

Work from Home: Social Media, Virtual Meeting and the New Family Relationship

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Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic has actually forced people to work at home. Office activities outside the home can result in the transmission of COVID-19 to its workers. The government has taken a decision to minimize employee attendance at the office. Employees are encouraged to work at home (WFH), especially in groups vulnerable to infection. The house is turned into an "office space." With the internet network, these employees are connected to each other. Although factually, this pattern is not a new thing because it has been carried out since the 2000s and is now becoming increasingly intensive. Through qualitative research with an ethnomethodological perspective, the results show that with this pattern, the house has become an encounter between public space and domestic space. This requires a strategy to manage roles in the home. Through in-depth observations and interviews, there were several important findings. First, there is a struggle for space in the house. Second, there is a transfer of stress from work to home. Third, there is a renegotiation of roles in the house, so as not to disturb family harmony. No less important, the community of users of social media and virtual meetings builds constructions of public and domestic space and time. The division of space and time in virtual space is also related to a person's role and social status when in the real world of work.

Keywords: WFH, Multitasking, Negotiating

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INTRODUCTION

The COVID-19 pandemic has been going on since the end of 2019 and until mid-2021 the number of sufferers has reached more than 150 million in the world and 1.7 million in Indonesia. Unlike at the beginning of 2020, the number of new patients in Indonesia ranged from 4 thousand people to 10 thousand people per day, although the recovery rate has increased significantly. After a few months, the SARS-CoV2 virus is suspected to be easy to mutate, so that the initial symptoms are often not visible, such as fever and shortness of breath, and the infection power is much greater. This virus attacks mainly on the respiratory organs, causing shortness of breath and eventually death (FAHZU 2020; Hogarth et al. 2020; Wikipedia 2020). With the acceleration of the spread and the high mortality rate, at the beginning of the pandemic this disease caused mass panic and hysteria (Žižek 2020). Although there were efforts to end the spread, such as lockdowns, they turned out to lead to economic collapse in a number of countries (Bourne 2021). With the invention of a vaccine, the current strategy is mass vaccination to increase the immunity of the community (*herd community*).

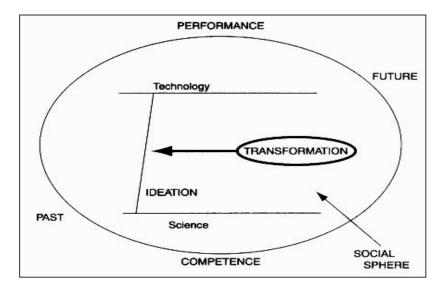
Unlike a number of developed countries, the government does not implement a health quarantine (lockdown), but has restrictions on citizens' activities. In early 2020 the government implemented a policy of working, studying and worshiping at home (Republik Indonesia 2020a, 2020b). Meanwhile, in early 2021 the government implemented the adaptation of new habits (IMR). Under New Normal Policy or New Habit Adaptation (AKB), employees are allowed to work in offices with restrictions and the application of health protocols. However, not all employees work in the office. The number of employees allowed is not more than 50% of the total (Republik Indonesia 2020b). Meanwhile, the presence of vulnerable employees is minimized. This is done until complete vaccination is carried out. Government policies that are also applied to the nongovernment sector in turn have an effect on management and work culture in all sectors (Mas'udi and Winanti 2020), The use of telecommunications technology, especially the internet and social media, is becoming increasingly intense. By utilizing this technology, employees work at home, hereinafter referred to as WFH (Work from Home) (Vyas and Butakhieo 2020).

There are several studies showing conflicting results about working from home. Some researchers view that the application of WFH does not reduce work productivity. Workers can work at home and the results are not much different from what is done when working in the office. Workers have a very extraordinary experience, are happy, job satisfaction increases to have high motivation to improve their work performance (Chung et al. 2020; Rupietta and Beckmann 2018; Susanti et al. 2021; Susilo 2020; Vyas and Butakhieo 2020). For housewives with single parent status, working at home provides tremendous benefits (Dua and Hyronimus 2020).

Meanwhile, by moving home, they have the advantage of minimizing the cost, time and risk when they have to go to the office. However, some other researchers have observed that leaders have difficulty in coordinating with employees under them. Employees also have difficulty communicating with their co-workers. All these difficulties in turn reduce their work motivation. Workers also have to multitask between their domestic and public work. In addition, workers have to incur additional costs for internet access (Mustajab et al. 2020; Thorstensson 2020). (Mustajab et al. 2020; Thorstensson 2020). (Mustajab et al. 2020; Thorstensson 2020). Worse yet, because of stress, WFH increases the health risks of its workers (Prasad and Thakur 2019). This was also reminded by the ILO (International Labor Organization (ILO 2020).

