

**Handling Child Labor Problems in Indonesia:
Post PROMOTE-ILO Project**

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Abstract

The practice of child labor is included in the form of violations of human rights so that it requires special attention and is handled seriously. The ILO as an international organization with a focus on child labor issues in the world certainly plays an important role in dealing with phenomena related to child labor, not only on a global scale but also on a national scale of its member countries, including Indonesia. This article aims to find out how the role of the ILO in dealing with the problem of child labor in Indonesia (2017-2021) uses Clive Archer's theory of the role of international organizations as an analytical tool. The method used is a qualitative method and is explained through descriptive analysis. The results of this study explain that in dealing with child labor in Indonesia, the ILO has acted as an instrument, an arena, and an actor. Through these three roles, the ILO has been able to carry out its role quite effectively so that the practice of child labor in Indonesia can be minimized.

Keywords: child labor, Indonesia, International Labor Organization (ILO), the role of international organizations

Abstrak

Praktik pekerja anak termasuk ke dalam bentuk pelanggaran terhadap HAM sehingga memerlukan suatu perhatian khusus dan ditangani secara serius. ILO selaku organisasi internasional dengan fokus pada permasalahan pekerja anak di dunia tentu berperan penting dalam menangani fenomena yang berhubungan dengan pekerja anak, tidak hanya dalam skala global tetapi juga dalam skala nasional negara anggotanya, termasuk Indonesia. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui bagaimana peran ILO dalam menangani permasalahan pekerja anak di Indonesia (2017-2021) dengan menggunakan teori peran organisasi internasional milik Clive Archer sebagai pisau analisa. Metode yang digunakan merupakan metode kualitatif dan dijelaskan melalui deskriptif analisis. Hasil dari penelitian ini

memaparkan bahwa dalam menangani pekerja anak di Indonesia ILO telah berperan sebagai instrumen, arena, dan aktor. Melalui ketiga peran tersebut, ILO telah mampu menjalankan perannya secara cukup efektif sehingga praktik pekerja anak di Indonesia dapat diminimalisir.

Kata Kunci: *Indonesia, Organisasi Buruh Internasional (ILO), pekerja anak, peran organisasi internasional*

INTRODUCTION

Child labor has a close relationship with human rights issues. Problems arising from child labor are forms of human rights violations contained in Article 32 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (Hutabarat, 2014). Almost all studies on child labor prove that the involvement of children in economic activities makes them vulnerable to exploitation (Ernanto, 2016).

The child labor phenomenon's urgency has become a public issue, and a global commitment has been built to address this. Concerning these problems, the ILO is an international organization that has an essential role in dealing with issues related to child labor. There are two conventions regarding child labor, namely Convention Number 138/1973 concerning the minimum age and Convention Number 182/1999 regarding the worst forms of child labor.

Indonesia has problems with child labor, even though data on child labor in Indonesia officially issued by the government is still minimal. Based on data published by The Bureau of International Labor Affairs in "2017 Findings on The Worst Forms of Child Labor: Indonesia", the percentage of Indonesian child workers aged 10 to 14 is 3.77% or 816 thousand children. They are spread into several sectors:

the agricultural sector 61.6%, services 26.5%, and industry 12% (ILAB, 2017).

Based on ILO and UNICEF statistical data, in Indonesia, more than 5% of children aged 5-17 years are child workers and more than 60% work in agriculture (UNICEF, 2016). The facts show that many of these children are involved in the worst forms of child labor, including palm oil and tobacco production (Human Rights Watch, 2016). The United States Department of Labor also includes palm oil and tobacco from Indonesia in its annual list of goods produced by child labor (US Department of Labor, 2021). In Indonesia, many children work as child domestic workers (PRTA). According to data released by the ILO, 15.5 million children worldwide are domestic workers. At the same time, in Indonesia, there are 2.6 million Indonesians who work as domestic workers, of which 90% are women and children under 18 years of age (International Labour Organization, 2004).

Until 2019, in Indonesia, several children were still leaving school and entering the labor market; this is evidenced in the results of the National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas) as contained in Satriawan (2021), which shows that there are 1.96 million

children aged 10-17 years who are included in the working group.

In addition, quoted from the ILO (2021), the Ministry of Manpower of the Republic of Indonesia also stated that the condition of child workers in Indonesia had worsened due to the COVID-19 pandemic (ILO, 2021b); this is caused by increasing poverty in the country so that children are more vulnerable to work to help support the family economy

The condition of child labor in Indonesia certainly requires special attention, especially from those with authority in this matter, including the ILO. The ILO certainly plays an essential role in dealing with this phenomenon, not only on a global scale but also on a national scale in its member countries, including Indonesia.

The role of the ILO in dealing with the problem of child labor in Indonesia has been studied by several previous empirical studies. This study focuses more on how instruments, arenas, and actors, as well as the obstacles encountered in dealing with the problem of child labor in Indonesia. Existing studies only focus on discussing the program launched by the ILO but need to discuss further and in detail what the ILO carries out other roles. Therefore, this research can be said to be quite comprehensive when compared to previous studies.

