WOMEN'S IDENTITY COMMUNICATION IN
THE MASCULINE WORK PLACE:

A CASE STUDY OF THREE INDONESIAN WOMEN OF LOWER STATUS
OF OCCUPATION

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ABSTRACT

Globalization makes women in third world countries entered the public domain. With limited education, these women should compete with men in the workplace. This dichotomy confirms the physical differences between men and women. Male's public domain is a tough world, full of competition, the pursuit of achievement and fulfillment of ambitions. Women in the domestic sphere associated with the household chores and the care of social functioning. This area of women's job was seen as not having high difficulty and less prestigious. The time when women go into the labor force, her existence is often questioned. Is she able to compete with colleagues who are men? Whether she has sufficient ability to do her job? Such questions will be asked by the society when a woman entered the public domain.

This study reveals how women communicate their identity in the world of masculine work place. In particular, women in lower social classes are vulnerable to practice of discrimination and harassment. The informants in this study were three women working as a security staff, a taxi driver and a garbage collector. The study found that women communicate their identity as woman through the role and value orientation of their working life. Although working in public realm, the informants still conduct the domestic role of women. To provide economic needs and voice independence are their orientation to work. The values in life were shown in the informants' work environment, especially when they have to take a stand and making decisions. Women's identity is communicated non - verbally to their men colleagues as a form of resistance to the environmental attitudes of the gender biased job.

Keywords: *identity, lower-class women, workplace masculinity, communication*

INTRODUCTION

This research reveals women's experience in communicating their identity in the male-dominated workplace. Often times, in a workplace, woman becomes the second class citizen due to the perception that woman is more suitable in the domestic domain than the public domain.

In the society in general, woman often perceived only as within a reproduction role. Social values, whether coming from religion or tradition, could be the factors that degrade woman. Social construct can put woman as subordinate, loyal, helpless, gentle and subservient 'creature' and a 'place' that is suitable for woman is the house, in which the household matters are the roles and chores for woman (Darwin, 2005 in Agnes Djarkasi, 2008).

The dichotomy of public and domestic domains reinforces the physical differences between man and woman. There is a sense that the man's world is tough, competitive, focus on achievement and the fulfillment of ambition. Woman in the domestic domain is associated with the household chores concerning nurturing and social matters. An occupation regarded as easy and less prestigious. The time when a woman dives into the workplace area, her existence was often questioned. Whether she will be able to compete with her male counterpart? Does she have the ability to do the job? These questions often arise when a woman enters the public domain.

In order to prove their professional side, woman is pressured to understand the way the 'man's world' operates. She then learns her new identity as a breadwinner who faces a harsh public domain. When she decides to enter the public sector, her identity is automatically deconstructed. The domestic identity as a wife and mother must be accommodated with the newfound identity as a breadwinner.

In her writing, Fasriyati (2011) quoted the Accenture research in 2010. The research was conducted through online survey on 3,400 business executive in 29 countries (average 100 respondents per country). It shows more than half of the respondents (55% female and 57 % male) were satisfied with their careers. However, 63% female respondents (compared to 55% male) admitted that their careers proceed slowly.

Women were held back by numbers of problem regarding their careers. As much as 47% women (compared to 44% men) admit that they did not receive fair compensation. Then, 36% women did not get the opportunity to grow in their careers.

This research explores the women's identity disclosure during their work in the workplace that is dominated by men. When they were in the socio-cultural condition that is differentiated with men, is there any transformed woman identity for her to be accepted by the workplace? Is there any maintained woman identity in the image struggle to become a woman in the masculine public domain?

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Based on the situation analysis, we would like to state the problem of this research as "how women disclose their identity in the masculine workplace?"

OBJECTIVES

1. This research goal is to discover the disclosure of woman's identity in the masculine workplace.

2. This research also analyzes the way the informants reveal their identity.

LITERATURE REVIEW
Globalization, Gender and the Public Domain

Globalization effected the economic, politic, and the development of communication technology, it's also open up the work opportunity in public domain. This also means, a change in the way we treat gender differences. Gallery (in Nugroho, 2008, p. 6) stated gender has two basic elements, which are "gender is not identical with sexes, and gender is the base of work division in all societies." Moreover, Nugroho (2008, p.7) mentioned the gender differences is not a problem as long as it doesn't transform into gender inequalities, which caused unfair treatment towards woman or man's social roles.