Figure 1.

Technology Tranformation Process in Society (Winston 1998)



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If you follow the study of pandemics and civilization, the current condition is a transition to a new civilization. Pandemic is considered as a process leading to human death and civilization (terminal illness). According to Zizek, quoting from Elisabeth Kubler-Ross, humans face a pandemic starting with rejection, then anger, bargaining, depression and finally acceptance (Žižek 2020). When the COVID-19 pandemic was declared by WHO, most of the world community refused and believed it would not happen in their country. The Indonesian government has stated the same thing. When through cross-country human mobility, the Covid-19 disease continues to spread, then almost every country people are angry, blaming the government which is considered slow, in turn racism occurs, especially against ethnic Chinese in America as a form of anger at the origin of the disease (Horse 2021). In turn, the world community must accept this fact as part of the history of its civilization just as in previous times (Huremović 2019). However, optimistically, by reflecting on the history of civilization, a pandemic is a transformation process towards a new civilization. Pandemics encourage humans to develop science and change new social orders, for example when humans faced the black death and flu pandemics in Europe (Carlson 2020) and HIV/AIDS in 1970 (Mayer and Pizer 2005). This shaken social and economic environment forces humans to produce new ideas (science) and then manifest them in technology and in turn produce changes in the future (see figure 1(Winston 1998).

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Figure 2.

Post-Industrial Society in G.H. Mead' Perspectives (Hage and Powers 1994)

Complexification: Macro Processes of Post-Industrial Change Growth in Knowledge -→ Institutional Impacts 1. increases in R+D 1. new institution forms 2. increases in education 2. shifts in consumer values 3. increases in flexible manufacturing 3. differentation of markets, creation of networks Occupational Impact --+ Functional Solutions 1. team work and complex jobs 1. complex minds and selves 2. group problem solving 2. creative minds 3. rapid changes in content 3. flexible and adaptive Dysfunctions 1. information overload 2. stress and burn-out

3. role failure

The Covid-19 pandemic has been recognized as a process of transforming the world community towards a new civilization, especially in industrial societies (Aarts et al. 2021; Carlson 2020). Working at home by utilizing information technology in a number of studies shows that it can only be done in the nonindustrial sector (services). The shift to the non-industrial sector, in this case services, was conveyed five decades ago by Alain Touraine (1969) and Daniel Bell (1974) (Bell 1988; Touraine 1971, 2007). Both of these figures termed the post-industrial period. In the post-industrial period, there is a shift from the production of goods to services (services). In this situation, knowledge becomes valuable capital (human capital). The production of ideas is the key word of growth. Through globalization and automation, the "rude" workforce has declined and professional workers, such as scientists, creative industry and IT professions, have become highly valued. In short, there is a process of com- plexification in post-industrial societies(Hage and Powers 1994). Therefore, with the use of IT, these jobs can be moved at home, although there is a dark side, namely: information overload, stress and role failure. This is confirmed by Mustajab, et.al and Thorstensson (Mustajab et al. 2020; Thorstensson 2020).

METHOD

There are major problems when moving work into the home, including how the family must adapt to new situations. The presence of the breadwinner who was originally outside the home for a certain period of time now stays at qualitative home all dav. Using а approach, especially from an ethnomethodological perspective, this study reveals various adaptation processes, including negotiating roles in the home. The research location is in Surabaya and its surroundings. The unit of analysis is a family working from home (Hammersley 2004; Holstein and Gubrium 1994; Müller 2021; Spradley 1980). From initial observations, there are families who have been carrying out workfrom-home activities for the last decade ("long") and there are also families who have just done so during the pandemic. The research subjects were taken from these two-family groups to obtain an overview of the adaptation process of families working at home ("new"). There are ten families, five "old" and "new" families each.