That way this research uses Clive Archer's theory of the role of international organizations as a knife for analysis, the involvement of the ILO as

an international organization in handling the problem of child labor in Indonesia will be the focus of research with a time span of 2017-2021. That way this research uses Clive Archer's theory about the role of international organizations as a knife for analysis, the involvement of the ILO as an international organization in handling the problem of child labor in Indonesia will be the focus of research with a time span of 2017-2021. The choice of this period is because 2017 is the final year of the ILO-PROMOTE Project in Indonesia: where this project is the ILO's response to the increasing problem of child labor in Indonesia. In this context, the PROMOTE-ILO project aims to promote decent work for domestic workers to end child domestic labor in Indonesia. In addition, in 2020 Indonesia and the whole world will experience a health crisis, namely: the Covid-19 pandemic. This crisis has had an impact on the community's economy, especially for the lower middle class, the closure of public facilities including schools. This condition actually exacerbates and increases the poverty rate in Indonesia, so that due to the lack of formal learning activities in schools and for the sake of helping the family's economy, children are more vulnerable to work. This is also reinforced by studies showing that a 1% increase in poverty can result in an increase in child labor by 0.7% (Saifuddin, 2020).

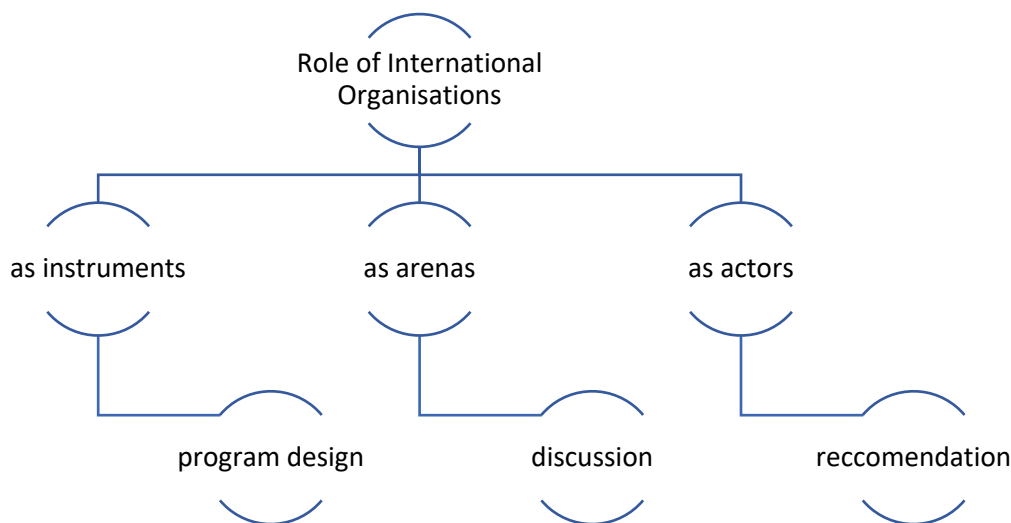
This research will also discuss the obstacles or challenges faced by the ILO

in dealing with child labor cases that occur in Indonesia.

Conceptual Framework

In understanding how the ILO plays a role in addressing the problem of child labor in Indonesia, this article

uses the analytical tool "international organization role theory" developed by Clive Archer. In this context, problem-solving by international organizations needs to look at three main elements: instruments, arenas, and actors (Archer, 2001).



Source: Adaptation from role of international oragnisation by Clive Archer (2001).

Figure 1.

Role of ILO in handling child labor in Indonesia

As an international organization, the ILO strives to meet and achieve the interests of its members, including Indonesia. Because the ILO was used as a vital tool or instrument for Indonesia, in this case, international organizations can equalize the views of their member countries regarding an issue or phenomenon in the international community (Putri, 2018). Meanwhile, the ILO, as an arena, because it is an international organization, provides a meeting place for its members to gather and discuss related agendas that have been set together. As an actor, international organizations can make

their own decisions without influence and coercion from outside forces. The performance of ILO as actors also depends on these organizations' recommendations, orders, and resolutions, which can provide coercion or pressure on member countries to act based on agreed agreements (Archer, 2001).

Research Method

This Study Uses Qualitative Research Methods To Describe Existing Phenomena To Get Answers to research questions. In addition, this study uses primary data from interviews with

several respondents, especially with representatives of the National Project Office of ILO Indonesia and Human Right Watch. This interview was conducted to obtain comprehensive information regarding handling child labor in Indonesia. Also, secondary data is used based on literature reviews from various sources, such as books, articles, websites, etc. In which, based on the study of the literature also received expert information that strengthens the arguments of this research and information that is relevant to the problem or phenomenon raised. In addition, after the data has been collected based on the results of the interviews, it is analyzed by summarizing the new findings and interpreting them based on organizing the themes.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Child Labor in Indonesia: the Struggle for Life

The existence of child workers in Indonesia cannot be denied even though statistically, they are invisible because essential information is rarely

known, such as their exact number. Still, their presence can be seen with the naked eye. In Indonesia, some children still leave school and enter the labor market too early (BPS, 2010).

