*Review Paper*

# What Drives Female Labour Force Participation in Indonesia? A Systematic Literature Review

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**Abstract:** Female labour force participation (FLFP) in Indonesia remains stagnant despite educational progress and economic development. Studies about FLFP determinants in Indonesia exist, but their findings are scattered, making it difficult to establish a definitive conclusion. Therefore, this study aims to synthesise previous studies and map the factors that affect FLFP in Indonesia through systematic literature analysis. Guided by the PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) framework, this study reviewed 20 selected studies without restriction on publication year, covering peer-reviewed and grey literature up to April 2025. This study categorised determinants of FLFP into four groups: personal characteristics (age, marital status, and residential location), family characteristics (children's presence, household headship, household income, family size, and elderly members), educational attainment, and traditional gender norms. This study found that existing literature exhibited a linear and non-linear pattern between age and FLFP, while married status and childcare responsibilities decreased female participation rates. As a crucial factor, most studies have consistently found that higher education significantly increases FLFP. Moreover, traditional gender norms and specific religions prevent women from entering the labour market. Based on the findings, providing employees with better access to affordable child care and flexible work arrangements is required to support women's employment. The long-term recommendation requires comprehensive and supportive strategies, including increasing tertiary education access for women and labour law reform, such as maternity and paternity leave and social protections for women in the informal sector. Future research needs to study how gender, household dynamics, religion, and geography influence women's labour force participation through an intersectional and longitudinal perspective.

**Keywords:** Education, personal characteristics; family characteristics; female labour force participation; gender norms; systematic review

## Introduction

Female labour force participation (FLFP) has significantly improved the world economy. The involvement of women in the labour market may produce dual income, which results in elevated disposable income and financial stability (Salari & Javid, 2019). The increase in FLFP also helps to decrease poverty levels (Andlib et al., 2022; Mulugeta, 2021). Additionally, multiple studies demonstrate its positive effect on economic growth (Akhtar et al., 2023; Baerlocher et al., 2021; Klasen & Lamanna, 2009).

The International Labour Organization (ILO, 2022) reported that the worldwide FLFP rate reached 53.58% in 2022, slightly decreasing from 55.48% in 1991. However, the improvement trend in FLFP rates

has not been consistent across regions; some have documented a significant improvement, but most have faced stagnancy (Klasen, 2019). The ILO (2023) reports that developed G7 countries recorded their FLFP rates at 70.23% in 2022. In contrast, the FLFP rates in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) and Southern Asia averaged 20% and 28% in 2022, while the other countries, such as ASEAN and G20 countries, recorded their FLFP-rated average of around 50% in the same year. As the world's fourth most populous nation, Indonesia has experienced limited progress in FLFP, which has remained around 50% over the past three decades (ILO, 2023). A persistent gender gap remains, with male participation at 83.17% and female participation at 53.17% in 2022. This 30% gap highlights a significant disparity that has yet to be addressed.

Numerous studies have investigated the determinants of FLFP across various nations. Multiple studies have demonstrated that higher education is crucial in increasing FLFP (Menelek Asfaw, 2022; Thomas & Shyjan, 2022). Studies also found that personal characteristics, including age (Gupta, 2023; Lari et al., 2022), marital status (Haq et al., 2023; Zhang & Zhang, 2015), and ethnicity (Abdelhadi, 2017; Akyol & Ökten, 2022) significantly affect women in the labour market. Additionally, studies have revealed that cultural norms, specifically gender roles in household production, affect FLFP (Deshpande & Kabeer, 2024; Xiao & Asadullah, 2020).

Several studies about FLFP determinants in Indonesia exist, but they remain scattered across different levels of scope, methodology, and sample coverage, which creates difficulties in drawing unified and complete conclusions. The research question "What are the main factors affecting FLFP in Indonesia as found in the current literature?" drives this study. To answer this question, the study intends to map and synthesise empirical studies on the determinants of FLFP in the Indonesian context. The review aims to provide a clearer picture of the underlying elements influencing women's involvement in the labour market by combining scattered results from several studies to assist subsequent empirical research and policy development in this field.