This research has actually been carried out since the 2010s by observing changes in the livelihood patterns of the people of Surabaya City with virtual trade (e-commerce) and virtual games (online games). At that time one of the research teams met with N, who was still in high school, but could earn up to tens of millions by selling bonuses from online games (Harianto, Sudrajat, and Sadewo 2007). Observations continued on TWPuja Adhidewa's research (2019) regarding stock and foreign exchange trading. His own research reviews the ideology developed by digital application developers for stock and foreign exchange trading (forex trading) (Adhidewa 2019). However, in this study, researchers met with forex players and observed their daily lives. In addition to encounters with "old" people, namely workers at home in the pre-pandemic period, the research team also met with people who did the same activities during the pandemic (2020-2021). Some work as teachers, others in government and non-governmental companies.

There are several data collection techniques used. First, the research team conducted daily observations of the subjects after introducing, visiting and discussing the subject's activities. There are several things that are observed, ranging from the layout of the house to their daily activities. Indeed, not fully recorded. Second, to always record the activity, in-depth interview technique was used. Subjects were interviewed starting from the beginning of doing work at home activities, the reasons and the adjustment process, negotiations and conflicts and cooperation with partners and other family members.

In the principles of ethnomethodological research with an ethnographic model, the collected data is analyzed in stages (Hammersley 2004; Hammersley and Atkinson 1986; Holstein and Gubrium 1994; Müller 2021; Spradley 1980). The first step is domain analysis, there are at least two initial domains, namely: "old" and "new" people/families. The "old" and "new" domains refer to the time to apply to work outside the home, the word "old" to those who worked at home before the pandemic, and vice versa. Domain analysis is also known as categorical. After the domain analysis, the next analysis is a taxonomy to examine the relationship between domains. The analysis was continued with componentials that looked at the properties of each domain until finally the research team developed the cultural theme of the focus of this research.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSSION

WFH is a cultural property of Urban Middle Class

The policy of working from home in reality cannot be applied to all members of society. As in the sociological perspective, society is not a single building, but because of socio-economic and cultural factors, it roughly consists of three layers or social classes, namely the lower, middle and upper classes. People from the lower class rely more on economic activity on labor, while the middle class relies more on expertise. Upper class society not only has expertise, but also mastery of the capital in society. In the lower social class, if they are in the company/factory, their jobs cannot be left or moved to the house. In a pandemic situation, they are very affected. The declining demand for production has an impact on factory productivity. To avoid losses, the manager reduces production costs by reducing labor. There are two ways to reduce the workforce. First, the manager lays off workers with the consequence of providing severance pay. Or, the second alternative is to temporarily lay off the workers. The last thing was experienced by Syam (53 years old) who was laid off in turns and paid 75% of what he should have. While at home, he is practically unemployed and only helps his wife.

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From the findings in the field, there are two variants of doing work at home. First, people who have done it before the Covid-19 pandemic, such as: Mar (65 years), Set (58 years), Joh (50 years), And (28 years), and Dit (24 years). Second, people who just did it during the pandemic, such as: Nar (60 years) and Sun (54 years), Dy (56 years), Ar (56 years), Beau (44 years) and Kus (48 years), Th (25 years) and Wk (45 years). M (65 years old), for example, is a retired civil servant from a government agency. After retiring, he initially ran a multilevel marketing business at home. Through youtube and WA, he built his marketing network. The last five years he has been in forex trading. His wife accepts her husband's activities as a time filler. "Let's keep thinking and not get senile easily." Meanwhile, Mar (65 years) sees this job as an additional income outside of his pension. "Retirees' salaries are small, less than half of the basic salary... Needs are not reduced, even though the child is mature (not the responsibility of parents, writers)"

Unlike M (65 years old), Joh (50 years old) is working at home because he was laid off in the 2000s. He was greatly helped by his wife who became a lecturer at a state university. While his wife taught, apart from supervising the children, at home he became a tax expert. Clients simply contact via telephone and occasionally meet at the mall. Materials are sent via post and email. Once done, he sent it back. In contrast to Joh (50 years old), after graduating from an engineering degree at a state university, Set (58 years old) immediately started online sales and forex trading. And (28 years old) and Dit (24 years old) are millennials who have been involved in the digital world from the start.

