



WOMEN'S RIGHTS ON THE LINE:

**How women defend rights to the commons
and at the workplace in Asia amidst neoliberalism
and corporate capture**

List of Acronyms

| | |
|------------------|--|
| 4PH | Pambansang Pabahay Para sa Pilipino Housing Programme |
| AI | Artificial Intelligence |
| ALI | Ayala Land Inc. |
| APWLD | Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development |
| ASEAN | Association of Southeast Asian Nations |
| CGFED | Research Centre for Gender, Family, and Environment in Development |
| CPTPP | Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership |
| FDI | Foreign Direct Investment |
| FPAR | Feminist Participatory Action Research |
| FPBI | Federasi Perjuangan Buruh Indonesia (Federation of Indonesian Labour Struggle) |
| FTAs | Free Trade Agreements |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| GVC | Global Value Chains |
| HINTS | Sahita Institute |
| IFD | Investment Facilitation for Development Agreement |
| IFIs | International Financial Institutions |
| ILO | International Labour Organisation |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| IPEF | Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity |
| IPEN | International Pollutants Elimination Network |
| ISDS | Investor-State Dispute Settlement |
| ITUC | International Trade Union Confederation |
| Kadamay | Kalipunan ng Damayang Mahihirap |
| km | Kilometre |
| LGU | Local Government Unit |
| MERALCO | Manila Electric Railroad and Light Company |
| MOA | Memorandum of Agreement |
| MSMEs | Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises |
| NHA | National Housing Authority |
| NTF-ELCAC | National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict |

| | |
|----------------|--|
| PPPs | Public-Private Partnerships |
| PT STM | PT Saurindotex Mandiri |
| QCCBD | Quezon City Central Business District |
| R&D | Research & Development |
| RCEP | Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership |
| SGBN | Sentral Gerakan Buruh Nasional |
| UDHA | Urban Development and Housing Act |
| UDHR | Universal Declaration of Human Rights |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNCTAD | United Nations Conference on Trade and Development |
| USD | United States Dollar |
| WB | World Bank |
| WTO | World Trade Organisation |

Introduction

Asia and the Pacific governments have been pushed to adopt neoliberal policies for almost half a century and yet, Development Justice that upholds peoples' rights and protects the environment is still out of reach for many in the region. International Financial Institutions (IFIs) and multilateral organisations that shape the global economy and are dominated by rich countries have framed development solely within the tenets of neoliberalism. At the behest of IFIs, particularly the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO), governments in the region implemented privatisation, liberalisation and deregulation policies that promised to attract foreign investments and access to foreign markets. This strategy is presented under the guise of strengthening national economies, creating jobs and uplifting the lives of the poor. And yet, the result is quite the opposite. Lives were and continue to be upended as public services are being privatised, natural resources are being commodified, local agriculture and manufacturing are being replaced with imports, and jobs are being flexibilised for maximum corporate profit.

Neoliberalism relies on patriarchy to systematically oppress women and extract more profits for corporations. Women's labour continues to be under-priced and under-valued as they continue to earn less than men and continue to be relegated to work that is paid less and linked to their traditional care-giving roles. Women's unpaid and underpaid care work subsidise the state and corporations by filling the gaps left by privatised public services which rendered healthcare, education, water and energy unaffordable for many. Extractive corporations have benefited from patriarchal and fundamentalist values that exclude women from decision-making spaces to facilitate their grabbing of natural resources and exploitation of their labour.

Global capitalism's crisis is deepening, as characterised by the persistent financial instability, disrupted supply chains and rivalries between developed countries for investment opportunities, market control and political influence.¹ As the crisis deepens, promoters of neoliberalism continue to find new avenues to enable corporations to extract super profits. Digitalisation and Artificial Intelligence (AI) have and continue to profoundly transform the organisation of labour as well as industrial and agricultural production. This has led to further flexibilisation and

¹ Guzman, R. (2025). *Another World is Possible. A Feminist world is Possible: Policy brief on Women's Human Rights, Macroeconomic Transformations and Development Justice*. Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development. https://apwld.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/06/APWLD_Policy-Brief-on-Macroeconomic-Transformations.pdf

precarity of work, job losses in areas replaced by machines and AI, and the facilitation of grabbing of lands, forests, water resources and minerals from communities and displacing them. The WTO on the other hand continues to promote enabling environments for private investments through the Investment Facilitation for Development Agreement (IFD) which will enable foreign investors to influence government laws.² This will give corporations more power to bend national laws in their favour as they are given access to government decision-making spaces that are not necessarily accessible to ordinary citizens and even civil society groups. On the other hand, the impacts of mega regional trade agreements such as the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) and Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), and regional economic frameworks such as the Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF), continue to unfold.

It is in this context that the Asia Pacific Forum on Women Law and Development (APWLD) and its partners from Indonesia, Vietnam and the Philippines conducted a Feminist Participatory Action Research (FPAR) between 2023 to 2024. The FPAR focused on the theme 'Trade and Economic Justice from the Ground-Up'. The impacts of neoliberal policies that flexibilised labour and privatised resources that should be held and managed in common, on women's human rights and livelihoods were investigated. This report summarises the FPAR reports from Kalipunan ng Damayang Mahihirap (Kadamay, Philippines), Sentral Gerakan Buruh Nasional (SGBN, Indonesia), Sahita Institute (HINTS, Indonesia) and Research Centre for Gender, Family, and Environment in Development (CGFED, Vietnam). It synthesises the impacts of neoliberal trade and corporate power, as well as the struggles for Development Justice of urban poor women and women workers in the organisation's communities and factories.

² OWINFS. (2024, February 29). *Open letter by global civil society in solidarity with India and South Africa opposing the Investment Facilitation Agreement in WTO* [Press release]. https://owinfs.org/2024/2024-02-29_R_L_IF.pdf



Strengthening Corporate Power, Weakening Women's Human Rights

Neoliberal attacks against women in Indonesia, Philippines and Vietnam

Four organisations participated in the FPAR. Kadamay in the Philippines investigated the impacts of neoliberal policies on the urban poor's right to housing. In Indonesia, SGBN explored how the Job Creation Law affects women working in the Bekasi textile factories, while HINTS explored how trade agreements impact women workers in the electronics industry. CGFED studied the labour conditions in a foreign-owned electronics company in Vietnam that has taken advantage of the country's entry into the global value chains of electronic products. This section discusses the common themes found in these FPAR reports.

Developing countries are relegated to low-value production in global value chains

The World Bank touts that participating in Global Value Chains (GVC's) can reduce poverty, create better jobs and increase incomes in developing countries.³ GVCs account for more than 40 per cent of gross exports in Asia, making the region the second most GVC-integrated next to Europe.⁴ These GVCs have been fostered by trade and investment agreements by the WTO as well as various regional trade and investment agreements such as the CPTPP and the RCEP, which have facilitated the flow of goods between countries through trade and investment liberalisation. However, not all countries were able to take advantage of these agreements to increase their participation in the GVCs. Early assessments of CPTPP⁵ and RCEP⁶ indicate that more advanced non-ASEAN⁷ countries such as China, Australia, Japan and New Zealand; and ASEAN countries such as Singapore, Vietnam, Malaysia and Thailand, were able to increase their exports to these Free Trade Agreements' (FTAs) member countries and attract foreign investments, compared to other countries that ratified the agreements.