Based on the data contained in the KEMNAKER Rapid Assessment Report entitled "Program for Reducing Child Labor in the Context of Supporting the 2008-2018 Family Hope Program (PPA-PKH)" referring to the 2018 Socio-Economic Survey (Susenas), currently, the number of child workers in Indonesia still relatively high at 1.709 million children (KEMNAKER, 2019a). However, this figure is far less when compared to the number of child workers in 2009. Referring to the 2009 Child Labor Survey (SPA), the number of child workers has decreased by 57.9% over the past ten years (KEMNAKER, 2019a).

When viewed from the point of view of the location of child labour, there are 10 provinces which are known to be the highest locations where child labor originates. The ten provinces can be seen in table 1, namely:

Table 1.

Ten Provinces with the Most Child Labor

Province	%	Total
West Java	12,97	221.828
North Sumatera	12,03	205.626
Central Java	9,85	168.415
East Java	9,09	155.366
South Sulawesi	6,58	112.458
Papua	4,65	79.508
NTT	3,77	64.534
Lampung	3,55	60.752
South Sumatera	3,29	56.334
NTB	3,09	52.841
Total		1.177.662

Source: SUSENAS, 2018

Based on data published by The Bureau of International Labor Affairs in "2017 Findings on The Worst Forms of Child Labor: Indonesia", the most dominant sector in absorbing child labor in Indonesia aged 10 to 14 is the agricultural sector at 61.6%, as palm oil, tobacco, tea, rubber and also fisheries. In the service sector, at 26.5%, these children are usually employed as domestic, street, and garbage collectors. Whereas in the industrial sector, it is 12%, such as mining, factories, and also construction (ILAB, 2017).

All of these child workers are spread both in rural and urban areas. There are differences in the types of work done by child workers from rural and urban areas. Based on Socio-Economic Survey (Susenas) data from 2019, as contained in Satriawan (2021) that in rural areas, the majority of children work in the agricultural

sector, namely 71.96%. While in urban areas, most child workers are in the service sector, amounting to 63.40%, of which almost a third of children working in the service sector are domestic workers (ILO, 2017a). In 2015, child domestic workers in Indonesia under 18 years of age amounted to 110,000 children, but this number is known to include all domestic workers still not; it's because child domestic workers are difficult to detect (Dharmawan, 2020).

One of the indicators that can determine Worst Forms of Child Labor (Bentuk Pekerjaan Terburuk untuk Anak/BPAT) is working hours. Law No. 13 of 2003 has regulated the permitted working hours for children, namely a maximum of three hours a day or 15 hours a week. Therefore, working hours exceeding 15 hours in one week can be classified as BPAT (KEMNAKER, 2019a).

Table 2.

Working Hours of Children by Age Group

Weekly working Hours	<12 Year	13-14 Year	15-17 Year	Total
0-15 h	78.720	109.898	279.540	468.158
16-40 h	57.118	110.413	449.156	616.687
>40 h	11.277	56.744	556.846	624.867
Total	147.115	277.055	1.285.542	1.709.712

Sources: SUSENAS, 2018

Based on working hours in table 2, 871,118 children are in the worst forms of labor. Compared with the number of children in WFCL in the 2009 Child Labor Survey, the number of children in WFCL has decreased by 48%. This decline has been relatively high in the past ten years. (KEMNAKER, 2019b). However, this condition still needs to be agreed upon by stakeholders. Its increase in child labor is only due to global uncertainty regarding the situation and condition of Covid-19 and the termination of employment (PHK) for parents. The impact was increasing poverty and efforts to survive by helping parents work.

Factors Causing Child Labor in Indonesia

The most dominant causes of child labor are poverty, environmental influences, and education.

Poverty

Although not the only factor causing children to enter the world of work, poverty is known to be a significant factor in child labor (Iryani & Priyarsono, 2013). Akarro and

Mtweve show that child labor is a reflection of poverty, so low-income family conditions motivate children to be involved in the world of work. (Akarro & Mtweve, 2011).

In addition, a 1% increase in poverty can result in an increase in child labor by 0.7% (Saifuddin, 2020). Lana Osmet (2014) quotes from Krueger (1996) stating that there is a clear trend from cross-country samples; in which families with low income tend to send their children to work which is rarely the case in high income families. Thus, the low income of parents in most cases, including in Indonesia, has caused children to be forced to follow in their parents' footsteps to work even without the provision of skills accompanying the child (Sulistiyono & Siagian, 2019).

