2010) argues, governance structures that fail to foster adequate participatory spaces inevitably weaken citizens' capacity to advocate for their own interests. Crucially, this divergence in perspective has created a profound trust deficit between state apparatuses and labor groups. While government officials perceive their relationships with corporations and trade unions as cooperative and unproblematic, the empirical experiences of labor unions reveal deep-seated institutional distrust. Workers express profound frustration with a sluggish bureaucracy that routinely dismisses their grievances, leading to physical and financial exhaustion during protracted dispute resolutions. This institutional alienation has triggered visible public resistance, as demonstrated by mass labor demonstrations in Surabaya during International Women's Day 2026 and May Day 2026, which explicitly demanded substantive maternity protections and structural gender justice.

Within the framework of (Huss et al., 2021), this trust deficit directly undermines mobilization, as political will that lacks credibility among its core constituency cannot generate meaningful participation. Furthermore, while multi-sectoral coordination mechanisms like the SIAP PPAK system initiated by DP3APPKB Kota Surabaya signal an institutional awareness of collaborative protection, the platform is designed for general women and child protection rather than the distinct complexities of industrial relations. Because DP3APPKB lacks direct jurisdiction over labor enforcement, its role remains supportive rather than decisive. This fragmented coordination fails to bridge the gap between gender protection mandates and rigorous labor enforcement. Consequently, stakeholder mobilization in Surabaya remains inadequate, characterized by limited corporate reach, a lack of gender sensitivity, and a failure to build substantive trust with the women workforce.

Application of Credible Sanctions

The evaluation of the "application of credible sanctions" dimension within the political will framework highlights a profound disconnect between comprehensive formal legislation and restricted operational enforcement. (Huss et al., 2021) argue that the effectiveness of sanctions must not be evaluated merely by the existence of statutory provisions, but by whether their enforcement is sufficiently credible, consistent, and rigorous to induce systemic behavioral modification rather than isolated, individual adjustments. In Surabaya, the legal architecture governing maternity rights is textually robust. Law No. 13/2003 classifies the violation of maternity rights as a criminal offense, carrying severe statutory penalties. Furthermore, under this act, any termination of employment based on pregnancy or maternity status is explicitly declared null and void, mandating the immediate reinstatement of the affected worker.

This protective envelope is theoretically enhanced by Law No. 4/2024, which broadens reproductive rights protections and explicitly dictates that maternity rights are an inseparable component of broader labor rights under Pasal 9, thereby mandating an integrated enforcement strategy between central and regional authorities. However, this statutory stringency is severely undermined by fragmented institutional structures during actual field execution. A primary structural bottleneck is the complete lack of integration of Law No. 4/2024 into the operational protocols of state labor inspectors. Empirical evidence from fieldwork reveals that labor inspection officers explicitly declare an inability to penalize violations rooted in Law No. 4/2024, maintaining that their regulatory jurisdiction is rigidly restricted to Law No. 13/2003. This administrative silo directly contradicts the normative integration mandated by under Article 9 of Law No. 4/2024.

Sosioedukasi
JURNAL ILMIAH ILMU PENDIDIKAN DAN SOSIAL
ISSN: 2086-6135 E-ISSN: 2541-612x
Volume 15 No. 4 Desember 2026 https://ejournal.unibabwi.ac.id/index.php/sosioedukasi/index

In the framework of (Brinkerhoff, 2010) the failure to apply legally mandated sanctions due to institutional unreadiness reveals a deficiency in political will; sustainable structural reform requires not just the enactment of progressive legislation, but the restructuring of operational procedures across different branches of local administration. This enforcement deficit is most apparent in the state's heavy reliance on industrial dispute mediation, which routinely compromises the substantive rights of women workers. The termination case of Wulandari, a pregnant worker dismissed at nine months of pregnancy by PT Tunjungan Crystal Hotel, serves as a poignant empirical illustration. Formally, the dispute was resolved through state-facilitated mediation, culminating in a *Perjanjian Bersama* and financial severance package.

Substantively, however, this resolution legalized an employment termination that was legally null and void, substituting statutory job security with a financial compromise. As highlighted by Komnas Perempuan (2021), the industrial relations bureaucracy systematically misclassifies flagrant violations of statutory labor standards as mere civil "rights disputes" rather than criminal infractions, allowing non-compliant corporations to avoid the severe penal and administrative sanctions intended by law. From a Gender and Development (GAD) perspective, this reliance on compromise demonstrates a failure to understand that women's vulnerabilities are shaped by systemic power imbalances and unequal social relations rather than mere biological differences (Mosse, 1996). When a heavily pregnant worker accepts a financial settlement in lieu of job retention, this choice does not reflect autonomous individual agency, but rather an uneven bargaining dynamic between capital and labor.