³ World Bank Group. (2020). *World Development Report 2020*. <https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2020>

⁴ Asian Development Bank. (2023.) *ASEAN and Global Value Chains. Locking in resilience and sustainability*. <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/871976/asean-global-value-chains-resilience-sustainability.pdf>

⁵ Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. (2024). *The Impact of the CPTPP on Canada-Asia Pacific foreign direct investment flows* https://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/publication-pdf/IM_CPTPP_EN_FINAL_0.pdf

⁶ Tang, H. & Cheng, Y. (2025, February 19). *RCEP trade tracker 2024: Four Key insights on regional trade trends*. <https://www.asiaglobalinstitute.hku.hk/news-post/rcep-trade-tracker-2024-four-key-insights-regional-trade-trends>

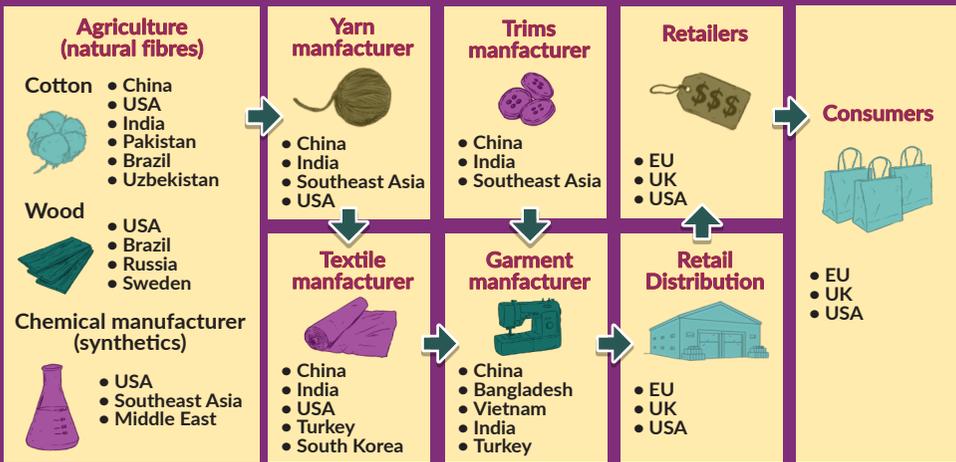
⁷ 'ASEAN' stands for the Association of Southeast Asian Nations which includes Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam and Timor-Leste.



What are Global Value Chains?

Global Value Chains (GVCs) refer to the full range of value-added activities required to bring a product from its conception, design, sourcing of raw materials including intermediate inputs, production, marketing and distribution to consumers.⁸ These activities are organised by a lead firm by outsourcing them to a global network of contract manufacturers located across different countries wherein thousands, if not millions, of workers contribute to the production of agricultural goods, as well as other products such as cellphones, laptops, cars and garments.

Figure 1. Example of apparel value chain



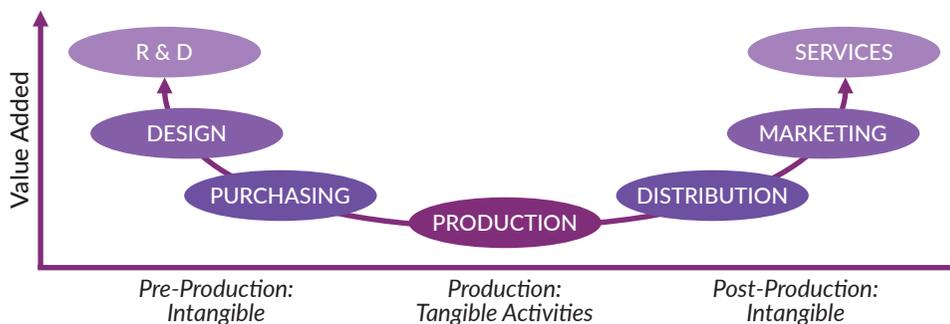
The curve value of value-added processes in apparel value chains (Figure 2) shows that Research and Development (R&D), design, marketing and services are the most valuable activities in the chain. These activities are performed by lead firms/corporations (e.g. retailers and brand owners) that are often headquartered in developed countries like Europe, Japan and the United States.⁹ The production process, which is the least valuable activity in the chain, is often outsourced by the lead firms to a global network of contract manufacturers in developing countries that offer the most 'competitive rates'.¹⁰ Trade and investment liberalisation fostered by neoliberal trade and investment agreements allowed lead firms to conveniently outsource their production processes where labour is cheap and regulations are weaker to generate more profit.

⁸ IBON International. (2015, December). *Advancing a people's trade agenda [Policy brief]*. <https://iboninternational.org/download/advancing-the-peoples-trade-agenda/>

⁹ Fernandez-Stark, K., Frederick, S., Gereffi, G., Bamber, P., & Ahmed, G. (2011). *The Apparel Global Value Chain: Economic Upgrading and Workforce Development*. https://www.globalvaluechains.org/wp-content/uploads/2011-11-11_CGGC_Apparel-Global-Value-Chain.pdf

¹⁰ Fernandez-Stark, K., Frederick, S., Gereffi, G., Bamber, P., & Ahmed, G. (2011). *The Apparel Global Value Chain: Economic Upgrading and Workforce Development*. https://www.globalvaluechains.org/wp-content/uploads/2011-11-11_CGGC_Apparel-Global-Value-Chain.pdf

Figure 2. Curve value of value-added processed in apparel value chains.¹¹



Indonesia and Vietnam are part of GVCs of electronics and garments production led by corporations headquartered in more developed countries. Rules of origin in FTAs often incentivise the locations of production processes in certain regions, such as Southeast Asia, to penetrate larger markets. For example, it is advantageous for China, Singapore, Japan and South Korea to place their production in ASEAN countries to penetrate export markets in the United States or the European Union.¹² However, Indonesia and Vietnam are still relegated to lower-value production processes. PT Saurindotex Mandiri (PT STM) in Indonesia, for example, produces and exports knitted and embroidered textiles. Singaporean company PT Jovan Technologies specialises in the assembly of electronic products in Batam, Riau Islands, Indonesia. Component assembly products are supplied from the head office in Singapore and then the assembly production is re-exported to Singapore to supply the needs of buyers. Foreign Company A operates manufacturing plants in Vietnam that produce wires, cables, computer peripheral cables, connectors and other related products for export mainly to the United States and Canada.

The majority of the workers in these companies are women. This reflects the regional trend wherein the majority of workers in the garments (52 per cent)¹³ and electronics (60.27 per cent)¹⁴ industries are women. However, women are often employed in lower positions where they work long hours, lower wages and have few chances of career development. The International Labour Organisation (ILO) notes that in the electronics sector, women tend to be more poorly educated than men and are often employed in assembly line jobs and supply chain logistics, while relatively few women are employed in engineering, design and research and

¹¹ Fernandez-Stark, K., Frederick, S., Gereffi, G., Bamber, P., & Ahmed, G. (2011). *The Apparel Global Value Chain: Economic Upgrading and Workforce Development*. https://www.globalvaluechains.org/wp-content/uploads/2011-11-11_CGGC_Apparel-Global-Value-Chain.pdf

¹² Sahita Institute (HINTS). (2024). *Women workers of PT. Jovan Technologies Stop Subcontracting Practices in the Batam Electronics Supply Chain Sector*. [Unpublished].