In Indonesia itself, the large number of poor people is one of the most fundamental factors causing the emergence of child labor, especially in areas with high levels of child labor. Permatasari (2018) illustrates that the high poverty rate in West Java has resulted in high rates of child labor. An example is in 2005 when Indonesia's

economic condition was deteriorating as a result of rising fuel prices causing price hikes of a number of basic needs for the Indonesian population. This has resulted in an increasing number of people in West Java Province who are becoming poor because of their inability to meet their daily needs. The income they earn does not increase so that in the end many parents tend to encourage their children to work in order to increase family income. In addition, Ray (2000) also shows that parents will send their children to work if their income as parents falls to a very low level, causing them to be below the poverty line.

Social Environments

In the Indonesian social environment, child labor is seen as introducing discipline and instilling a work ethic in children. Several people think that work is a positive thing for children's development. Therefore they decide to involve children in the world of work from an early age (Sulistiyono & Siagian, 2019).

Under these conditions, without realizing it, parents have assumed that child labor is a tradition in society; children are given orders to work under the pretext of learning skills that can benefit their future. However, in most cases, the learning process, which is considered positive, has caused children to be forced to work in working situations and conditions that can harm their development as a child (Sulistiyono & Siagian, 2019).

Education

Education has a very significant influence on child labour. Research shows that countries with high levels of child labor also show a high number of children who are not in school (Hutabarat, 2014). In Indonesia, when viewed based on the level of education, in 2019 child workers in the informal sector only had a diploma up to elementary school level or the equivalent, namely: 43.53%. While SMA/equivalent graduates are only 2.95%. Even though the compulsory education set by the government is 12 years or up to high school/equivalent. This situation clearly shows how low the participation of child workers in Indonesia is in education (Satriawan, 2021).

Access to education that is difficult for the community to reach is one of the factors why many parents tend to let their children work. Of course, this is closely related to the level of awareness of parents. Even though the government has made education free, especially in primary and secondary schools; still not enough for the lower middle class to get education easily. This is because parents are still charged with school fees which are not borne by the government (Anon 1, 2022). Thus, in most cases of child labor it is due to a low level of education (Sulistiyono & Siagian, 2019) and occurs in descending order. This shows the existence of a "vicious circle" of poverty and level of education (Sulistiyono & Siagian, 2019).

ILO and Handling Problems of Child Labor in Indonesia

ILO as Instrument

The role of international organizations as instruments can be interpreted that an international organization is used as a vital tool in meeting the needs and achieving the interests of each of its members (Archer, 2001). In this case, it means that the ILO has the ability to equalize views between Indonesia and the ILO regarding the phenomenon of child labour (Putri, 2018).

In this regard, the ILO has two conventions regarding child labour, namely Convention Number 138/1973 concerning the minimum age and Convention Number 182/1999 regarding the worst forms of child labour. Based on the ILO convention, the minimum age to be allowed to work is 15 years, but there are exceptions for developing countries, namely 14 years, while the minimum age for children doing hazardous work is 18 years. Several forms of the worst forms of labour are prohibited for children, namely slavery, debt bondage, prostitution, pornography, forced recruitment of children employed in armed conflict, use of children in drug trafficking and other prohibited activities, and all other work that is dangerous or harmful to health, safety and the morale of girls and boys under 18 years of age. The conventions are an ILO instrument for setting certain standards. Then the standards will be applied through the national policies of

countries that have ratified the convention (Hutabarat, 2014). The two conventions then become a benchmark in equating views on child labour.

In this context, Indonesia, as a country concerned with the problem of child labour, has also ratified ILO Convention No. 138 of 1973 through Law Number 20 of 1999 and ILO Convention No. 182 of 1999 through Law Number 1 of 2000. Indonesia's decision to join and ratify the two ILO conventions on child labour can be categorized as Indonesia's desire to unify its views and goals in overcoming the problem of child labour. In addition, this decision means that Indonesia has the same understanding as the ILO regarding child labour.

Indonesia's commitment to ratification can then be seen from the preparation of the National Action Plan for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor (RAN-PBPTA) as a guideline for all parties involved in efforts to eliminate the worst forms of child labour (KAN-PBPTA, 2008). To support the RAN-PBPTA, a Roadmap Toward a Child Labour-Free Indonesia was prepared in 2022. This roadmap later became the official reference in formulating strategic plans for all parties to accelerate the elimination of child labour effectively and efficiently until 2022 (Kemenaker, 2014).

Literally, there is a fundamental effort from the ILO to support the objectives of the ILO and Indonesia related to child labor, which is implemented through an international program, namely IPEC. The

cooperation between the Government of Indonesia and ILO in the Prevention and Elimination of Child Labor through the IPEC program was carried out for 20 years, in which some of the main interventions and lessons learned during the 20 years were reflected in five milestones, namely: Raising awareness about child labor (1992-1996); Towards a sector-based approach (1997-2001); Increasing life chances for children (2002-2006); and Tackling child labor through education (2007-2011) (ILO, 2013).