Standardized mediation mechanisms that lack credible penal threats allow employers to bargain away their statutory obligations. While a *Perjanjian Bersama* imposes a financial cost on the non-compliant company, it lacks the coercive force necessary to establish systemic deterrence or trigger the institutional behavioral changes conceptualized by (Brinkerhoff, 2000). Furthermore, the credibility of enforcement is further eroded because the initiation of labor inspections remains dependent on the complainant's advocacy capacity. Labor groups consistently state that complaints left unmonitored by unions or legal aid institutions are routinely neglected by the state.



Figure 1. Documentation of the Labor Demonstration Conducted by PUK SPSI-FSPMIof PT. Tunjungan Crystal Hotel on February 6, 2025

This demonstrates that local enforcement mechanisms lack self-enforcing capabilities, aligning with (Jannah & Setiawati, 2025) found that the implementation of Law No. 13/2003 faces persistent obstacles due to weak state supervision, leaving women workers unprotected. Consequently, the application of credible sanctions in Surabaya remains inadequate, as strong legal texts are neutralized by fragmented agency jurisdictions and an industrial relations framework that prioritizes compromise over statutory compliance. As (Brinkerhoff, 2010) observes, weak governance thrives on an institutional culture of impunity; as long as systemic maternity violations terminate in financial mediation rather than rigorous legal enforcement, women workers will remain structurally vulnerable.

Continuity of Effort

Sosioedukasi
JURNAL ILMIAH ILMU PENDIDIKAN DAN SOSIAL
ISSN: 2086-6135 E-ISSN: 2541-612x
Volume 15 No. 4 Desember 2026 https://ejournal.unibabwi.ac.id/index.php/sosioedukasi/index

The assessment of the "continuity of effort" dimension within the political will framework emphasizes that sustainable reform requires systematic institutional learning, monitored evaluation, and a transparent willingness to rectify structural deficiencies. (Huss et al., 2021) posit that continuity is not demonstrated merely by repeating routine administrative activities; rather, it demands that organizations systematically identify policy gaps, integrate empirical feedback, and adjust strategies to progressively achieve policy goals. Empirically, the local government's claim to continuity is primarily visible within field-level labor inspection practices. Officers consistently execute cyclical counseling sessions for companies regarding the statutory mandates of Law No. 13/2003, while increasing inspection intensity for enterprises flagged with potential compliance issues.

However, this localized field consistency cannot be equated with systematic continuity at the broader institutional level due to two fundamental contradictions. First, these administrative efforts fail to isolate or prioritize the prevention of maternity rights violations as a distinct, targeted agenda. Instead, maternity protections remain generalized within the broad framework of industrial relations coaching and labor protection. Within (Brinkerhoff, 2010) his conceptualization of political will tell the absence of a distinct strategy specifically tailored to resolve a unique structural vulnerability indicates that the issue has not been recognized as a priority requiring planned, measurable, and continuous intervention. This operational dilution is a direct consequence of the deficiencies analyzed in the "in-depth analysis of the problem" dimension; without a granular and gender-sensitive understanding of the issue, targeted institutional continuity remains unattainable.

Second, the government's narrative of consistent efforts lacks external confirmation from critical non-state stakeholders. Labor unions, represented by FSBK-KASBI Surabaya, and legal advocates from YLBHI Surabaya consistently express deep institutional distrust regarding the efficacy of labor inspectors. Within the framework of (Huss et al., 2021), this trust deficit is critical. Political will cannot be substantively realized if its execution lacks credibility among its primary constituents, as unverified commitments fail to drive meaningful structural adjustments in the field. A critical analysis of the Rencana Strategis Dinas Perindustrian dan Tenaga Kerja Kota Surabaya Tahun 2025-2029 provides clear insights into the extent to which maternity rights have been incorporated into medium-term planning. Formally, the document acknowledges the low level of labor rights protection as a performance bottleneck and identifies the sub-optimal coaching by Industrial Relations Mediators as a significant constraint. While this formal recognition reflects institutional awareness, thereby serving as a baseline for potential evaluation, this awareness is not translated into measurable, targeted programs for women workers. Explicit references to protecting women workers appear only within the section analyzing national policy alignment with the *Asta Cita* agenda, rather than being operationalized into local activities. The formulated policy directions, such as strengthening industrial relations, enhancing mediator capacity, and conducting legal socialization remain highly generic and gender-neutral, failing to explicitly integrate the unique vulnerabilities surrounding maternity rights. From a Gender and Development (GAD) perspective, policy approaches that appear gender-neutral are frequently interpreted and executed in ways that reproduce traditional gender hierarchies (Clausen et al., 2026). By maintaining an overly generalized approach, the strategic planning instruments overlook the specific structural and biological barriers faced by women workers. This planning gap confirms by (Mosse, 1996) argument that development frameworks failing to explicitly target and protect women cannot achieve substantive, inclusive outcomes.