The research uses a systematic literature review (SLR) to provide a structured, transparent, and replicable synthesis of the available studies (Siddaway et al., 2019). The SLR method enables researchers to identify and organise relevant studies thematically, which helps to reveal dominant patterns, inconsistencies, and knowledge gaps in the literature on FLFP in Indonesia. The researcher organised this study into several key sections. It begins with a literature review by outlining the key conceptual frameworks that guide the analysis, namely labour supply decisions within the household and human capital theory. The following section explains the methodology used to conduct the systematic review, guided by the PRISMA framework. The discussion section then presents the main themes and factors influencing FLFP in Indonesia, as identified from the reviewed literature. Finally, the study concludes with a summary of the key insights and recommendations for policy and future research directions.

**Literature Review**
Understanding FLFP requires conceptual frameworks that explain how individuals (particularly women) and households make decisions about time and resource allocation. This study draws on two well-established concepts: labour supply decisions within the household and human capital theory. These frameworks elaborate how time allocation, household responsibilities, education, and skills development shape women's participation in the labour market.

1. Labour Supply Decisions within the Household
The labour supply model provides a valuable approach to describing how individuals allocate their time between work and leisure. However, this allocation becomes more complex when unpaid domestic responsibilities are considered. Women, in particular, often devote significant time to household responsibilities, such as childcare, cooking, and other housework activities. These tasks, typically within the home, influence how much time women can dedicate to income-generating employment. Empirical evidence from the United States shows that women with young children spend more hours on domestic work and reduce their paid employment compared to mothers with older children (Ehrenberg & Smith, 2018).

The labour supply model has evolved to address this complexity by substituting "leisure time" with "household production time." (Ehrenberg & Smith, 2018). This model incorporates both household tasks and informal care work. It recognises that decisions about labour force participation will be affected when the demand for domestic work increases or when households can replace domestic labour with purchased goods and services. Households may respond by adjusting the number of working members or increasing paid work hours to maintain economic balance. In households where couples live together, shared decision-making around time allocation and domestic responsibilities is necessary (Ehrenberg & Smith, 2018). However, emotional factors and cultural expectations can make this process difficult. In many societies, including Indonesia, traditional gender roles often result in women bearing a larger share of household work, which may restrict their participation in the formal labour market.

Becker et al. (1985) examine how people choose between labour market and household production based on their strengths, which develop from human capital investments. According to Becker et al. (1985), the sexual division of labor emerges from human capital investments stemming from innate abilities, educational choices, and biological roles. The distribution of time and effort between market income generation and home production depends on individual productivity levels. According to Becker, household members will specialize in tasks that maximize their utility even though this practice perpetuates traditional gender roles.

The Indonesian situation demonstrates interesting connections to the concepts presented. The country has achieved notable advancements in gender equality, yet conventional social standards influence how people organize their households and work activities. Indonesian families often direct their financial resources toward developing "household human capital" through childcare, cooking and home management skills for women while men pursue career advancement. Women's choice to specialise in household skills represents a logical decision to achieve maximum family welfare because their domestic abilities deliver substantial value to household well-being.

## 2. Human Capital Theory

Human capital theory complements the labour supply model by focusing on the role of personal investment in enhancing productivity and labour market outcomes. Human capital refers to the skills, knowledge, and abilities individuals develop through education, training, and health improvements. These factors are essential in determining both individual employability and earning capacity.

Schultz (1961) emphasises that human capital development through education, healthcare, and job-based training can lead to higher real wages and national economic growth. His framework underscores the importance of investing in people, viewing such investments as key drivers of long-term development. Becker (1962) builds on this by explaining how education, training, and healthcare enhance the quality of the labour force and increase productivity. His research shows that individuals who improve their skills through education and on-the-job training are more likely to participate in the labour market and secure better employment opportunities.

Applying human capital theory in Indonesia helps identify structural barriers hindering women's labour participation. Many women continue to face limited access to quality education. These gaps reduce their competitiveness in the labour market and limit their ability to pursue formal employment. By applying the human capital framework, it becomes possible to examine how education influences women's economic roles, and to understand why certain groups are more likely to be excluded from paid work.

## Methodology

This study adopts a systematic literature review approach guided by the PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) framework (see Figure 1). The PRISMA protocol was employed to ensure transparency, reproducibility, and methodological rigour throughout identifying, selecting, and synthesising relevant literature on the determinants of FLFP in Indonesia.