¹³ International Labour Organisation (ILO). (2023). *How to Achieve Gender Equality in Global Garment Supply Chains*. <https://webapps.ilo.org/infostories/en-GB/Stories/discrimination/garment-gender>

¹⁴ International Labour Organisation (ILO). (2024). *The Future of Work in the Electronics Industry. Advancing Decent Work in More Inclusive, Sustainable and Resilient Electronics Supply Chains*. https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/2024-11/The%20future%20of%20work%20in%20the%20electronics%20industry_WEB_Rev.pdf

development.¹⁵ In PT Jovan, women face limited promotion opportunities due to assumptions that women are less focused because of family responsibilities.

In the garments industry, female workers—more often than men—tend to be the ones in home-based production or working for smaller enterprises in the lower tiers of the garment supply chain.¹⁶ Companies in these sectors also often prefer to employ unmarried women to avoid paying benefits and making work accommodations in case they get pregnant.

'In 2021, women working in the electronics sector in Vietnam received 10 per cent less in wages compared to male workers. Low monthly wages often force women workers to seek overtime work to earn enough.'

- CGFED FPAR

'Management personnel at PT Jovan Technologies, who oversee subcontractors, recruit daily workers for the subcontractor, often practicing unfair employment procedures. These individuals recruit workers based on personal connections or familial relationships, prioritising young, unmarried women.'

- Woman worker from Federation of Indonesian Labour Struggle (FPBI PT Jovan)

National policies are shaped to align with neoliberal policies promoted by IFIs and trade and investment agreements

In developing countries where the IMF implemented a programme, governments are often advised by the IMF to cut spending for public services through budget cuts and/or privatisation, and liberalise and/or deregulate certain sections of their economies. Governments also align their economic policies with the liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation provisions of the trade and investment agreements they sign. Moreover, trade and investment agreements that governments sign also often contain forms of Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS). ISDS allows foreign corporations to sue governments if their businesses will be negatively affected by laws or policies such as increasing the minimum wage or nationalisation of public services. This makes it difficult for countries to pursue development strategies that veer away from neoliberal policies. Government implementation of these policies allowed corporations to grab resources, turn public services into

¹⁵ International Labour Organisation (ILO). (2024). *The Future of Work in the Electronics Industry. Advancing Decent Work in More Inclusive, Sustainable and Resilient Electronics Supply Chains*. https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/2024-11/The%20future%20of%20work%20in%20the%20electronics%20industry_WEB_Rev.pdf

¹⁶ International Labour Organisation (ILO). (2023). *How to Achieve Gender Equality in Global Garment Supply Chains*. <https://webapps.ilo.org/infostories/en-GB/Stories/discrimination/garment-gender>

for-profit businesses and take advantage of cheapened labour in developing countries, at the expense of women and marginalised communities.

Indonesia, Philippines and Vietnam are all parties to the WTO. They are also members of the ASEAN that have signed various free trade and investment agreements to enhance economic cooperation in the region. Indonesia, Philippines and Vietnam are also part of the RCEP. These three countries are also members of the IMF and have previously received 'advice' from the IMF to implement neoliberal policies.

In the Philippines, the privatisation of public services dates back to the Marcos dictatorship during the 1970s, and was worsened by the succeeding governments.¹⁷ Housing was commercialised in 1992 with the enactment of the Urban Development and Housing Act (UDHA),¹⁸ which ushered in an era of private sector dominance in real estate and urban development. Despite the intention to address housing needs, the UDHA sidelines the urban poor from active participation in development. Instead, they become instruments sustaining the real estate boom facilitated by Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs), envisioned as potential consumers of off-city housing projects.

'The Pambansang Pabahay Para sa Pilipino Housing Programme (4PH) (National Housing for the Filipino Program) of Ferdinand Marcos Jr. aims to fulfill the 6.5 million housing backlog through the utilisation of Public-Private Partnerships. The 4PH programme pushes families to pay amortisations of around USD (United States Dollar) 55 per month—far above what families can afford, while the average income of a Filipino family is only USD 110. In fact, this project is a boon to big real estate developers who will now get government contracts and funding, and also profit off the so-called 'beneficiaries' of this sham housing programme.'

- Kadamay FPAR

In 2007, the Executive Order 620-A was signed by former President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo to authorise the construction of Quezon City Central Business District (QCCBD) which aimed to attract both local and foreign investments by transforming Metro Manila to become 'globally competitive and be the center of gravity of all commercial activities'.¹⁹ This project was supported by the World Bank by contracting Japanese urban development consultant ALMEC Corporation, to provide the foundation for the QCCBD's development framework. In 2009, under a PPP, the National Housing Authority (NHA) entered a joint venture with Ayala Land Inc. (ALI) to transform the public lands located in the North Triangle

¹⁷ Bello, W. (2023, February 28). *The Political Economy of a Predatory State Revisited: The Marcos-World Bank Partnership*. Focus on the Global South. <https://focusweb.org/the-political-economy-of-a-predatory-state-revisited-the-marcos-world-bank-partnership/>

¹⁸ Republic of the Philippines. (1992, March 24). *Republic Act No. 7279*. Official Gazette. <https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/1992/03/24/republic-act-no-7279/>

¹⁹ Junior Philippine Geographical Society. (2022, June 27). *Counter-mapping: Sitio San Roque, Philippines*. <https://www.guerrillacartography.org/blog/counter-mapping-sitio-san-roque-philippines>

that are under NHA's management into the QCCBD. Known as the Vertis North Project, this deal transferred NHA's rights to ALI, allowing the construction of shopping malls, office towers and residential complexes on the land without consulting the residents. Marketed as a way to make Quezon City globally competitive, the project prioritised foreign investors over the welfare of the residents.²⁰

In 1986, the Vietnamese government implemented the Doi Moi which is a set of policies that aimed to open the closed and centrally-planned Vietnamese economy and orient it towards neoliberal markets. These policies involved liberalising sections of the economy, encouraging private enterprises and opening up to foreign trade and investment. The Law on Foreign Investment was officially adopted in 1987, one year after the issuance of the Doi Moi policy. As of December 2023, foreign investors have invested in 18 out of 21 sectors of the national economy and have reached USD 23.18 billion.²¹ Foreign electronics companies took advantage of these neoliberal reforms and began setting up their factories in the early 1990s.

Currently, foreign direct investment (FDI) enterprises are dominating the electronics sector, accounting for 80 to 100 per cent of the total investment capital of the electronics industry.²² Exports of electronic products are mostly from this sector, in which telephones and components account for 99.1 per cent; electronics, computers and components account for 98 per cent.²³ While labour rights are supposedly upheld by Vietnamese law, a research led by International Pollutants Elimination Network (IPEN) and CGFED in 2017 found out that around 30 per cent of electronics enterprises violated several laws, including regulations on overtime work.²⁴

In Indonesia, former President Joko Widodo's 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan highlighted three strategies. First, encouraging downstream industry to increase the production of high value-added commodities in order to make Indonesia a major actor in the global value chain by making maximum use of Indonesia's economic resources. Second, encouraging export market expansion through increased economic diplomacy, especially ratification of international trade agreements. Third, improving the business climate and labour reform to increase investment. All of these are then translated by the Government of

²⁰ Kadamay. (2024). *A Feminist Participatory Action Research on the Urban Poor Women in North Triangle, Quezon City, Philippines*. [Unpublished].