Consequently, without explicit prioritization in strategic documents, maternity protection depends on individual field officers rather than a structured state system. Furthermore, the absence of specialized feedback mechanisms, dedicated violation databases, and performance indicators prevents the systematic institutional learning envisioned by (Huss et al., 2021). Therefore, the continuity of effort remains highly fragmented, lacks verification from key stakeholders, and fails to integrate a gender perspective into measurable strategies, leaving women workers structurally unprotected across policy cycles.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the political will of the City Government of Surabaya in preventing maternity rights violations against women workers remains inadequate across all dimensions analyzed, including the source of initiative, in-depth analysis of the problem, mobilization of support, application of credible sanctions, and continuity of effort. The local government's commitment largely remains formalistic and reactive, without transforming into a substantive and sustainable

political agenda. This condition indicates that the existence of national regulations alone is insufficient without political courage, gender sensitivity, and institutional capacity at the regional level. Within the Gender and Development (GAD) perspective, weak protection of maternity rights not only places women workers in vulnerable positions, but also hinders the realization of inclusive and gender-equitable development.

Therefore, strengthening gender-sensitive political will is urgently needed to ensure that maternity rights are implemented not merely as normative commitments, but through concrete policies, stronger labor inspections, integrated stakeholder coordination, accessible complaint mechanisms, and sustainable protection strategies. In this regard, the study recommends that the City Government of Surabaya strengthen gender-responsive policies, expand education regarding maternity rights, enhance coordination with labor inspectors, improve monitoring and reporting systems, reinforce stakeholder mobilization, and encourage stronger policy integration between central and regional governments to ensure more effective protection of women workers' maternity rights.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author expresses sincere gratitude to Dra. Sri Wibawani, M.Si., for her invaluable guidance, continuous academic support, and constructive feedback throughout the development of this research. Deepest appreciation is also extended to all key institutional informants, including the representatives from the Dinas Perindustrian dan Tenaga Kerja Kota Surabaya, DPRD Kota Surabaya, Dinas Pemberdayaan Perempuan, Perlindungan Anak, dan Pengendalian Penduduk dan Keluarga Berencana (DP3APPKB) Kota Surabaya, and Dinas Tenaga Kerja dan Transmigrasi Provinsi Jawa Timur, for providing essential data and institutional insights. Furthermore, the author is immensely grateful to the regional labor representatives from FSBK-KASBI Surabaya, the legal advocates at YLBHI Surabaya, and especially the women workers who willingly shared their lived experiences, making this study substantively meaningful.

During the preparation of this work the authors used Artificial Intelligence (AI) in order to improve the language and readability of the manuscript. After using this tool, the authors reviewed and edited the content as needed and take full responsibility for the content of the publication.

REFERENCES

Badan Pusat Statistik. (2024). *Persentase Tenaga Kerja Formal Menurut Jenis Kelamin*. https://www.bps.go.id/id/statistics-table/2/MTE3MCMy/persentase-tenaga-kerja-formal-menurut-jenis-kelamin.html

Brinkerhoff, D. W. (2000). Assessing Political Will for Anti-Corruption Efforts: An Analytic Framework. *Public Administration and Development*, *20*(3), 239–252. https://doi.org/10.1002/1099-162X(200008)20:3%3C239::AID-PAD138%3E3.0.CO;2-3

Brinkerhoff, D. W. (2010). Unpacking the concept of political will to confront corruption. *U4 Brief*, *2010:1*. https://www.cmi.no/publications/3699-unpacking-the-concept-of-political-will-to

Clausen, M., Le Couteur, A., Crabb, S., Chur-Hansen, A., & Vincent, N. (2026). 'This Is Not Necessarily a Gender Thing': Gender-Blind Talk of Organisational Leaders. *Australian Journal of Management*, *51*(3), 984–1004. https://doi.org/10.1177/03128962251355310

Creswell, J. W., & Creswell, J. D. (2018). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. SAGE Publications.