Economic demands changed the work division in the society. Susanti (2005) explains, the society divides occupation based on gender, which are the job of a man and the job of a woman (p.4). Despite the occupation is not defined based on sex, but the society categorize the job specific for man and woman. Work that requires patience and veracity was female dominance, and work which requires strength is male territory (p.5). Albeit some occupations can be done by both man and woman, such as police officer, security guard, and tailor.

Susanti points out that woman enters the workplace for some factors: a. A woman from the poor background works for the survivor of the family; b. Women from the middle class group work to elevate their welfare; c. Commitment to develop their career. (Susanti, 2005, p. 13). Furthermore, Susanti (2005) elucidate the factors behind women from every class of society in entering public domain. Besides economic reason and self-actualization, globalization has changed the way the society accepts women into the public domain.

Wood (2005) argued that women experienced stereotype when they explore the occupations of the public domain. This stereotyping put woman as a sexual object, mother, daughter, or iron maiden (p.209). The stereotyping emphasizes the existence of woman as object who is weak and requires help. Meanwhile, man was presented as being protective and strong, positioning himself firmly in the public domain. Man was

described as a powerful figure like a tree, a warrior, and a worker who earn income for the family (Wood, 2005, pp. 212-213). Furthermore, Beauvoir (Lie, 2005) confirms the presence of woman in a patriarchal world, as the second person and oppressed. In this regard, the position of men and women in society can be seen in terms of culture which includes the communities surrounding the individuals.

Self Disclosure and Workplace Communication

Mumby (2000) revealed that, the dichotomy of public and private spheres in an organization were influenced by masculine and feminine perspectives in the workplace. Men and women treat working environment differently. Men separate work and home environments, the separation was carried out to enlarge the community that lead to capital. Meanwhile, women make sense of the work environment as an extension of the home and personal community, where the community is a way to deal with the restrictions of the company (p.21).

Organizationally, communication is also different although still run by rules applicable in the company. Buzanell (Miller, 2003) suggests two views of communication within the organization. Traditionally, communication in an organization was concerned with the competitive individualism, pattern of cause and effect thinking, and autonomy or independence at work. On the other hand, feminist view of communication in organizations underscores the collaboration, integrative thinking pattern, and connectedness (p. 128). Thus, the pattern of organization applied differently for man and woman.

According to Ridgeway and Berger (Haslett & Ruebush, 1999), individuals have referential belief that,

> Certain social categories of people (e.g. lazy) occupy more valued positions and have greater status in society than others (e.g. females). These expectations transfer to group settings, such as higher status individuals representing categories are expected to have higher status within groups (p. 121).

It could be said that the perception of the individual in the group has been categorized by sex or gender role of women and men. The study was supported by Tannen (Hasslet and Ruebush, 1999), who found women use communication to obtain the relationship (connection) and collaboration with others, while men use communication to emphasize self-reliance and competition (p. 122).

Connectedness and cooperation of working women whom expected to appear in the self-disclosure were carried out between individuals. The process of self-disclosure will support the adjustment of women and men in the workplace. By definition, Adler, Proctor II and Towne (2005, p. 305) define self disclosure as "a process of deliberately revealing information about oneself that is significant and would not normally known by others." This self-disclosure process is different for both genders, as seen in the masculine and feminine stereotype. Self-disclosure takes place in two levels: the level of relationship breadth and depth. The first level, the breadth of relationship sees how many topics are becoming the talk of the two sides; second level or the depth of relationship defines the degree of the topics discussed related to the individual's self-concept and how much self-disclosure is performed (Gamble & Gamble, 2005, p .396).

Why do people conduct self-disclosure? Adler, Proctor II, and Towne (2005) said that people express themselves to others due to human needs. These needs consist of catharsis, reciprocity, self-clarification, validation of self, identity management, relationship management and improvement, social control, and manipulation (pp. 311-312). Identity management emphasizes the need for people to look good to others, or the way someone market herself (p. 312).