²¹ Ministry of Planning and Investment. (2023). *Quick Report on the Situation of Attracting Foreign Investment in Vietnam and Vietnam's Investment Abroad in 2023*. <https://www.mpi.gov.vn/en/Pages/2023-12-29/FDI-attraction-situation-in-Vietnam-and-Vietnam-s-fh2c25.aspx>

²² Economy and Urbanism. (2023). *Despite significant investment potential, the electronics industry remains primarily focused on processing and assembly (translated from Vietnamese)*. <https://kinhthedoithi.vn/du-dia-hut-dau-tu-lon-nhung-cong-nghiep-dien-tu-van-chi-gia-cong.html>

²³ Minh, N. (2021, August 27). *Electronics Industry: Attracting Many Foreign Investors*. <https://thoibaonganhng.vn/nganh-cong-nghiep-dien-tu-thu-hut-nhieu-nha-dau-tu-nuoc-ngoai-118516.html>

²⁴ International Pollutants Elimination Network (IPEN) & Research Centre for Gender, Family, and Environment in Development (CGFED). (2017). *Stories of women workers in Vietnam's electronics industry*. IPEN. https://ipen.org/sites/default/files/documents/FINAL_Stories%20of%20Women%20Workers%20in%20Vietnam%27s%20Electronics%20Industry%20FINAL%20Nov%202017.pdf

Indonesia through the widest possible de-regulation agenda in the Job Creation Law. The Job Creation Law, also known as the 'Omnibus Law', has provisions that allow labour regulations in Indonesia to be more flexible and can negatively impact several rules related to wages, layoffs and severance pay.

'The legal politics of the Job Creation Law are more aimed at improving the investment ecosystem and ease of doing business by risking the security and safety of life without ensuring legal protection for Indonesian workers, especially women.'

- SGBN FPAR

These neoliberal reforms in the Philippines, Vietnam and Indonesia were signed and implemented without democratic participation of peoples in the decision-making process. Repressed civic spaces in Vietnam make it extremely difficult for civil society to voice their complaints. In the Philippines, housing PPP projects by the NHA were decided without consultation with urban poor communities living informally in NHA-managed lands.

Housing for whom? Vertis North Projects excludes the urban poor.

The Vertis North Project developed by ALL included a suite of condominiums, office spaces, casinos, hotels, all branded and marketed as a new development project in the heart of the city. Not included in their marketing are the thousands of residents that needed to be displaced. Vertis North's development plans notably excluded input from residents, despite the UDHA's emphasis on people's participation in development.

The NHA's relocation programme, a response to the project's displacement impact, qualified only a fraction of affected families due to budget limitations, relocating them to far-flung areas outside of the metropolis, distant from their sources of livelihood, devoid of job opportunities and often hazardous.



Despite opposition from civil society and labour groups, the Indonesian government still pushed through with signing the Job Creation Law. Despite COVID-19 restrictions, tens of thousands of civil society organisations, activists and workers participated in a series of massive protests in October 2020 to voice their opposition to the Job Creation Law.²⁵ During these actions, at least around 4,500 people were recorded as being arrested.²⁶

'In this case, the government policies in Indonesia prioritise the interest of corporations over the workers' rights. Indonesian politics and governance today are controlled by the political elites. They consciously hold political power to perpetuate their economic power.'

-SGBN FPAR

Communities lose access to public services, women worker's human rights are violated

The drive to attract investments from the private sector, including from foreign corporations, has driven a race to the bottom among countries from Asia and the Pacific countries. The competition involves providing investors the least business costs for credit, infrastructure, logistics and wages, among others. For example, aside from implementing corporate income taxes at an average of 20 per cent which is lower than the 23.51 per cent global average,²⁷ ASEAN countries also often provide other incentives to corporations, such as zero-taxation on certain kinds of transactions, as well as tax holidays²⁸ while personal income taxes are on average at 25 per cent.²⁹ Informal employment, wherein workers find themselves in insecure jobs with little to no benefits and no guarantee of living wages, is also on the rise in Asia and the Pacific, at 66 per cent.³⁰

²⁵ The Jakarta Post News Desk. (2020, October 28). *Workers, Students Return to Street for New Jobs Law Protest*. The Jakarta Post. <https://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2020/10/28/workers-students-return-to-street-for-new-jobs-law-protest.html>

²⁶ Amnesty International Indonesia. (2020). *Investigating Evidence of Police Violence During the Omnibus Law Protests*. <https://www.amnesty.id/kabar-terbaru/siaran-pers/usut-bukti-bukti-kekerasan-polisi-sepanjang-demo-tolak-omnibus-law/12/2020/>

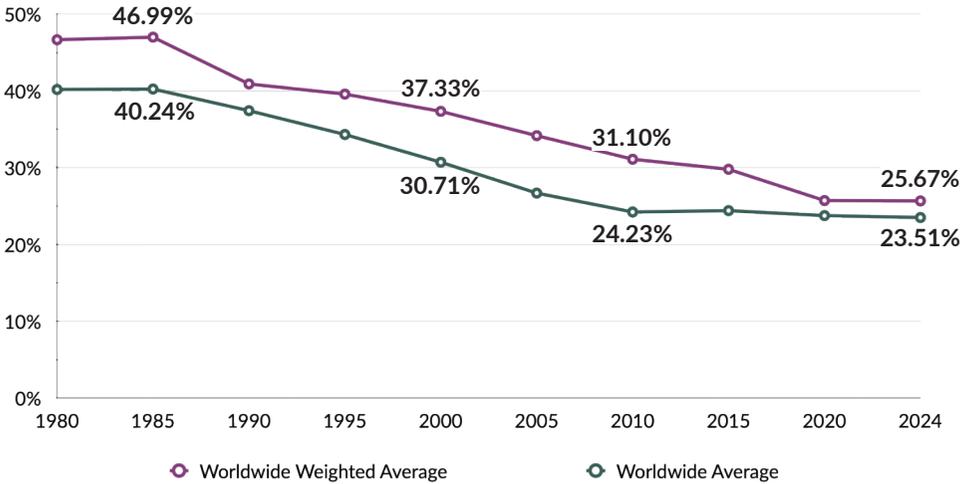
²⁷ Enache, C. (2024, December 17). *Corporate tax rates around the world, 2024*. Tax Foundation. <https://taxfoundation.org/data/all/global/corporate-tax-rates-by-country-2024/>

²⁸ The PRAKARSA. (2024, June 6). *Tax incentive wars are harmful! Countries in ASEAN must set corporate tax at 25 percent*. <https://theprakarsa.org/en/perang-insentif-pajak-merugikan-negara-negara-di-asean-harus-menetapkan-pajak-perusahaan-sebesar-25-persen/>

²⁹ PWC. (n. d.). *Personal income tax (PIT) rates*. Worldwide Tax Summaries. <https://taxsummaries.pwc.com/quick-charts/personal-income-tax-pit-rates>

³⁰ WIEGO. (2023). *Counting the world's informal workers: Key facts*. <https://www.wiego.org/informal-economy/statistical-picture/>

Figure 3. Global average corporate tax rates have fallen since the 1980s. In 2024, the global average corporate tax rate is 23.51 per cent. When weighted by Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the average rate is 25.67 per cent.³¹



IFIs have promoted PPPs as a way to attract private investment into public services and development initiatives amidst limited government resources. However, this does not necessarily lead to providing communities, especially the urban poor, access to the services that they need. In the Philippines, the development of the Vertis North displaced urban poor communities. Residents of the self-built community of San Roque, where Vertis North now sits, faced a series of evictions and violent demolitions. Relocation sites for those displaced are built and managed by private companies that entered into PPP agreements with the NHA. These relocation sites are too far away from their sources of livelihoods. Water and electricity in these areas are also privately managed and often charge high tariffs despite poor service.