After 2011, the ILO in Indonesia did not have a specific program aimed directly at child labour. However, currently programs to address child labor are more sectoral in nature in the sense that every ILO project always brings up child labor issues (Anon 2, 2022; Anon 3, 2022). The ILO also continues to play a role in assisting the government in developing policies on the elimination of child labor, especially in providing policy advice and facilitating dialogue between stakeholders. Even though currently there is no special program dealing with child labor like IPEC, during the 20-year period, IPEC-ILO's performance in Indonesia can be said to be quite significant because it has succeeded in laying a strong foundation to meet the goal of eliminating the problem of child labor in Indonesia.

Judging from the discussion above, the ILO, as an international organization with a focus on labour issues in the world, especially regarding the phenomenon of child labour,

has an important role in developing the phenomenon of child labour in Indonesia. Thus, the role of the ILO is running quite effectively according to its portion. From Indonesia's point of view, as a member country, it can also utilize the ILO as an instrument. Therefore, by using this role, it is hoped that it can overcome the problem of child labour in Indonesia.

From Indonesia's side, as a member country, is also capable of utilizing the ILO as an instrument in achieving Indonesia's national interests by reducing the practice of child labor in Indonesia. This condition is strengthened by Archer's argument that countries have unlimited needs and interests, but the ability of governments to fulfill these is minimal. Thus, the joining of countries into international organizations is undoubtedly based on the existence of goals that governments want to achieve with the help of international organizations. It's because the country has not been able to solve problems at the domestic level, or the national interests of the country have yet to be optimally achieved. Thus, the role of international organizations as instruments is indispensable because this role is considered to be able to make a solid contribution to achieving a country's national interests (Archer, 2001). Therefore, by utilizing the ILO's role as an instrument, it is hoped that it can overcome the problem of child labor in Indonesia.

ILO as Arena

The ILO's role as an arena in dealing with child labor problems in Indonesia in general is to facilitate a forum and become a forum for Indonesia to negotiate and discuss child labor issues. The forum provided by the ILO here is the Global Conference on Child Labor which was held in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 2017 on the Eradication of Sustainable Child Labor. This conference is basically an event that is held regularly with the aim of inviting ILO members including Indonesia to continue to strengthen their commitment to dealing with child labor in the world with a target of 2025. The main objective of the IV Global Conference is to strengthen collective efforts to accelerate the rate of reduction of workers children all over the world.

During high-level thematic panels and special sessions, conference participants discussed experiences, lessons learned and innovative intervention models. The conference ended with adopting the Buenos Aires Declaration, which outlines principles and actions to combat child and forced labour and promote quality youth employment (ILO, 2017b). The conference's outcomes support the 8.7 Alliance, which was formed to fulfil the goals of the 2030 Agenda on child and forced labour. The conference promotes the active participation of all countries, social partners and other stakeholders in the 8.7 Alliance to develop a collaborative approach to

combating child and forced labour (Childlabour2017.org, 2017).

In this context, the ILO has established a project called "Accelerator Lab 8.7: Intensifying Actions Against Forced Labor and Child Labor through Innovation", which will be implemented from January 2021 to December 2030 (ILO, 2020). The project aims to accelerate the replication of promising practices and identify new solutions to end forced and child labour globally by focusing on the fishing and mining sectors, as these are sectors with a high prevalence of violations (USDOL, 2021). Accelerator Lab 8.7 in Indonesia focuses on the fisheries sector (ILO, 2020). In addition, this project is also in line with the Indonesian government's priority in ensuring decent working conditions in the fisheries sector, where one indicator of decent work is the absence of child labour (ILO, 2022b).

Meanwhile, to help Indonesia overcome the problem of child labour, the ILO does not only play a role in providing an international forum. The ILO has also held limited meetings between stakeholders in Indonesia several times to discuss child labour issues. One of them was that on 18 August 2021, the ILO held a virtual "Policy Dialogue: Towards a Child Labour-Free Indonesia," which was attended by several ministries and other interested parties (ILO, 2021c).

Both parties held the dialogue - Indonesia and ILO - to review the progress achieved and future challenges in realizing the Roadmap to

a Child Labour-Free Indonesia in 2022. The participants in this meeting shared lessons learned about child labour programs and coordinated efforts to set new goals that align with the commitment to end child labour. All forms of child labour by 2025 (ILO, 2021c).

In this context, we can show that the ILO has played a significant role in providing international forums and meetings for Indonesia. The existence of facilities in the form of global conferences and discussions among stakeholders can help Indonesia overcome the phenomenon of child labour. The IV Global Conference on Sustainable Eradication of Child Labor has a role in assisting Indonesia to overcome the problem of child labour; it can be seen from the conference, which contributed to helping Indonesia realize the goals of SDGs 8.7 regarding the handling of child labour in the world with a target of 2025, which was learned through the Accelerator Lab 8.7 project, especially in the Indonesian fisheries sector. The “Policy Dialogue: Towards an Indonesia Free from Child Labour” organized by ILO Indonesia has also assisted stakeholders in sharing lessons on the issue of child labour in Indonesia to find possible solutions to eradicate child labour in Indonesia.