1. Scope

The researcher developed specific inclusion and exclusion criteria in this study. For inclusion, studies can provide a quantitative, qualitative, or conceptual analysis of the determinants of FLFP in Indonesia. This review also includes cross-country analyses in which Indonesia was explicitly featured as one of the case study contexts. The researcher excluded studies of the determinants of FLFP whose scope did not involve Indonesia. This review encompassed peer-reviewed journal articles and grey literature, including conference proceedings, reports, and book chapters. To ensure comprehensive coverage while minimising publication bias, grey literature was included and assessed using the same eligibility criteria as peer-reviewed works.

No limitations were imposed regarding the year of publication. However, in terms of subject area, the researcher only focusses on economics, social science, business, and management. Furthermore, the inclusion and exclusion criteria in this study are provided in Table 1. The researcher applied the Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) checklist for systematic reviews to assess the methodological quality and relevance of the included studies. The checklist comprises ten key questions evaluating the clarity of the research question, the appropriateness of the included studies, the validity of synthesis methods, and the applicability and precision of the findings.

Table 1. Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

| Inclusion Criteria | Exclusion Criteria |
| --- | --- |
| Quantitative, qualitative, and conceptual analyses are included | The studies related to FLFP in Indonesia do not discuss its determinants |
| The study has to relate to determinants of FLFP in Indonesia or involve Indonesia as one of the scopes of study | The study was associated with FLFP but excluded Indonesia from the scope of the study |
| No limitations on the year of publication | |
| Journal articles, conference proceedings, reports, books, and book chapters are included | |
| The subject area is focused on economics, social sciences, and business management | |

2. Search StrategyThe researcher explored relevant scientific databases, such as Web of Science, Scopus, and Dimensions AI, for peer-reviewed articles, book chapters, and conference proceedings published until April 30, 2025, with no limitations applied to language. Additionally, manual searches were conducted on specialised databases and relevant websites to retrieve documents on the topic that were not indexed in academic databases. Boolean operators and keyword combinations were used, such as:

*"female labo\*r market" OR "female labo\*r force participation" OR "wom\*n labo\*r market" OR "wom\*n labo\*r force participation" OR "female worker" OR "women worker" OR "female employment" OR "wom\*n employment" AND "determinants" OR "factors" OR "barriers" OR "drivers") AND Indonesia*

3. Screening

The researcher identified 196 records from academic sources: Web of Science (81), Scopus (45), and Dimensions (70). After removing 22 duplicate records, the researcher retained 174 unique records for screening. The researcher screened the titles and abstracts of these 174 records to determine their relevance based on the predefined inclusion criteria. Following this step, the researcher excluded 161 records that were not relevant to this study. The researcher then retrieved and assessed 13 full articles. After identifying core articles, the researcher tracked backwards citations by screening their reference lists to identify additional relevant studies not captured in the initial database search. From this process, the researcher obtained seven additional articles. The total number of articles reviewed in this study was 20.
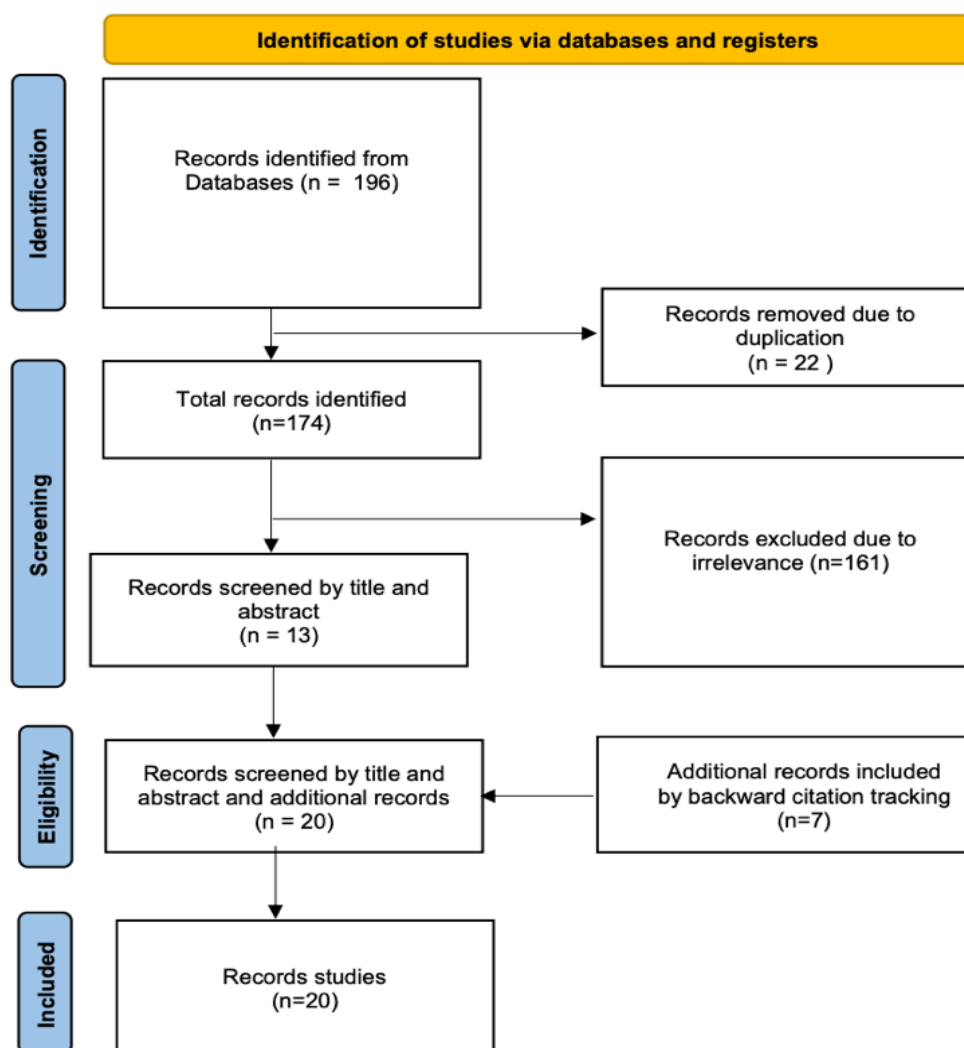
Figure 1 PRISMA flow diagram