One such relocation site named Kasiglahan Village, was developed by San Jose Builders in the town of Rodriguez in Rizal province. Kasiglahan Village is situated 20 kilometres (km) northwest of Sitio San Roque. It is prone to floods because it was built on a previously reclaimed stream³² within the Upper Marikina watershed and bounded by the Marikina River in the south and the Puray River in the east.³³

³¹ Enache, C. (2024, December 17). *Corporate tax rates around the world, 2024*. Tax Foundation. <https://taxfoundation.org/data/all/global/corporate-tax-rates-by-country-2024/>

³² Ellao, J. A. (2012, August 17). Relocation site at Kasiglahan Village submerged in floods. *Bulatlat*. <https://www.bulatlat.com/2012/08/17/relocation-site-at-kasiglahan-village-submerged-in-floods/?tzc=1>

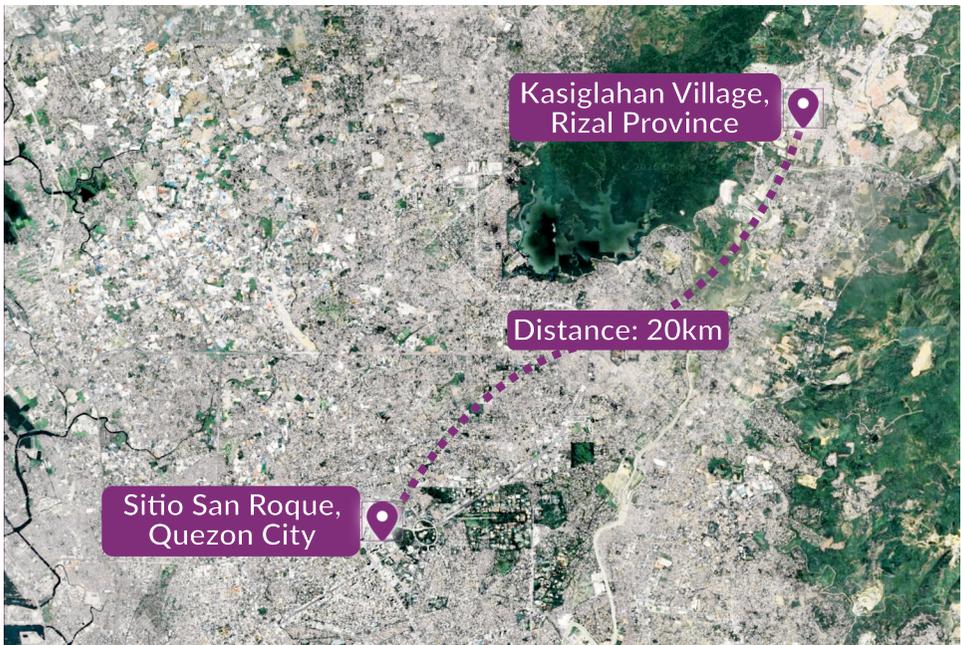
³³ Cabico, G. K. (2021, December 7). *A year on, Kasiglahan folk still haunted by 'Ulysses' flooding*. PhilStar. <https://www.philstar.com/newsx/kasiglahan-village-flooding>

'San Jose Builders controls the water and electricity services. The electricity was USD 0.38 per kilowatt-hour, which is twice the rate charged by MERALCO.³⁴ For the water, you have to pay them regardless of usage. There is a basic charge of USD 1 per cubic meter which is also twice the rate charged by Manila Water.³⁵

However, the water supply is very low. Additionally, the electricity is so weak that if you leave a light on from 3 AM, by 6 or 7 AM, you can't even use the electric fan because the power is too weak. There is only one mother meter serving hundreds of families. It is really difficult and San Jose Builders still manages everything.'

- Urban poor woman from Sitio San Roque

Figure 4. Map showing location of Sitio San Roque and Kasiglahan Village relocation site.



In 2012, heavy monsoon rains caused flooding in Kasiglahan Village, forcing residents to take refuge on their roofs.³⁶ The village, built on a reclaimed stream, has a poor drainage system and is at risk from landslides. Because of the hazards,

³⁴ MERALCO stands for Manila Electric Railroad and Light Company. It is the Philippines' largest electric distribution utility company. It provides electricity to a large franchise area that includes Metro Manila and parts of several surrounding provinces, including Rizal. Reference rate: year 2012.

³⁵ Manila Water is a waste and water company which provides services east zone Greater Metro Manila, of which Montalban is part of. Reference rate: year 2012.

³⁶ Cabico, G. K. (2021, December 7). *A year on, Kasiglahan folk still haunted by 'Ulysses' flooding.* [PhilStar. https://www.philstar.com/newsx/kasiglahan-village-flooding](https://www.philstar.com/newsx/kasiglahan-village-flooding)

lack of adequate public utilities and lack of access to livelihoods, these relocation sites are often labeled as 'death zones' by urban poor communities. These conditions force relocated residents to return to Sitio San Roque or other urban poor communities in Metro Manila.

In Vietnam, the entry of foreign investments in the electronics sector did bring in jobs for women, but not safe working conditions and living wages. Like other electronic companies, Company A does not pay its workers a living wage. While the average monthly wage of USD 237 given by Company A is higher than the regional minimum wage of USD 144, it is still insufficient to cover the costs of a decent life for the workers.

This compels women working in the factory to do overtime work just to make ends meet. However, compensation for overtime work is not transparent, and often still not enough to cover the costs to live decently.

'Overtime pay on payslips is recorded in two amounts: one half is called overtime pay, and the other is called performance bonus. This implies that the company might avoid transparency in disclosing actual overtime hours of workers within a month, which might violate the labour code.'

- CGFED FPAR

'The average monthly wages range from USD 237 with no overtime, to USD 395 after doing extensive overtime. The estimated cost of a basic but decent living for a family of four in Region 3, where the company is located, is USD 489 per month.'