Communicate the Identity of Indonesian Working Woman

Every individual has a role in society and her own social identity. Alvesson and Billing (2009) revealed identity as "experienced consistency and distinctiveness of a person" (p. 96). Identity can be understood as a unique and consistent characteristic of a person, in contrast to other individuals. Furthermore, every individual has more than one identity, which depends on the context of her existence. According to Alvesson and Billing (2009), the existence of multiple identities can cause

> People may be more or less robust of flexible in their self-understandings, depending on background, context and life trajectory. There are typically 'identity themes' that tend to be salient in an individual's self-view across a rich variety of situations, creating some notion of endurance and integration, co-existing with identity themes that are more situations specific.(p. 97)

A person's ability to adjust to the environment is influenced by his or her identity. Identities are portrayed differently, have a specific theme, and depend on the circumstances surrounding the person. Identity reinforces self-confidence and self-perception of its owner (Alvesson and Billing, 2009, p. 97).

A person's identity is formed continuously, it does not stop at a certain time, and constantly changing, or is adjusted in line with the role of the person. Alvesson and Billing (2009) gave the concept of identity work and identity regulation. According to them, the process of identity work is to find a self image that is perceived positive, coherent, and are considered as enabling the person to face ambiguous situation and life challenges (p.98). Meanwhile, the identity regulation is seen as an important element in the formation of identity and the relationship between employees in the context of the organizational world (p.98).

Identity is also applied to gender. Gender identity is introduced and taught since childhood. The person is shown what to do when someone is sexually differentiated into male or female (Alvesson and Billing, 2009, p. 100). Regulation of the identity goes more subtle and direct, while gender identity is constructed by the society. It is evident from how men and women are treated in terms of rights and obligations within the scope

of their work, such as payroll, support for working couples with children, and so on (p. 100).

These distinctions are encouraging masculine and feminine identities to emerge. Adib and Guerrier (in Alvesson and Billing , 2009, p . 102) observed hotel workers and found "at one point in the narrative women's gender may be in the foreground and at the next point it may be the ethnic identity, which is salient". The identity of a woman is identified by gender, and at other times by other aspects, such as their ethnic identity. Here, woman and man become personal identity determined by a variety of variables. However, Alvesson and Billing (2009) also revealed that gender identities, such as domestic space, the nature of parenting, and sexuality which are synonymous with women are starting to disappear. Orientation towards career and professionalism are women choices at various levels, although there still limitations when women want to completely escape from the traditional demands, such as being a wife and mother (p.103).

In Indonesia, the phenomenon of working woman is not new. As previously disclosed by Susanti, working women in Indonesia have had their problems. Chrysanti Hasibuan - Sedyono (Hasibuan - Sedyono, 1996) suggested several obstacles faced by women working in Indonesia, such as people's views, multiple roles, and constraints of the work environment (pp. 218-226)

Society's view of working woman is woman doing a work, not a career; woman is seen in the typology of mother and wife, to whom the pressure of society unfolds (p. 218). Dual role is also an obstacle for working woman. Despite working and perhaps a career in the formal sector, woman is also required to have a married life; according to Sedyono Hasibuan, "the balance between career and family should be recognized as a major obstacle for working woman" (p. 220) . The constraints in the work environment are about discrimination and that women would not reach the top in their career (p.222). Nevertheless, the economic demands are encouraging women to work, both in the formal and informal sectors.

METHODOLOGY

The research was conducted with qualitative approach and case study as a method. The case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a phenomenon within a real life context when the boundaries between phenomenon and context do not appear explicitly. (Yin, 2006, p.18). Furthermore, a case study is a suitable strategy if used in a study with regards to how or why questions and when researchers have little opportunity to control the events that will be investigated, and if the research focuses on a contemporary phenomenon within a real life context (Yin, 2006).

In the case study method, the researcher must identify the problems posed in the research, whether it is a single or multi cases. This study elaborates the identity disclosure of the women who basically possess relatively distinct social status but the study illustrates the logic of the same.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Women and their Role Identity

Based on interviews with the informants, the researchers found that each informant identified herself as a woman who has two roles: the role of domestic and public. Although the domestic role is not time-consuming for these women, but this is a responsibility that must be done and is a priority before their roles in the public sector. Domestic roles ascribed to women, were experienced and recognized by the informants. Fauziah who worked as a driver, called the 'kitchen' as a work area that she was doing in the house, before she left for work.