## The Findings and Discussion

Research has extensively explored the determinants of Indonesian women's participation in the workforce. Empirical findings suggest that FLFP does not result from a single cause but rather from the interaction of diverse socio-economic and demographic factors. To organise these findings systematically, this review categorises the existing literature into four key domains: (1) Personal characteristics, including age, marital status, and residential location; (2) Family characteristics, such as number of children, household headship, family size, and the presence of elderly member; (3) Education; and (4) Social norms, including religious beliefs, cultural values, and gender role expectations. This thematic classification enables a clearer understanding of how individual, familial, and societal dynamics interact to shape women's employment decisions. A summary of the reviewed studies and their findings across these four categories is presented in Table 2. The table outlines the direction of effects and highlights contradictory findings where relevant.

Table 2. Summary reviewed studies

| Determinant Type | Specific Variable | Direction of Effect | Notable Contradiction | References |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Personal Characteristics | Age | Non-linear pattern | Linear pattern (positive and negative) | (Alam et al., 2018; Keiichi & Akter, 2007; Khasanah &Firmansyah, 2024; Kusumawardhani et al., 2023; Tsaniyah & |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Marital Status | Negative for married women | Divorce women's effects differ (positive and negative) | Sugiharti, 2021; Warman & Ulfa Sentosa, 2018; Wijayanto & Sari, 2019) (Cameron et al., 2019; Kusumawardhani et al., 2023; Tsaniyah & Sugiharti, 2021) |
| | Residential Location | Negative for urban areas | | (Khasanah & Firmansyah, 2024; Kusumawardhani et al., 2023; Setyonaluri & Shirota, 2019; Susilo et al., 2024; Tsaniyah & Sugiharti, 2021) |
| Family Characteristics | Number of children | Mostly Negative | Positive when children reach school age | (AIPEG, 2017; Cameron et al., 2019; Klasen, 2019; Susilo et al., 2024) |
| | Household headship | Positive | - | (AIPEG, 2017; Cameron et al., 2019; Kusumawardhani et al., 2023; Tsaniyah & Sugiharti, 2021; Wijayanto & Sari, 2019) |
| | Family size | Negative | - | (Alam et al., 2018; Khasanah & Firmansyah, 2024; Klasen et al., 2021; Tsaniyah & Sugiharti, 2021) |
| | Presence of the elderly | Positive | - | (AIPEG, 2017; Cameron et al., 2019) |
| | Household income | Negative | - | (Keiichi & Akter, 2007; Klasen et al., 2021; Tsaniyah & Sugiharti, 2021; Warman & Ulfa Sentosa, 2018) |
| Education | Educational level | Higher education has a positive impact | | (AIPEG, 2017; Alam et al., 2018; Cameron et al., 2019; Klasen et al., 2021; Kusumawardhani et al., 2023; Tsaniyah & Sugiharti, 2021) |
| Social Norms | Religious/ cultural norms | Negative | Positive when interpreted progressively | (Hwang, 2025; Setyonaluri & Utomo, 2023) |