- CGFED FPAR

According to a survey by the Vietnam General Confederation of Labour in 2022, a significant proportion of workers have to borrow money, reflecting the inadequacy of wages to meet the daily needs of many workers.³⁷ The survey found that 12 per cent of workers have to regularly borrow money to cover expenses; 35.5 per cent of workers have to borrow about every three to four months; and 34.8 per cent of workers need to borrow money once to twice a year. Household debt in Vietnam rose from two per cent of GDP in 2013³⁸ to 65 per cent in 2023.³⁹ However, household incomes remained low. In 2023, the gap between household debt and income growth is at five per cent.⁴⁰

³⁷ Labor Newspaper. (2022). Survey: Many Workers Have to Borrow Money to Make Ends Meet. <https://laodong.vn/cong-doaan/khao-sat-nhieu-cong-nhan-phai-di-vay-de-trang-trai-cuoc-song-1057177.ldo>

³⁸ Thuong, D.T.H., & Minh, P.T.T. (2022). The effect of household debt on the stability of the banking system in Vietnam. *South Asian Journal of Finance*, 2(2), 86–97. <https://doi.org/10.4038/sajf.v2i2.45>

³⁹ Moody's Ratings. (2024, October 21). High household debt poses asset quality risks to several ASEAN markets. <https://dkf1ato8y5dsg.cloudfront.net/uploads/52/504/1-sector-in-depth-banks-southeast-asia-high-21oct2024-pbc-1402030.pdf>

⁴⁰ Moody's Ratings. (2024, October 21). High household debt poses asset quality risks to several ASEAN markets. <https://dkf1ato8y5dsg.cloudfront.net/uploads/52/504/1-sector-in-depth-banks-southeast-asia-high-21oct2024-pbc-1402030.pdf>

'M is one of the most diligent workers when it comes to working overtime, even though it is exhausting. She has no choice but to work extra hours to have enough money for expenses because if she doesn't, she will be short on money, have to borrow, and then repay it when she gets paid. This cycle repeats itself, creating a never-ending loop with no way out.'

- CGFED FPAR

Women at Company A⁴¹ are worked to the bone. Production quotas are kept high without regard for worker's health and safety. As a result, women workers suffer from various health conditions resulting from stress and exhaustion.

Similar to Vietnam, the Indonesian government's goal of attracting foreign investment was at the expense of workers' rights. The Job Creation Law legitimised labour flexibilisation in Indonesia. It makes labour regulations more flexible by weakening several worker protections, particularly around severance pay, termination and expansion of fixed term and outsourcing. For instance, it removes 'business core' restrictions thereby allowing employers to outsource work and to use fixed term work contracts. Severance pay is reduced through revised calculations including removal of 15 per cent compensation for housing and healthcare. Further, simplified procedures make termination easier. The law also introduces the Job Loss Guarantee Scheme effectively shifting the dismissal responsibilities on to the state and thereby making termination cheaper and easier for employers. After the law was approved, women workers at the STM textile manufacturing company noticed that the company stopped promoting permanent workers and began hiring more contract workers and interns. Electronics manufacturer PT Jovan also started to hire more subcontractors than regular workers. Women workers who were laid-off were rehired by the company as subcontractors wherein they lose benefits such as health insurance and time-offs. Protections and welfare for women were also impacted by the Job Creation Law. Benefits such as maternal and menstrual leave were neglected. Both companies also neglected workplace safety.

'Never mind menstrual leave, we are not even allowed to take our basic leave entitlements. There was a colleague who wanted to take leave for her child's graduation. She was not permitted to do so, even though she still had four days of annual leave remaining. Is that not our right? Yet, she still could not take it. She was definitely made to face difficulties, especially in the packing (department).'

- Woman worker from SGBN Indonesia

⁴¹ The name of the Vietnamese company is not disclosed to ensure the safety and security of its employees. Additionally, employees are working closely with the company to address the findings and drive workplace changes.

'We used to be granted two days of menstrual leave per month, but now it has been reduced to only once a month and it even requires a sick letter from a doctor.'

- Woman worker from SGBN Indonesia

'When workers experience workplace accidents, there is no first aid available because the company lacks an on-site clinic. If an accident is serious, workers are only referred to the nearest clinic or company outside of PT Jovan Technologies. This situation can exacerbate workers' health conditions, particularly for those in high-risk jobs.'

- Woman worker from Federation of Indonesian Labour Struggle (FPBI PT Jovan)

Despite the long hours, women workers in PT STM and PT Jovan received low wages that are not enough to meet their daily needs. In PT Jovan, subcontractors earned even less. A daily subcontractor earns USD 190 per month, which is still below the regional minimum wage of Batam City which is set at USD 285. While PT Jovan regular workers earn the minimum wage, the rising costs of living still make their wages inadequate to meet their daily needs.

The Burden of Unpaid Care Work

Unpaid care work, primarily shouldered by women due to patriarchal norms, remains largely unrecognised despite its significant contribution to the economy. Based on estimates by the ILO in 2019, the value of unpaid care and domestic work accounts for as much as nine per cent of global GDP (USD 11 trillion). Of that, around 6.6 per cent is attributed to women while 2.4 per cent to men.⁴² This inequity limits women's participation in the formal labour force and perpetuates gender inequality.

For urban poor women in the Philippines, the lack of accessible public utilities, such as clean water, increases their unpaid work hours. The lack of access to affordable healthcare means they are mainly in charge of taking care of sick family members. The mental toll of care work on women is often overlooked. They are typically responsible for budgeting the family's income, and there was a shared understanding among the women of how challenging it is to stretch their limited finances to cover food, rent, bills and transportation. One mother described it as a 'headache,' while another referred to it as 'mental torture,' especially amid the high inflation rates.

⁴² Hernando, R. C. (2022, March). *Unpaid care and domestic work: Counting the costs* [Policy brief No. 43]. Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation. https://www.apec.org/docs/default-source/publications/2022/3/unpaid-care-and-domestic-work-counting-the-costs/222_psu_unpaid-care-and-domestic-work.pdf?sfvrsn=cac93c7c_2

'The prices of goods right now are high and the salary of our husbands is so low. Even if I have a sideline, it's not enough. Sometimes you have to borrow money from lenders with high interest rates in order to survive. It's like 'mental torture' every time I think how I have to budget the money.'

- Mother from Sitio San Roque

For the women workers in Indonesia and Vietnam, work does not start when they clock in or stop when they clock out of the factory. Despite their long work hours, they are still mainly in charge of cooking and cleaning for their families before and after their factory shift. Their multiple responsibilities at home and long hours at work in the factory means they have less time for rest and even less time for union activities.

'The daily activities of women workers at PT STM company include: eight-hour workday, two-hour trip commute and approximately five hours spent on household chores (shopping, cooking, childcare, cleaning, laundry) before and after work. They only have about five hours of rest. Those who are married find it difficult to manage their time to attend union meetings. This often requires prior negotiation with their husbands due to limitations of their personal freedom.'

- SGBN FPAR



Women's lives and human rights are at risk from state and corporate-sponsored repression and intimidation

Neoliberal policies that are signed into law are also implemented through repression and intimidation by states and corporations to stamp out opposition to these policies. According to the 2024 International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) Global Rights Index, Asia and the Pacific remains the second worst region in the world for the working people due to systematic violations of workers' fundamental and democratic rights to organise a trade union and to strike.⁴³ In the same year, civic spaces in Asia and the Pacific have become increasingly restricted and repressed as governments clamp down on protests and imprison human rights defenders.⁴⁴

In the Philippines, communities in Sitio San Roque faced multiple instances of eviction and violent demolition. Some who agreed to demolish their own homes did so because of fear and a lack of awareness of their legal rights. The government's counterinsurgency efforts have intensified since 2021 under former President Rodrigo Duterte. These efforts included tagging members of Kadamay as armed rebels and fabricating their 'surrender' to the government. This strategy diverts attention from the real and pressing struggles of the urban poor making them vulnerable to displacement from demolitions coordinated by business entities inside the Vertis North Triangle with the NHA.