> *Well, at least six am, after I finished the kitchen (work) I will leave for work (taxi driver)*

The kitchen area attached to the role of women in the domestic sphere. Fauziah also emphasizes on completing activity in the kitchen area before going to work. She stated that her role in the house in taking care of her parents is considered a very important role.

> After I gave my revenue to the (taxi) company, I (came home) took care
> of my house and mother and father. At that time my father was ill.

The same role was also performed by Ayudiah. As a security officer who does shift at office hours, Ayudiah has to switch between her job and preparing the needs of her family. Domestic work is still done by Ayudiah, for example, preparing breakfast for her family and the handle the needs of her only child before going to school.

> Well, it depends on the cleverness of the woman, let say despite her
> work, as high level as possible, don't forget what man says 3R(bed,
> well, kitchen). So, between work at the office and household, we have
> to be able to balance them without any crashed. It depends on our
> cleverness to arrange.

In connection with the role of women, there are some basic concepts that should be noted, they are the concept of sex and gender. Sex refers to the differences in men and women biologically, where women are physically weaker than men. Psychologically, men are more rational, more active and more aggressive, while women are more emotional, more passive and submissive. (Budiman in Djarkasi, 2008). The role of women in the domestic sphere is a social construct that places women as *tiyang wingking (Javanese)*. This context attached to her responsibility in managing the household chores, and positioned at the 'back' of the house.

When women own a profession in the public area, it is impossible to completely left out domestic role. This role is negotiated or adapted to her role in the public sector. It is found in the informant's statements. Ayudiah's dual roles as a wife and mother in the domestic sector are not affecting her appearance. As a security officer, Ayudiah should look firm, straightforward but friendly. However, her domestic identity behaviors were

shown through her attitude in dealing with problems in the workplace. Ayudiah was not the head of the security, but she was assumed as the most senior.

Ayudiah's character as a mother helped her to coordinate and cooperate with other colleagues. As a senior, a more humanistic approach was applied by Ayudiah to solve problems and make decisions. Her role in the public sector showed Ayudiah's personality as an informal leader in the work environment. This role directs her to set an example and willingness to sacrifice herself for the benefit of other colleague.

> So, if we want to teach other people, we have to start from ourselves. For example, if we are the leader, we have to sacrificed a lot, make ease for the subordinate. An example, when there is overtime they (the subordinate) say, "Maam, I am tired, I refuse this" well then, okay. Who will be responsible if it is not the leader? So to speak.

The female character that is patient and ready to face any adversity colored Ayudiah's interaction with the co-workers, both men and women. Patriarchal social values place women as mothers, as well as in the public sector. Ayudiah believes that applying work discipline to her junior colleagues is a negotiable principle with motherly images that are nurturing, delicate and has willingness to sacrifice.

> Although I am annoyed, tired or have any kinds of feelings, it must not be shown. That is why they say mothers are flexible, big hearted, patient, which what woman should be. 'A man's water' that was what my mom told me.

The same thing is indicated by Fauziah. As a taxi driver, she decided to choose the taxi base which she thinks is in accordance with good standards of safety and courtesy to passengers. Her parents teaching to behave properly and decently to others made Fauziah very selective in choosing her passengers. For her is not a problem of less or much income that she must pay to the company. For her, working as a taxi driver is not to meet the demands of the family. Salary is intended for herself. Working or not working is an option, not a requirement.

> Honestly, I pick the base, which is suitable for me as a woman. For example, at Ubaya (university), Petra (university) or RSI (hospital), It is impossible for uncanny people to enter, the drivers are polite and the passengers are students, lecturers, and surrounding society. And then, Ketintang (area), PLN (the State Electric Company), Telkom (the State Telephone Company), Unesa (university), are a good neighborhood. Other place is Dukuh Kupang (area), the night passengers are women too. Those places are my choices.