1. Personal Characteristics

Examining FLFP in Indonesia requires understanding the personal characteristics that affect FLFP. A woman's age, marital status, and location determine her workforce entry decisions, job stability, and employment characteristics. Drawing on various empirical studies, this section elaborates on the personal characteristic variables that affect FLFP in the Indonesian context.

*Age and FLFP*

The relationship between age and FLFP in Indonesia varies across studies, with findings ranging from linear (positive and negative) to non-linear associations. Several studies have reported an inverted U-shaped pattern (Alam et al., 2018; Kusumawardhani et al., 2023). Other studies revealed a linear relationship, both negative and positive associations. Negative relationships indicate that participation declines as women age (Warman & Ulfa Sentosa, 2018; Wijayanto & Sari, 2019). In contrast, some evidence found a positive relationship between age and FLFP (Keiichi & Akter, 2007; Khasanah & Firmansyah, 2024; Tsaniyah & Sugiharti, 2021).

Most studies on the relationship between age and FLFP demonstrate a non-linear association, showing the life-course model because younger and older women tend to participate less in the workforce than women in their prime working years. Young women postpone their entry into the workforce because they continue their education, but older women leave their jobs because they need to care for their family members, and their health declines. Women reach peak participation levels during their middle years because this stage combines economic engagement with reduced household caregiving responsibilities. These findings are also in line with most previous studies conducted outside Indonesia, such as Kosovo, India, and Qatar (Gashi et al., 2019; Gupta, 2023; Lari et al., 2022)

Meanwhile, the negative and linear relationship between participation rates and ageing women may stem from traditional gender roles that become more dominant with time. Married women tend to leave their jobs because cultural expectations place domestic duties above professional ambitions. In the West Sumatra case, Warman & Ulfa Sentosa (2018) found that ageing may decrease FLFP because of physical condition and declining working hours for household responsibilities.

In contrast, the positive relationship between participation rates indicates that economic needs surpass social expectations. Women tend to increase their involvement in the labour market because they might take on household leadership roles or be willing to support the family financially. In the case of married women, Khasanah & Firmansyah (2024) found that married women increased their participation in the labour market with their age.

*Marital Status and FLFP*

The existing studies revealed that the relationship between marital status and FLFP in Indonesia varies, indicating negative and positive associations depending on the specific marital status category and demographic subgroup. Most findings across many studies are that married women negatively affect FLFP (Cameron et al., 2019; Kusumawardhani et al., 2023). This adverse effect may be linked to traditional gender roles that place domestic and caregiving responsibilities predominantly on married women, limiting their ability to participate in the workforce. These findings are supported by existing global studies, revealing the negative impact of married women on employment (Syed Salleh & Mansor, 2022; Xiao & Asadullah, 2020; Zhang & Zhang, 2015)

The other marital status may vary across studies, depending on the region and specification model. For the case of East Java, Tsaniyah & Sugiharti (2021) showed that divorced women had a positive relationship with FLFP, while widows negatively impacted FLFP. This pattern is possibly driven by economic necessity, as divorced women may bear sole responsibility for household income. Cameron et al. (2019) investigated the impact of marital status across some period, and it showed that divorced women's effect on FLFP varied across the period, while widowed women consistently had a negative relationship with FLFP.

*Geographic Location and FLFP*

The geographic position between urban and rural areas determines how FLFP in Indonesia develops. Most findings showed that women in urban areas are less likely to participate in the labour market than their urban counterparts (Khasanah & Firmansyah, 2024; Kusumawardhani et al., 2023; Susilo et al., 2024; Tsaniyah & Sugiharti, 2021). The work environment in urban areas presents more obstacles to women who want to work because it includes inflexible schedules, unaffordable childcare options, and strict gender expectations in the households. Meanwhile, the employment patterns in rural areas drive women to work informally or in agriculture or family-based roles to survive economically, and these positions usually offer more flexible working schedules.