'The police and military, as well as the National Task Force to End Local Communist Armed Conflict (NTF-ELCAC) impact the community negatively by facilitating displacement through harassment and divisiveness. Local leaders and community members are branded as armed communist combatants and forced to "surrender." Members of the community are enticed by the NTF-ELCAC to "surrender" regardless of affiliation (i.e., even if they are not members of organisations struggling against demolition and eviction), in exchange for cash and groceries.'

- Kadamay FPAR

In Vietnam, female workers at Company A who went on strike to protest low wages and long working hours have been disciplined or considered to have resigned. In addition, there are barriers to engaging in anti-company protests, such as regulations on public gatherings (Decree 38/2005/ND-CP). The workers were also hesitant to speak out due to fears of retaliation. For instance, those who spoke up to defend workers' rights were photographed. Some were subsequently transferred to unsuitable jobs and were forced to leave the company. Furthermore, the women feared that the company might record those who participated in the strikes as troublemakers, which would make it difficult for them to find jobs elsewhere. Additionally, workers who participated in the strike had their attendance bonuses deducted and did not receive their full Tet (Vietnamese New

⁴³ ITUC Asia Pacific. (2024, June 13). 2024 ITUC Global Rights Index: Asia-Pacific records widespread systematic labour rights violations once again. <https://www.ituc-ap.org/news-and-updates/2024-ituc-global-rights-index-asia-pacific-records-widespread-systematic-labour-rights-violations-once-again>

⁴⁴ CIVICUS. (2024). Asia Pacific. CIVICUS Monitor. https://monitor.civicus.org/globalfindings_2024/asiapacific/

Year) bonuses. As a result of these experiences, the female workers at Company A have become reluctant to voice their opinions.

In Indonesia, the legalisation of a lack of job security has weakened the bargaining power of workers, making them afraid to speak out for their rights. Women workers who complained about unsafe working conditions, long hours and low wages of PT Jovan and PT STM were threatened with dismissal by the companies. Aside from intimidation, PT STM is enticing labour union leaders and regular workers to resign by offering them severance packages in order to replace them with subcontracted workers.

'Union officials and members are encouraged not to be vocal or to protest frequently. Various forms of influence are always exerted on trade unions, such as "seducing" positions to trade union leaders. Trade union leaders have always been the main target for companies to weaken the union. The efforts made include terminating employment relationships and providing positions in the company such as foreman, division/section head, to supervisor.'

- SGBN FPAR



Women's Resistance and the Power of FPAR

Through the FPAR, urban poor women from the Philippines and women workers in Vietnam and Indonesia were able to investigate their situation and understand the linkages between the problems they face and neoliberal national and international policies. The FPAR also helped the women formulate ways forward to strengthen their organisations and engage decision-makers to uphold their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

In the Philippines, the urban poor women of Sitio San Roque were able to trace the root of their displacement to the privatisation policies that started during the Marcos dictatorship. They were also able to map the decision-makers with whom they can engage to protect their right to decent housing. FPAR participants joined Kadamay Sitio San Roque in engaging the Quezon City Local Government Unit (LGU) in February 2024 to stop further demolitions. They also discussed the possibility of in-city relocation with the local government unit. Together with the FPAR participants, Kadamay Sitio San Roque held discussions with their members to refine their demands for the proposed in-city relocation. They emphasised the need for it to be affordable, to adhere to decent and safe housing standards, to provide livelihood opportunities and to follow a process that is led by the community and is inclusive, not reliant on the NHA's process. During the September 2025 discussions with the LGU, the women of Kadamay Sitio San Roque presented their Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) outlining the community's demands. The LGU committed to provide in-city housing for the residents of Sitio San Roque and agreed to fast-track the process with Ayala Land, which owns the land for the relocation site. The LGU also promised to provide temporary shelter for families in Area I of Sitio San Roque who were facing the threat of demolition.

Women workers in Vietnam and Indonesia were also able to understand their situation including long working hours, labour flexibilisation, low wages, unsafe working conditions and the lack of benefits in the larger context of neoliberal policies being implemented by their governments to open up their economies to foreign investors and align with trade and investment agreements. Women workers at Company A in Vietnam started a dialogue with the management to discuss addressing the problem of long working hours and low wages. Through this process, the women workers began to understand the different mechanisms they could access to initiate dialogue with the management of the company. In Indonesia, the women workers in PT SMNI and PT Jovan Technologies have begun strengthening their organisations through reaching out to fellow women workers and discussing the common problems they are facing. In PT Jovan Technologies, discussions have been held among the FPAR researchers, the women workers and the labour union on forming a women's group within the company increasing women's representation in the leadership of the labour union.

Recommendations and Ways Forward

Development must work for people and uplift the poor and the marginalised women of the global south. To achieve this, there needs to be a shift from the neoliberal framework that prioritises private profit over people to a framework towards **Development Justice**.

Development Justice aims to: redistribute resources, wealth and power equitably; develop economies for dignified lives; eliminate patriarchal systems and all forms of discrimination, marginalisation and exclusion; reorient extractive and destructive production and consumption towards systems that protect both human rights and the environment; demand accountability to peoples by governments and corporations; and empower people to be part of democratic decision-making. Reforms are needed in the WTO, RCEP and CPTPP to make them more transparent and mitigate their negative impacts on people and the environment—but they are not enough. Ultimately, power relations between the Global North and South, between governments and corporations, between governments and their people, and between genders and social classes must be rebalanced. This will pave the way for international cooperation that is based on solidarity and complementarity, respect for peoples' sovereignty, strict regulation of corporations and the financial sector, and the building of economies that put people and the planet at the front and centre.

The FPAR partners have formulated recommendations on where to start in achieving women's human rights and Development Justice.

1. **Ensure justice and accountability in trade and investment agreements and within global value chains.** This includes conducting human rights, environmental and gender-impact assessments of these agreements. Trade and investment agreements should be subjected to ex-ante and ex-post assessments, as well as periodic human rights, environmental and gender impact assessments. These assessments will help prevent the implementation of harmful programmes and policies and could help create trade and investment rules that aid in achieving Development Justice that is rooted in economic, redistributive, environmental, social and gender justice, as well as accountability to the peoples. Likewise, governments must ensure transparency and the democratic participation of women's groups and other marginalised sectors in the formulation of trade and investment agreements.

Accountability in global value chains is important to ensure that women workers' rights are upheld. There is a need for robust regulation of businesses to ensure they act consistently with human rights standards and are held accountable for human rights violations, especially to women in the global south. States must fulfill their extra-territorial human rights obligation of overseeing trade agreements and regulating their companies' investments to ensure these do not undermine the fulfillment of human rights anywhere.

2. **Ensure decent work and living wages.** Governments must uphold their international commitments such as the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights wherein Article 11 recognises the right to an adequate standard of living for an individual and their family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to

the continuous improvement of living conditions.⁴⁵ In addition, both Article 23 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR), as well as ILO Convention 131 reference and support the right to a living wage. Governments need to conduct assessments and publish the living wage standard to provide a clear benchmark for adjusting wages. This will help ensure that wages are set based on realistic standards and accurately reflects the basic living needs of workers. Workers also have a right to safe working conditions, adequate rest days and eight-hour workdays. Addressing housing issues also requires protecting workers and promoting living wages. The prevalence of low wages and insecure employment contributes to housing instability among the urban poor.