Huss, O., Grimes, M., & Ivanyshyn, K. (2021). *Building Political Will to Combat Corruption: Key Steps to Mobilize Local Actors*. Unpublished. https://doi.org/10.13140/RG.2.2.34734.59209

Jannah, K. W., & Setiawati, D. (2025). *Pemenuhan Hak Cuti Hamil Dan Melahirkan Bagi Pekerja Perempuan: Analisis Implementasi UU Ketenagakerjaan Dan Putusan MA No. 1330 K/Pdt.Sus-PHI/2023* [S1, Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta]. https://eprints.ums.ac.id/131740/

Komnas Perempuan. (2022, December 13). *Laporan Kajian Komnas Perempuan tentang Konvensi ILO No. 190 dan Rekomendasi 206. Bekerja dengan Taruhan Nyawa; Diskriminasi dan Kekerasan Berbasis Gender terhadap Perempuan di Dunia Kerja*. Pengembangan Pengetahuan. https://komnasperempuan.go.id/pengembangan-

Sosioedukasi
JURNAL ILMIAH ILMU PENDIDIKAN DAN SOSIAL
ISSN: 2086-6135 E-ISSN: 2541-612x
Volume 15 No. 4 Desember 2026 https://ejournal.unibabwi.ac.id/index.php/sosioedukasi/index

pengetahuan-detail/laporan-kajian-komnas-perempuan-tentang-konvensi-ilo-no-190-dan-rekomendasi-206-bekerja-dengan-taruhan-nyawa-diskriminasi-dan-kekerasan-berbasis-gender-terhadap-perempuan-di-dunia-kerja

LBH Surabaya. (2025, February 7). *Pers Rilis Ujung Tanduk Nasib PHK Sepihak 41 Buruh PT. Tunjungan Crystal Hotel & Pelanggaran Hak Maternitas Terhadap Buruh PE*. https://www.bantuanhukumsby.or.id/article/112

Mendrofa, H. M. H., & Sonuari, M. I. S. M. I. (2025). Political Will Pemerintah Kota Bekasi Dalam Mewujudkan Kesejahteraan Sosial: Studi Kebijakan dan Implementasi. *Knowledge on Sustainable Economy, Public Policy, and Social Innovations*, *1*(1), 46–52.

Mosse, J. C. (1996). *Gender & Pembangunan*. Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre.

Nopianti, W., Setiady, T., & Abas, M. (2024). Tuntutan Pekerja Terhadap Hak Maternitas Bagi Tenaga Kerja Wanita Hamil yang Tidak di Penuhi Secara Keadilan Ditinjau Dari Perspektif Hukum Kesehatan dan Keselamatan Kerja (Studi Kasus PT. Alpen Food Industry Bekasi). *UNES Law Review*, *6*(3), 8941–8952. https://doi.org/10.31933/unesrev.v6i3.1799

Pradita, A. R. P., & Handoyo, P. (2021). Strategi Buruh Perempuan dalam Memperjuangkan Hak-hak Normatif pada PT Gorom Kencana Surabaya. *Paradigma*, *10*(1). https://ejournal.unesa.ac.id/index.php/paradigma/article/view/39187

Putri, B., & Nawangsari, E. R. (2024). Political Will of Strategies to Address Child Violence. *Jurnal Kebijakan Publik*, *15*(3), 292–300. https://doi.org/10.31258/jkp.v15i3.8488

Setyonaluri, D. (2022). Hasil Survei Kondisi Cuti Maternitas dan Jaminan Pendapatan di Tiga Kota Besar di Indonesia. In *Social Protection Platform | ILO* [PowerPoint Presentation]. IDN 220705. https://www.social-protection.org/gimi/ShowRessource.action?lang=ZH&id=57888

Sugiyono. (2019). *Metode Penelitian Pendidikan (Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, Kombinasi, R&D Dan Penelitian Pendidikan)* (Vol. 67). (Original work published ALFABETA)

United Nations. (2025). United Nations: Gender Equality. *United Nations Sustainable Development*. https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/gender-equality/

UU No. 4 Tahun 2024 tentang Kesejahteraan Ibu dan Anak pada Fase Seribu Hari Pertama Kehidupan, UU Nomor 4 Tahun 2024 (2024). https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/289997/uu-no-4-tahun-2024

UU No. 13 Tahun 2003 tentang Ketenagakerjaan, UU Nomor 13 Tahun 2003 (2003). https://peraturan.bpk.go.id/Details/43013/uu-no-13-tahun-2003

Wani, I. U., Alharthi, M., Khanday, I. N., Subhan, M., & Al-Faryan, M. A. S. (2024). Exploring the Complementary Interaction Between Financial Inclusion and Gender Equality on Economic Growth: Fresh Evidence from Developing Countries. *Cogent Economics & Finance*, *12*(1), 2365585. https://doi.org/10.1080/23322039.2024.2365585