Fauziah conveys non-verbal communications when disclosing her identity in the workplace. One of them was not using make-up when she is working. She's intentionally shows her average appearance for the passengers and fellow taxi driver to not underestimate her ability as a taxi driver. In addition, Fauziah also keeps a distance between herself and the passengers so as not to get caught up in communication that ultimately harm her

> I don't want to use make-up or lipstick, I am scare, I need to maintain all of that. When I realized than my friends are nice, I finally have the courage to mingle and have passengers as friends. Until now.

The researcher found similar answer in Sri. Sri's role in the public sector does not explicitly show like Ayudiah and Fauziah. As a watchperson for garbage depot, Sri barely earns a fortune from junk and rubbish being dumped in the landfill, which also her home with her five children. The role of nurturing mother and father for their children, make the people who work with her in the surrounding environment amazed by her perseverance to raise her children alone.

> They (her fellow garbage collector) just shake their heads. They amazed and lost for words.

Sri, who tends to be quiet, is more likely to use non-verbal languages in her environment. Her hard work was recognized by her fellow worker. Every 5 am in the morning, Sri is getting ready to clean up trash. She is aided by her daughter. Not many words that she expressed in the current work. For her, cleans up trash quickly and then immediately sell them, are far more important than complaining and just chatting with people around her.

Identity shown by women in the public sector are then formed a new identity for working women. This identity determines the pattern of how female behavior in interacting with co-workers, especially men. However, the seemingly subtle stereotyping of women who are considered physically weak and become second-class citizens in many respects later entraps women in discriminatory treatment.

A role identity formation is deemed successful if women get the same treatment and recognition of the environment, including in the workplace. It was felt by Ayudiah. In doing her job as a security officer, she never experienced any discrimination from her male colleagues. Ayu's seniority or social background as a married woman actually makes Ayudiah as patron for his co-workers who are age and experience does tend to be younger than her. This experience is shared by Fauziah and Sri, both as single woman,

> There no differences, although hard, woman can do it. We serve the customers as usual (Fauziah)

> No, I am what I am. I don't need to hide my children in fear (Sri)

According to the social learning approach, behavior and self-concept are the result of continuous interaction between a person and her environment. In other words, environmental conditions shaping behavior through learning and conversely, the behavior will shape the environment. According to this theory, education for women should: 1) make up a whole person as human androgyny; 2) develop creative potential, productive, active and independent in mind and action, and 3) establish the image of women who are able to actualize their potential ability by education that fosters self-awareness of their own self (Supangat in Yulianeta, 2008). Thus, the social interaction will establish a person's identity. Charon (2010) revealed that person's identity will not be visible if it is not clearly articulated. The identity will be formed in the minds of other people or the environment if communicated and visible in certain standard conditions.

Women and Working Orientation

The division of roles between women and men has long been constructed. Women, upon entering the public domain, are often confronted with their orientation. Choice to work is

not without reason. The choice is always accompanied by a reason or orientation to obtain something. Based on the interviews, researchers also revealed the reason behind the orientation of the three informants in the public sector.

Ayudiah's previous job becoming a housemaid overseas, showed her desire to have the freedom and experience life away from her parents. Being a housemaid in Malaysia and Singapore is her choice, which later stopped by her parents who forbade her to live to far from them, considering she is the only daughter.

> Before my time overseas in Singapore and Malaysia, I didn't know Malaysia, and then I know. Before, I was obscure of Brunei, later I know. After finishing my contract, I planned on going back to Hongkong, my parents forbade me. They say "you are a woman, why don't you stop running around!"

Ayudiah orientation later changed when she was cast as a wife and mother who like it or not must involve in the domestic sphere. Ayudiah admits that earning money is not the only purpose to work. As a woman who used to work, she needs space for her subsistence as an independent woman, not just depend her financial life to her husband

> I don't want it (to be dependant). I am used to work, to being independent. I think far, I have to prepare myself from now. We never know age and fate. Who knows maybe tomorrow or the day after tomorrow my husband would pass away. I can handle my own problem without (my) husband. We (Ayudiah) have occupation in our hands.

For Sri, a job as a garbage collector was conducted to help the family economy, especially after the birth of her children. Her husband's income and his job as a janitor at the factory, did not meet the needs of the family. With the addition of kids, Sri needs jobs that require her not to leave the house, yet, still provide income.