ILO as Actor

The role of international organizations as independent actors means that international organizations can make their own decisions without

any influence and coercion from outside forces. The performance of international organizations as actors also depends on recommendations, orders, and resolutions from these organizations, which can provide coercion or pressure on member countries to act based on agreed agreements (Archer, 2001). The role of international organizations as independent actors is also closely related to the organization's objectives.

In this case, the ILO's role as an independent actor can be seen from the ILO's response to the problem of child labour in Indonesia by making policies related to the handling of child labour problems in Indonesia. This response is a form of action and decision that is genuine from the ILO itself, not because of pressure or influence from other parties, but indeed an effort that is decided based on the goals of the ILO, namely, to eradicate child labour in Indonesia. For example, the problem of domestic workers in Indonesia; there are 2.6 million Indonesians who work as domestic workers, and 90% of this number are women and children under 18. As of 2009, 216,000 children work as domestic workers (International Labour Organization, 2004).

Many violations are often found in this sector, including children usually not getting paid for their work, the workload given being very heavy and tending to be excessive. It is not uncommon for children to experience mental and sexual abuse and physical violence (Anon 1, 2022).

With so many violations occurring in this sector, this is one of the PBTAs, so it must be addressed immediately. Moreover, Indonesia has ratified Convention No. 182/1999 regarding violations and immediate action to eliminate PBTA. The ILO, as an international organization with an important role in Indonesia, responded to this problem by forming the “PROMOTE” project, which aims to promote decent work for domestic workers to end child domestic labour in Indonesia with financial assistance from the United States Ministry of Labor (ILO, 2018). The project, which took place from 2013 to 2017, aims to significantly reduce the number of child domestic workers by increasing the institutional capacity of household servant' organizations to promote decent work provisions for domestic workers effectively (ILO, 2018). Promote is carried out through two strategies, namely: National and provincial strategies; and regional strategies.

National and provincial strategies

Through this strategy, the ILO collaborates with the Indonesian National Network for Domestic Workers Advocacy (JALA-PRT), the Action Committee for Protection of Domestic Workers and Migrant Workers (KAPPRT-BM) and the Child Labor Network (JARAK). In this regard, PROMOTE builds the capacity of partner organizations to influence public opinion and take action to reduce domestic workers and promote decent work for domestic workers. In addition, PROMOTE also supports research and evaluation on domestic

workers and child domestic workers (ILO, 2018).

Regional strategies

In partnership with international domestic workers' federations, this strategy aims to enhance regional capacity by developing a communication platform between domestic workers' organizations and those working to protect domestic workers in Asia and other parts of the world. In this case, training is carried out on plans for eliminating child domestic workers, where the results will be documented and published to serve as a reference in developing future actions. The regional strategy also aims at enhancing regional alliances by organizing workshops and imparting knowledge to trade unions, domestic workers' organizations and other key stakeholders to discuss and provide innovative approaches to promote decent work for domestic workers and address the needs of child domestic workers. (ILO, 2018).

In another case, the role of the ILO as an actor can also be seen from the ILO being able to force Indonesia to act based on agreed regulations because one of the capacities of international organizations as an actor depends on orders coming from the organization or agency which can give coercion or pressure to member countries. In this case, the ILO succeeded in getting Indonesia to comply with the two ILO conventions related to child labour.

Indonesia has shown political commitment (as a form of compliance with conventions) to eliminate child labor in Indonesia. According to Chayes

in "The New Sovereignty: Compliance with International Regulatory Agreements", a country that decides to join a regime will make that country control its actions by trying to comply with agreements originating from that regime. With the decision to comply with existing rules and agreements, it means the same as carrying out an efficient action which will certainly provide distinct benefits for a compliant country (Chayes & Chayes, 1995). So that with Indonesia complying with ILO conventions related to child labor, it will provide benefits in the form of progress in dealing with the number of child workers in Indonesia. Beth A. Simmons in C "Compliance with International Agreements" cites Oran Young's argument, stating that compliance is seen when the subject of an agreement or regime performs a number of actions in accordance with what has been agreed upon (Simmons, 1998). In this regard, Indonesia shows its compliance with conventions not only through laws and regulations but also through policies related to child labour.

This policy is embodied in government programs to eliminate child labour, namely: PPA-PKH and ZBPA.

PPA-PKH

The Child Labor Reduction Program in the framework of Supporting the Family Hope Program (PPA-PKH) is the government's effort to attract child workers from workplace hazards so they can be returned to the world of education. This program has been run since 2008 by the Indonesian government. With

this program, children from very low-income families (*Keluarga Sangat Miskin/KSM*) aged 7-15 years who previously dropped out of school intending to work are prepared to return to school. To prepare children to return to school, they will receive one month of motivational and academic training in the shelter training and outside consultation by social workers (KEMNAKER, 2019a).