2. Family Characteristics

Family characteristics determine the extent to which women join the labour force. Household dynamics and broader socio-cultural and economic factors either support or limit women's ability to enter paid employment. Research studies show how different variables affect FLFP in the following sections.

*Presence of Children and FLFP*
Existing literature revealed that the presence of children significantly affects FLFP in Indonesia. The relationship between children and FLFP shows different patterns based on the child's age (AIPEG, 2017; Cameron et al., 2019; Klasen et al., 2021). A woman with children under five years old is less likely to participate in the labour market. This stage often demands full-time caregiving, particularly without accessible childcare infrastructure. Many women in Indonesia take on this responsibility themselves due to prevailing gender norms and limited childcare. As a result, the opportunity cost of employment becomes higher for mothers with young children. Yan & Geraldine Chan (2024) in their review of women's employment discrimination also found that childbearing tends to interrupt women's employment.

Meanwhile, previous studies also indicated that women's participation rates become positive after children reach school age because their caregiving responsibilities decrease, and they can help with household duties. Women often regain flexibility to seek part-time or full-time employment at this stage. In some cases, school-aged children also reduce the household dependency ratio, which lowers the domestic burden on mothers and encourages labour market re-entry.

*Household Headship*
Household headship is a significant factor that affects women's participation in the Indonesian labour market. Research indicated that women who lead their households are more likely to participate in the labour market (AIPEG, 2017; Cameron et al., 2019; Kusumawardhani et al., 2023; Wijayanto & Sari, 2019). The economic need to support their families drives this trend because female-headed households do not have another income source, which forces women to take full financial responsibility. Women who serve as primary breadwinners will continue working in the labour market regardless of their marital status or caregiving duties. Female headship often occurs because of divorce or separation, restricting access to social and financial assistance. The structural vulnerability of women forces them to work for income generation because they lack other options, which leads to involuntary employment. This condition is faced by female migrant workers, who challenge gender expectations by becoming the primary breadwinner in their family (Noor et al., 2025).

*Family Size and FLFP*
Existing literature indicated that FLFP decreases when household sizes grow larger (Alam et al., 2018; Khasanah & Firmansyah, 2024; Klasen et al., 2021; Setyonaluri & Shirota, 2019; Tsaniyah & Sugiharti, 2021). Women experience greater domestic responsibilities when they have larger families because they must care for children and elderly relatives and maintain their homes. The Indonesian society maintains a strong gender-based division of household responsibilities where women traditionally perform primary caregiving duties. The cultural expectation for women to care for households remains strong throughout rural areas and lower-income households because these communities lack affordable childcare options and rarely hire outside help for domestic work. Women in bigger households face restricted access to paid employment, especially in formal sectors, because these jobs demand strict schedules and restricted work flexibility.

*Presence of the Elderly and FLFP*
Previous studies showed that elderly members positively affect FLFP in Indonesia (AIPEG, 2017; Cameron et al., 2019). The positive relationship exists because elderly members who are able-bodied help with household duties such as childcare. The support system enables working-age women to reduce their caregiving responsibilities, which gives them more freedom to pursue paid employment. The intergenerational cooperation between family members in Indonesia enables women to participate in the economy because extended family living arrangements are prevalent and formal caregiving infrastructure is scarce. Elderly members function as FLFP enablers for women in Indonesia because they provide support when they remain healthy and participate in household support systems.

*Household Income*
The negative relationship between household income and FLFP in Indonesia has been consistently observed in various empirical studies (Keiichi & Akter, 2007; Klasen et al., 2021; Tsaniyah & Sugiharti, 2021; Warman et al., 2018). When household income increases, usually because of a primary male earner, women may decrease or stop working because the marginal utility of their labour income becomes lower than the value of home production or leisure. In this situation, the increase in household income takes the place of women's work, decreasing their economic involvement, especially when traditional gender roles position women as secondary breadwinners or primary caregivers.

3. Education
Most studies agreed that higher education significantly increases the probability of women participating in the labour market. Most studies have applied education as a categorical variable; therefore, the different impacts of every level of education are revealed. This approach allows researchers to observe distinct effects between primary, secondary, and tertiary education.