> After having more children, there are no comfortable activities. We have to help (the economy) not just taking care of the kids. Well, I am helping by collecting garbage.

Meanwhile, Fauziah who worked as a taxi driver does not necessarily work to meet family demands but rather to satisfy her personal needs. Her job as a taxi driver allows her to choose days and hours of work that she can manage freely.

> I used to work in the field of education, now I still am, but just say as the caretaker. I also used to have deli and stationary business, not bad for income.

Hakim (in Alvesson and Billing, 2009, p. 63) points out; women who work in low-level jobs chose the work as a personal choice which deemed beneficial and flexible in time and environment. Social structure, especially the lower middle class, perceived career as not suitable for women. In a social system such as this, the women who work are not fully allowed for a career, but it is only to help the family economy. Who made the decision to work also indicates the identity of women in the public sphere. Do women really take their own decision to enter into the world of work?

Ayudiah expressed, that her husband gave her permission to work so she does not get bored at home while her husband's works in several cities for a long time. The events occurred showed the power relation between her and the husband, who in fact the party that has the authority to decide regarding her work.

> No, it is not a problem. My husband thought its better to have a wife that has an activity then a stay home wife. Why? A military wife often left for deployment by the husband. He thought its better for me having activities so my mind will focus on that. He keeps thing in check prevent me from cheating on him because of loneliness.

Women orientation in entering the public domain varies depending on their needs. Work for women in lower structure of society is not always money oriented although in the end she also hopes to earn. The women in this study were members of urban area, who have needs to contribute in public areas. Their dreams and hopes to work and then make money are in fact negotiated with their domestic role and the perceived higher authority in their household.

Women orientation at work is not always expressed verbally. The society and the work environment have always believed that women of the lower structure work for financial purposes. In reality it is not always the case. Independence, for them turned out to be the reason for entering the labor market, even competing in a male-dominated occupation.

Although not communicated verbally, but when a woman work, she formed a new perspective which is then manifested through her attitude in the public domain. This attitude is seen in Ayudiah when she considers the need for self-discipline in work. Similarly, Sri sees the work as an appropriate choice in order not to be undermined by the work environment even if people underestimate the job itself. Fauziah also see that working as a taxi driver is not tough or is appropriate for women. Work according to her ability or skill make woman more valuable in the community rather than being a 'spectator' at home. Women behavior shows their identity as a counterweight in the social system as the domestic domain actor whose role as the economic support of the family.

Women and Values of Life on the Job

Before becoming a housemaid, Ayudiah must undergo a heavy training in Singapore. The hard and fast work culture, admitted by Ayudiah had made her learn a lot about work ethics.

Working in the public sector makes Ayudiah a resilient personality. Her experience working abroad taught Ayudiah to always persistent in facing difficulties on the job.

Ayudiah assumed that her experience in a foreign country like Singapore shaped her into an individual fast in working. In addition, Ayudiah experienced more severe situation than physical training she went through as a candidate for security officer. It could be argued that the experience of severe life shaped the value of her life not to underestimate things and that difficulties can be overcome.

In addition, Ayudiah view work as a form of charity, as revealed,

> Although I have to overwork until late, when the boss said everything is fine, it's felt relieved. We triedto know what people want. So, beside work, it's charity.

As with Fauziah, her life value appears in the image of a taxi driver, which she tried to form. Fauziah reveals,

> A driver is the job, but ethics depend on the personality. Not just because we're driver we can act careless. We have to stay polite.

Fauziah assumes that in any type of work there are ethics that must be adhered to. The implementation of ethics lies in each individual involved. In connection to her work, Fauziah looks at a driver as someone who is polite and not sloppy; she wants to change the image of a driver.

Fauziah acknowledge her womanhood forbids her to do anything that is deviant. That worldview was seen in her actions,

> My colleagues told me that I drive slowly. Other customers also mentioned the same thing, like riding their own car. That is the real me.

Fauziah also show who she is through the way she drive. Fauziah driving style, based on the opinion of the driver and fellow passengers, tends to be slowly and carefully. She stressed that the way she drives reveals who she is. She is not affected by any party that dictates how to drive a taxi. She puts forwards the identity of an ethical driver.