ZBPA

Child Labor Free Zones (ZBPA) are certain areas where the employment of children is prohibited. The urgency of this program is to reduce the number of child workers in these areas and provide opportunities for children to study to achieve their future so that they are not exploited to fulfil the family's economic needs (Sina, 2014).

ZBPA is divided into two categories, namely districts/cities free of child labor and industrial areas free of child labour. Districts/cities free of child labor include Gianyar, Kutai Kartanegara, and Serdang Bedagai. The government also declared the ZBPA Program in industrial areas throughout Indonesia, including Makassar Industrial Area (KIMA), Karawang International Industrial City (KIIC), Modern Cikande Industrial Estate (MCIE) in Banten, and Krakatau Industrial Estate Cilegon (KIEC) in Banten (KEMDIKBUD, 2019).

The ILO plays an important role in overcoming child labour in Indonesia. The ILO can become an independent actor by responding to the problem of child labour in Indonesia. The response

is a form of action and decision that is purely from the ILO itself, not because of pressure or influence from other parties, but indeed an action that is decided based on the goals of the ILO, namely, to eradicate child labour in Indonesia. The ILO has also made Indonesia comply with the agreed conventions by making Indonesia a country committed to eliminating child labour practices.

The role that the ILO has carried out for quite a long time has also positively impacted the number of child workers in Indonesia, which can be seen from the decrease in the number of child workers. This decline can be seen from 2009-2019; child labour has decreased by 57.9% (KEMNAKER, 2019b). This achievement is a success of the efforts carried out by the ILO so far.

ILO in Minimizing the Impact of Covid-19 on Increasing Child Labor

In a brief report entitled "Covid-19 and Child Labor: A Time of Crisis, A Time to Act", the conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic have increased the number of children in poor households because their families have lost jobs and income. The number of increases is around 142 million children (ILO & UNICEF, 2020).

The same phenomenon has also been found in Indonesia, where the Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated child labour practices. Based on the data released by BPS, in 2020, child labour in Indonesia will increase to 3.25%, while in 2019, it is known that child labour is only 2.35% (BPS, 2008). This condition can also be seen through

several factors that can lead to an increase in child labour, namely:

Poverty

The crisis in the health sector due to the Covid-19 pandemic has impacted society's social conditions, such as increasing the poverty rate in Indonesia. This condition is due to several policies implemented in the context of handling the Covid-19 pandemic causing many economic activities to stop so that unemployment also increases, which in turn encourages an increase in the number of poor people (Tarigan et al., 2020). Based on data released by the Central Bureau of Statistics, the percentage of poor people in September 2020 was 10.19%, an increase of 0.41% point compared to March 2020 and an increase of 0.97% point compared to September 2019 (BPS, 2021); this increase in poverty, it can encourage families to use any means to survive, including encouraging their children to work. It is also reinforced by studies showing that a 1% increase in poverty can increase child labour by 0.7% (Saifuddin, 2020).

Temporary closure of schools

Several reports have also stressed that school closures can encourage child labour. The presence of children at home increases the expectation that they have to work to support the family (ILO, 2021a). Indonesia also implements a school closure policy to reduce the impact of the spread of Covid-19. Thus, Indonesia is also affected by an increase in child labour due to school closures.

Parents' death due to the Covid-19 pandemic

The absence of efforts from a household to deal with income that has decreased drastically, for example, due to natural disasters, disease, or the economic crisis, tends to choose child labour as a way out of these problems (ILO, 2017a). Just like the Covid-19 pandemic, which has forced many children to become orphans.

In Indonesia alone, based on data released by the Ministry of PPP as of August 25, 2021, as contained in "Social Protection in Efforts to Fulfill the Rights of Orphans Victims of the Covid-19 Pandemic" shows, the number of orphans victims of the Covid-19 pandemic is 49,496 soul (Retnaningsih, 2021). When one or both parents die, especially those from low-income families, the children will be burdened to ensure their family's survival (ILO, 2017a). Therefore, parents' death due to the Covid-19 pandemic has certainly forced children to support the family's economy so that the function of economic support can continue.

The ILO does not have a program directly addressing the increase in child labour due to the Covid-19 pandemic. However, there are several programs in response to the Covid-19 crisis. However, these programs can help prevent increased child labour practices during the pandemic. These programs are:

Project "Enhancing COVID-19 Prevention in and through the Workplace"

This project aims to strengthen efforts to prevent Covid-19 in and through the workplace by obtaining

financial support from the Government of Japan. This project will provide advice on infection risk reduction to 1,500 workplaces using a self-assessment tool developed by the ILO and the Indonesian Association of Occupational Health Doctors (ILO, 2021e).