Existing studies revealed that the positive impact of education started from upper secondary to tertiary education, while primary and lower education had a negative relationship with FLFP (AIPEG, 2017; Kusumawardhani et al., 2023). In addition, other studies revealed that university-level education consistently positively impacted FLFP (Alam et al., 2018; Cameron et al., 2019; Tsaniyah & Sugiharti, 2021). This trend can be linked to the advantages of advanced education, such as better access to formal employment, higher earning potential, and greater professional credibility. Higher education enhances individual skills and helps women navigate institutional barriers, making them more likely to enter and remain in the labour market.

However, Klasen et al. (2021) revealed that the educational influence on FLFP appears to be U-shaped or J-shaped. The research showed that women with primary education and those with tertiary education tend to join the workforce, but women with middle education levels (lower or upper secondary) tend to have lower participation rates. The observed pattern demonstrates how education interacts with job opportunities and gender norms to produce this unexpected result in Indonesia. Women with limited education enter the workforce because they need to support themselves through informal or basic-level employment. Women who complete tertiary education have better access to formal jobs with higher wages, better working conditions, and social acceptance, which drives their labour market participation. Women with intermediate education levels face a dual challenge because they possess more education than is required for informal work, yet lack sufficient qualifications to enter formal employment that requires higher qualifications.

4. Social Norms and Religion
Prior studies found that societal gender norms adversely affect female participation in the workforce throughout Indonesia (Setyonaluri & Utomo, 2023). The reviewed studies demonstrate that gender norms, which include gender role attitudes and religious beliefs as proxies, show adverse effects on FLFP. The traditional gender expectations in Indonesia establish that women should dedicate themselves to caregiving duties while men should be the primary breadwinners.

The influence of gender norms can be inferred indirectly through patterns observed in other variables. For example, the negative association between FLFP and marital status, particularly for married women and the presence of young children, suggests that societal expectations still assign caregiving and household management primarily to women. These responsibilities, shaped by gendered norms, often lead to women withdrawing from or avoiding participation in the labour market.

Alam et al., (2018) revealed that a particular religion negatively impacts FLFP. Unfortunately, this study did not explain the reason for this result. While specific religion may negatively affect female employment, Hwang (2025) revealed that religious beliefs do not uniformly act as barriers to FLFP. Instead, religious values can support women's economic participation when interpreted to emphasise justice, mutual responsibility, and empowerment.

**Conclusion**

Empirical studies found that FLFP in Indonesia results from multiple factors, including personal characteristics, family characteristics, education, traditional gender norms, and religion. The literature review and synthesis revealed distinct but interlinked effects across these themes. While the relationship between age varies among the literature, which exhibited linear and non-linear associations, marital status significantly influences participation, especially a negative relationship for married women, due to caregiving responsibilities and traditional expectations. FLFP decreases when women have dependent children, but household headship and elderly members in the family tend to increase female participation. The negative relationship between household size and income to FLFP demonstrated how economic substitution and intra-household labour division influence women's work participation. In most reviewed literature, higher education showed positive associations with FLFP. This finding suggests that education alone cannot ensure women's labour market inclusion without supportive policy, cultural change, and structural alignment. In addition, gender norms and specific religion tended to decrease women's participation in the labour.

In the short term, the labor market requires multiple policy solutions to support women's employment. First, it suggests providing more affordable childcare to support working mothers. The expansion of public childcare centres and tax benefits for private childcare providers should be implemented. It is also suggested that employers can provide affordable childcare for their employees. In addition, promoting flexible work arrangements through remote work options and adjustable working hours enables women to manage their paid work and domestic duties effectively. The arrangements are vital for mothers and caregivers because they prevent them from missing out on full-time, rigid work schedules.

In the long term, supporting women's participation in the labour market in Indonesia requires comprehensive and supportive policies. These include expanding women's access to tertiary education, and labour law reforms, including expanding maternity and paternity leave and extending social protections to women in the informal sector. Future research should explore the intersectionality between gender, household dynamics, religion, and geography, and adopt longitudinal approaches to understand how FLFP evolves across life stages. Such studies are crucial to uncover how overlapping social factors constrain or enable women's labour market decisions, and how these dynamics shift over time in response to policy, demographic, or cultural changes.

*Conflicts of Interest:* Declare conflicts of interest or state: The authors declare no conflict of interest

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