Meanwhile, Sri looks at life as an opportunity for humans, at least for her and her children, to live with the purpose and benefit for others. Sri living in garbage disposal depot and work collecting garbage, aware that garbage is filth. She also realized that staying in the place result in associations that are not pleasant for her and her family. However, for Sri, the job does not specify who she was,

> Sometimes the kids felt ashamed, but I always emphasis they must not become the dregs of society, although we live in a waste land.

Sri emphasizes her view to her five children. The identity of a person is not determined by her place of residence. This is a one way to deal with stereotypes from others about dwelling place and work. In addition, it is also part of her duties as a mother who establish her identity

In the interview process, many times Sri mentioned the word God.

> I give back everything to God, He's the reason I can do this.

> It's all because of God's Grace. We are the children of God, we cannot be undermined

God enables me to go through this

Repeated mention of the word God showed how Sri views God as an important part of her life. Sri's identity as a woman who believes in God (religious) was also demonstrated through submission to God that governs all things in life. It's also instilled in all of her children.

Let His will be done, that's the best thing I could do as a mother. When kids rebel I can only pray. God own it. I can only pray.

At work, these women bring certain values. Their presence in the public domain does not necessarily negate the values that lead from their role in the family. These values become the symbols that characterize their interactions with the work environment, including with the male coworkers, although these values were not verbally communicated but they have identified these women in their daily work.

As expressed by Goffman that social action is the action of a communication symbol. This act controlled a person during communication with others. During which time a person interact with others, this person will try to make people understand what's on his minds, thoughts and feelings. (Goffman in Charon, 2010, p.138).

For Ayudiah and Fauziah, they show their values through non-verbal language. An impressive and polite driver became the basis value when Fauziah interact with customers and co-workers whom the majority is men. She delivered her identity through polite words, carefully driving her cab and neatly dressed. Symbolic communication is also done by Ayudiah through her act of giving. Giving is not always in the form of valuable goods, but also provides the dedication and good deeds in the works. Her junior co-workers, both women and men, were her target in showing the values that she believed in the job. The same goes to the students who occupied rental boarding house where she worked. Slightly different, Sri more often revealed her values verbally. As a single parent Sri noticed that raising five children with a job, that is often considered as filthy, is actually a chance from God that needs to be known by many people .

INTERPRETATION

In accordance with the opinion of Mumby (2000), the feminine and masculine perspectives of the workplace divide the social role into private and public spheres. Men and women treated differently as a working environment. Men do separation of work and home environments; the separation was carried out to extend the lead to capital community (p. 21). Based on interviews, the three informants were aware of their social roles as women, wives, mothers, or according to their profession or occupation.

In the public realm, Sri performs work associated with manual labor. Now, Sri perform two functions, namely as a father and mother, where she worked to meet the needs of the family. In the public sphere, according to Susanti (2005) the purpose of women lower-class of the society to work is to ensure the survival of the family. The same thing applies to Sri. She explicitly stated that she started to work since having children, with the aim to supplement the family income. Because her residence is at the same location with her job, the job does not seem separated from Sri's life and her family. Sri's duality of roles appears integrated because at the same time she runs her role as mother and breadwinner. In fact, her role as a breadwinner is often used as an example to their children about how a person should live her life.

In contrast to Fauziah, her role as the daughter in her family was run by caring for her parents. After the marriage ended, she assumes a greater role as a child for his parents, and work to meet their needs. From the interview with Fauziah, we understand that she will finish up the 'kitchen' and then go to work. Moreover, on the sidelines of time to work Fauziah will go home and take care of his parents. For Fauziah, a driver was not her first job, but the first in the field associated as men's work.

For Fauziah public domain is not an unfamiliar domain. She was used to work and earned income from work. However, what makes it different is how Fauziah does the work, with the aim to change the image of the work and the image of the people who do the work.

Ayudiah experience in the public sphere was started since she was young. Her first job as a housemaid shaped Ayudiah to be an independent and resilient person. This attitude continued until she married and live her profession as a security officer. The role

as a mother and wife is a priority for her. Providing household needs were done first before she did her job in the public domain. Although, her husband is able to meet the needs of her son but for she felt a woman should still be able to stand alone, particularly in financial terms.