3. **Ensure adequate, safe and affordable housing for all, especially for poor and marginalised communities.** The implementation of affordable public housing should be government-led rather than reliant on private sector initiatives. Subsidies should be based on the income and expenses of low-income families. Income-based subsidies, where beneficiaries pay only a portion of the amortisation relative to their monthly income, could be an effective alternative, with the government covering the remainder through direct subsidies.
4. **Recognise, reduce and equitably distribute unpaid care work.** Unpaid care work should be formally integrated into economic and policy frameworks, with social protection systems implemented to support caregivers. Governments must ensure access to affordable childcare, healthcare, parental leave and other services to reduce the burden on women. Additionally, cultural norms should be challenged to encourage men to share care responsibilities. A care-responsive economy is built in terms of sustaining public investments in public goods and services that benefit women and their communities. Specifically, governments must end the corporate capture of public services and instead, provide long-term, sustained, public investment for public goods and essential services—including but not limited to healthcare, education, universal social protection, pensions and early childhood care and education, which comprise the foundation for gender equality and realisation of women's human rights and provide a remedy for systemic disinvestment in these areas.
5. **Governments must uphold freedom of speech and the right to organise.** Urban poor women and women workers play a vital role in promoting women's human rights and can contribute unique and actionable recommendations in policy-making. It is essential to protect their right to organise and implement safeguards against harassment and suppression by the state and corporations. Ensuring their safety allows them to advocate for policies that address economic insecurity, making sure their voices and human rights are fully respected.

⁴⁵ United Nations General Assembly Resolution 2200A (XXI). (1976, December 16). *International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Article 11*. United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-economic-social-and-cultural-rights>

To The UN Bodies and UN Special Procedures Mandate Holders

1. UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Housing:

Look into urbanisation and the state of the urban poor people's right to adequate housing. Examine PPPs and the right to housing of urban poor.

2. UN Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceful assembly and of association and the UN Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression:

Conduct a joint or separate inquiries into the impacts of private sector-led development programmes (housing, health and economic policies) on citizen's freedom to organise and freedom of speech.

3. UN Human Rights Working Group on Women and Girls:

Look into gendered discrimination in global value chains.

4. United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD):

Further develop and strengthen its work in advancing global cooperation on reviewing the human rights, gender equality and sustainable development impacts of bi-lateral, pluri-lateral and multi-lateral trade agreements. UNCTAD should also look into addressing evasive corporate governance structures and promoting fair, equitable, gender transformative, rights based and transparent investment policies. UNCTAD should also be legitimised as the place for trade and development discussions and policy-making over any trade negotiations.

5. Working Group on the Issue of Human Rights and Transnational Corporations and other Business Enterprises:

Conduct official country visits to Vietnam, Indonesia, and other countries where manufacturing processes are outsourced and look into the human rights impacts of these businesses.

6. Independent Expert on the Promotion of a Democratic and Equitable International Order:

Look into the importance of and barriers to people's participation in the local and global processes that shape the international economic order.

To International Financial Institutions

1. Permanently cancel debts and end conditionalities that promote trade liberalisation and privatisation of services further impoverishing developing countries.
2. Cease the corporate capture of development that discards the democratic rights of the marginalised and vulnerable, and uphold rights-based and environmental standards to ensure a transformative, people-centred approach to sustainable development.
3. End structural conditionalities and austerity measures, and rechannel public finance to ensure well-resourced universal social protection, that is binding and enforceable by law. Provide long-term, sustained, public investment for public goods and

essential services, including but not limited to healthcare, education, universal social protection, pensions and early childhood care and education, which remedy for systemic disinvestment in these areas and ensure gender equality and the realisation of women's human rights.

4. Foster effective development cooperation that promotes self-sustaining economies as well as the growth of local industries, social and community enterprises, Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs).

Ways Forward: Research Questions for Consideration

1. **Commoning:** Explore the 'commoning' practices of women in the context of neoliberal policies that aim to privatise public resources. Commoning can spring from the need to collectively manage resources for a community's benefit. It can also be a response to neoliberal policies, acting against privatisation and the limiting of the benefits of a resource to only a few. How do governments respond to these commoning practices?
2. **Gender discrimination in the workplace:** Further explore gender discrimination in the workplace at the industry and firm levels after the implementation of the Job Creation Law in Indonesia and similar laws in other countries. Has the gender wage gap improved or worsened? Which women's rights in the workplace took a backseat after the implementation of these laws? What does the sexual division of labour at the firm and industry level look like?



The WITCH FPAR partners

Kalipunan ng Damayang Mahihirap (Kadamay, Philippines) is the largest alliance of urban poor organisations in the Philippines that advocates for the eradication of poverty and for a just, free and prosperous society. In Sitio San Roque, Kadamay advocates for the rights of the marginalised in their community. Kadamay San Roque actively organises and mobilises the community to resist threats of demolition and campaigns for equitable wages, job security, access to social services and the protection of human rights.

Sentral Gerakan Buruh Nasional (SGBN, Indonesia). The National Labour Movement Center or SGBN, is one of the national labour unions in Indonesia. SGBN aims to fight for and protect the rights of workers in Indonesia, including women workers, who face various violations in the workplace and to increase workers' awareness and perspective. SGBN's communities come from multi-sector workers in several regions in Indonesia such as Bekasi, Tangerang, Indramayu, Bandung, Semarang, Banten, Jakarta, Medan, Poso, Morowali and Makassar.

Sahita Institute (HINTS, Indonesia). HINTS is a Civil Society Organisation (CSO) actively conducting research to support the struggles of communities and grassroots networks. Campaigning and advocacy are also integral parts of the activities carried out to continue these efforts. The network of this organisation includes labour communities, students, rural communities and continues to expand. Additionally, HINTS collaborates with international organisations at both the regional and global levels. HINTS focuses on three key issues: Digital Justice, Just Energy Transition and Economic Justice. To achieve these goals, the Sahita Institute incorporates perspectives on Democracy, Human Rights, Anti-Discrimination, Climate and Environment, Gender Equality and Justice for the poor.

The Research Centre for Gender, Family, and Environment in Development (CGFED, Vietnam) is a non-profit organisation in Vietnam that focuses on action research and advocacy with the aim of promoting gender equality based on freedom, diversity and human rights for individuals and communities. Its objectives are to (1) promote gender equality and justice, (2) empower women economically and (3) advocate for environmental sustainability.



The **Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD)** is the region's leading network of feminist and women's rights organisations and individual activists. For over 35 years, we have been carrying out advocacy, activism and movement-building to advance women's human rights and Development Justice.

Written by: Marjorie Pamintuan

Based on the FPAR reports from Kalipunan ng Damayang Mahihirap (Kadamay, Philippines), Sentral Gerakan Buruh Nasional (SGBN, Indonesia), Sahita Institute (HINTS, Indonesia) and the Research Centre for Gender, Family, and Environment in Development (CGFED, Vietnam).

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 [Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development](https://www.youtube.com/AsiaPacificForum)