With the "Improving COVID-19 Prevention in and through the Workplace" project, economic activity can be maintained without Covid-19 infection in workers. When the company announces that there is a worker infected with Covid-19, the company temporarily stops the company operations to prevent further transmission. The longer this condition lasts, it will affect the company's income. As a result of a decrease in income, companies will take rescue measures such as reducing working hours and, in the worst-case scenario, reducing workers or closing businesses (ILO, 2022a). This risk can result in increased child labour due to their parents losing their jobs due to the Covid-19 crisis. Therefore, this program can reduce existing risks. If parents' sources of income to meet family needs are not disrupted, the risk of children entering the world of work and becoming child labourers can be minimized.

ILO-BMZ wage subsidy program

ILO-BMZ cooperation is an emergency assistance program during the Covid-19 crisis for the garment sector in Indonesia with financial support from the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) of the Federal Republic of Germany. This program

aims to encourage companies to maintain jobs by providing subsidies as compensation to workers who lose their jobs in the period March 2020 – May 2021 (ILO, 2021d).

The pandemic has caused economic growth to be depressed, so many workers have been forced to go home. These conditions make them not earn. For those who come from poor households, sometimes children are the only hope to help the family's economy. Therefore, the ILO-BMZ wage subsidy program can help minimize the risk of problems for children who are forced to work to help the economy of families shaken by the condition of their parents who lost their jobs during the Covid-19 pandemic. In this context, although the ILO programs related to the Covid-19 crisis are not aimed directly at child workers, these programs can help affected parents so that, in the end, they will not encourage their children to work. Thus, these programs can minimize the increase in child labour due to the Covid-19 pandemic.

ILO Obstacles in Addressing Child Labor Problems in Indonesia

Even though the ILO has made efforts to reduce the number of child labour, the ILO cannot work alone without the support of all interested parties, including the government and parents. Moreover, the ILO can only reach surface child workers, while there are still many data that have not been exported in depth on the exact number of child workers, especially in the informal sector. Thus, it is difficult for the ILO to comprehensively resolve the problem of child labour.

In this context, there are several things that hinder the ILO from maximizing its program in dealing with the problem of child labor in Indonesia, namely: parents' awareness, the existence of indirect employment patterns, macroeconomic conditions and world economic instability during the Covid-19 pandemic, and the scale priority of each local government in Indonesia.

In this context, social tensions are still rampant and the difficulty of employment opportunities for adults has resulted in an increasing number of child workers because demands to meet the economic needs of the family can force a child to enter the world of work to help people (Nursiam, 2017). Economic conditions or poverty make parents' awareness level low not to involve children in work or prohibit them from working. This is a distinct challenge faced by the ILO (Anon 2: 2022), due to a conservative mindset and thinking more about how to survive attacking the ILO to implement the programs that have been designed. In addition, the strong belief that obedience to parents and the obligation to help the family (Anon 2, 2022: Anon 3, 2022) makes many children in Indonesia vulnerable to becoming child labourers.

In addition, indirect working relationships, such as through suppliers and subcontractors, make monitoring and supervision difficult for legal entities and the government (Anon 1, 2022) because there are still unregistered suppliers and subcontractors. Child labour tends to be more common in small companies,

which are rarely officially registered than in large companies.

In this context, the pattern of this indirect employment relationship is also very difficult to monitor by various parties, including the government. Moreover, each regional government has a priority scale for the problems faced in the area. It also makes it difficult for the ILO to reach deeper because the local government has not yet consented to this issue (Anon 3, 2022).

In some cases, local or district governments are reluctant to allocate funding for activities related to eliminating child labour. This condition is because the regional or district governments consider the problem of child labour not a priority, or there are other issues which they think are more important for their regions or districts to be resolved first so that in the end, the policy advocacy provided by the ILO to regional or district governments to eliminate child labour not executed.

CONCLUSION

The problem of child labour in Indonesia has existed for a long time, and it seems that it has never been resolved. Various kinds of efforts made by the government to provide access to the people's basic needs have not been able to allay and end the vicious cycle of poverty, which has an impact on the increasing number of child workers.

As an international organization, the ILO continues to contribute and play an active role in reducing and eliminating child labour worldwide, including in Indonesia, with various programs. In this context, the ILO plays three important roles in solving the

problem of child labour in Indonesia: as an instrument, arena and actor.

Even so, the ILO program has not been maximally successful in dealing with children's problems in Indonesia because the most important thing is how the mindset of the people closest to them about the importance of education for children and how the government provides access to both education and access to other social welfare to the community.

This article, in turn, argues that the ILO has become an organization that helps the government through dialogue partner dialogue partners and provides programs that can be implemented within the framework under the partnership collaboration to achieve a win-win solution for the Indonesian government dealing with children's problems. For this reason, the government needs to work hard to stabilize the country's economy so that people focus more on improving the quality of life and educating the next generation without involving children in work. In addition, the government must emphasize punishment comprehensively to trap every employer who employs children, both formal and informal.

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