Domestic role for these women who are in the lower structure of society is something that had become the first priority. This role is being done because of their financial inability to hire someone else. This role has implications for the perspective and behavior of women in the public sphere. Interaction with the world of public sphere, including with the male counterpart were colored with female values adopted from domestic roles. The approach taken, by women of lower-class, in dealing with problems and interactions with the male-dominated world of work, does not make them equal with men or suddenly becoming masculine. Expression or non-verbal languages dominate most of their interactions with their male colleagues. Assertiveness, motherhood and polite manners govern their behavior in the workplace.

Susanti saw that there are some motivation behind working women, the first is a woman who came from the lower middle class are motivated to work with the purpose of family survival. She added, women from middle class aims to improve the well-being, in addition, another motivation is that women have a desire to develop a career (Susanti, 2005, p. 13). In this regard, the informants in this study came from the lower middle class who have different work orientations.

The orientation of lower-class women, though not necessarily for improving family economy, was a need to be able to help the family or economic life of their own self. Self-reliance is often attached to the upper middle class women living in big cities. Conversely, lower-class women often framed as a woman appropriate in the domestic sphere and prefer to rely on a man. This stereotype was not seen in all three informants, who negotiate their multiple roles but still choose to be independent, rather than dependent on others.

In her early work, Fauziah restrained herself from using cosmetics while looking for passengers. She considered cosmetics will accentuate her womanhood and, according to her perception, can bring disruption to her work. Cosmetics were identical

to the material used to enhance women's beauty. When Fauziah decided not to use cosmetics while working, that's when Fauziah removing or hiding the woman side who wants to be beautiful, or to stand out in comparison to others. She tried to gain a sense of comfort and safety in the work relating to the opposite sex.

Fauziah's need of a sense of comfort, were also created for her passengers. To improve the image of taxi drivers, Fauziah admitted she is keeping her attitude while driving. Fauziah acts polite and not driving carelessly. It can be said that Fauziah wanted to show her attitude as a woman who can work as a taxi driver, and that the taxi driver is reliable.

Sri interprets her life as a mother and a father for her children. For Sri, in the middle of her limitations, the orientation of her work was to meet the needs of the family and to educate her children so as not to be 'dregs of society'. 'Dregs of society' is a metaphor for the community members who are considered deviate from applied community norms and rules, and even considered as potential criminal. Identity as a mother is shown when someone else worked with her acknowledge her ability to work. Sri showed her physical strength while collecting the garbage. She is a woman who has power similar to man when working in garbage collection.

Similarly with Ayudiah, her job requires her prepared to be assigned in shifts; either morning or night does not make Ayudiah forget her duties and responsibilities as a mother. As a senior security officer facing younger coworkers construct her as a barometer for the others. Gender equality with the male co-workers is not indicated by verbal language but rather on the firm behavior, discipline and promptness to conduct duty at any time.

The stereotypes that women are physically weaker and enjoy dressing up were not shown by the informants. Being feminine doesn't mean having a habit of dressing up. Being feminine can be demonstrated by their both verbal and non-verbal language. Being quiet and peaceful figures among male coworkers were the feminine identity shown. Similarly, with the cosmetics that has always been associated with women's lives. For them, applying cosmetic is not a requirement but a need. As such they are

deemed equivalent and recognized as competence as well as male colleagues without having to change themselves to be more masculine.

CONCLUSION

The women identities in the lower-class working environment were often expressed by non-verbal expressions and languages. Verbal expression or language will only be used if the women were in a state where they need to express orally to their male colleagues. Direct arguments and expressions were avoided by the informants. Women stereotypes of physical weaknesses, dressing up, spoiled and emotional were not applied to the informants. An independent, polite and firm attitude and nature of a woman are the symbols sharpened their identity in the male-dominated workplace. The harsh life and struggle has formed the identity of these women as working women. A non-verbal disclosure of the identity is a way for the informants in conveying their identity. Ayudiah, Fauziah and Sri declare that, even women can surpass men; women still have to maintain the character of a woman deemed by the social construction.

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