And (28 years old) has loved e-sports since he was in high school. Through e-sports, he has savings of up to tens of millions. The savings were used to learn how to make gaming programs in college. Dit (24 years) is more engaged in product graphic design. It accepts orders online and sends them online as well. Together with his college friends, he founded a software development and graphic design company. From the profits of the initial company, he and his friends rented out a two-bedroom house. The house is used as a meeting room to discuss projects from clients, divide tasks and monitor the progress of projects. *"It's not really that urgent, but clients often ask for the office address..."*

In the "new" group of people, there are husband and wife Nar (60 years) and Sun (54 years). Nar (60 years old) is a retired state-owned company (BUMN). After retiring, he and his friends founded a manufacturing company. Because a number of employees are of vulnerable age, the company implements a WFH policy. However, in the end, he and his family were indicated to have Covid-19 and self-isolated in early 2021. The infection is thought to have come from children who are still in college and often go out to do assignments with their friends. Just like Nar (60 years), Wk (45 years) was originally engaged in the property sector. While property, he also trades forex, especially digital money (cryto-currency). When there was a pandemic, various property projects were stopped, and now he is more focused on forex trading.

Nar's wife (60 years), Sun (54 years) is a civil servant in the government of East Java province. Just like her husband, she does her job at home while cooking and doing other domestic activities. Meanwhile, Wk's wife (45 years old), Da (40 years old) opens a coffee shop and laundry every day. What Sun (54 years old) does is not much different from Dy (56 years old), a civil servant at a public university, as well as Beau (44 years old) who is an administrative staff at a private school. Meanwhile, Ar (56 years), Kus (48 years) and Th (25 years) are teachers who cannot do face-to-face learning and replace them online. If Ar (56 years old) and Kus (48 years old) teach in Surabaya, the school where Th (25 years old) teaches is in one of the districts 300 km from Surabaya.

When looking at education and income, they can be classified into the middle class. Their education is undergraduate in various fields, as well as income above the regional minimum wage. If you follow the thought of Karl Marx, they are not in the relations of industrial society. Even if they are in the industry, they occupy managerial positions (Abdiraiymova and Burkhanova 2015). Even if they are in industrial society relations, they work as managerial parties as illustrated by Ralph Dahrendorf (Kühne and Leonardi 2020). They are also not "office" people, leaving early in the morning with a briefcase and tie as the picture of the middle class in the 1970s (Bacqué et al. 2015; Chwieroth and Walter 2019) because they have worked from home with various digital economy activities. Creativity and skills in using the internet are the keywords and their efforts (Arnold and Lang 2007; Bensman and Vidich 1970; Nissanov 2017). This was the answer to the collapse of the middle class during the crisis period of the 1990s by using

advanced technology when the manufacturing industry was in decline (Glassman 1997; Pressman 2007).

Changing Transport Cost to Internet Cost

With the term "white collar", before the 2000s, middle-class families who were mostly professionals in large companies chose to live far from the city center, but connected easily via transportation roads. Apart from its location, the building also shows its social class. The settlement was also designed as a place to live in his old age. Therefore, settlements are located outside the city (Leicht and Fitzgerald 2013). To reach the city center, they use private vehicles. They are reluctant to use public transportation because it is a working class vehicle. In his house, the vehicle is not enough, but more than that. One car is used for the head of a working family, one for his wife and children. Such patterns have been shown by middle-class families in Indonesia Indonesia (Afif 2014; Ansori 2009; Dick 1985), India (Nielsen and Wilhite 2015; Upadhya 2008), and Cina (Cartier 2013; Goodman 2014; Hsiao 2014; Li 2010; Zhou 2008)

During the pandemic period, or at least approaching the 2020s, there was a shift in work from professionals in companies to independent entrepreneurs. As the description of the subjects of this study, they make their home as a place of work. Families of old people are better prepared. They have an average internet subscription. Those who live in housing have more choices for their providers, from Telkomnet to Firstmedia and Biznet. The costs incurred are up to over 300 hundred thousand rupiah with speeds above 20 MBps. The facilities vary, ranging from only internet network (wifi) to digital tv. However, the consumption of this data package is not limited at home, they also pair the data package on their cellphone. smartphone is fairly sophisticated. For them, the most important thing about a smartphone is a large internal memory and a sophisticated processor. These two things are very important in order to be able to run applications on their smartphones.

Meanwhile, the families of "new" people set up the internet about two to four months after the work from home regulation. Along with this policy, national provider companies, especially Telkom, are very aggressive in marketing. Almost every residential roadside has a wifi network marketing officer. They ride motorbikes or motorbikes. The vehicle is parked on the side of the road or in the supermarket parking lot. Posters were set up and they distributed flyers to everyone who passed by. If people are interested, then immediately register with the officer.

From the experience of Dy (56 years), the internet network cannot be directly installed. The officer will come and check if there is an empty line in the panel closest to the house. If not, they will look for customer lines that are no longer active. If not, then the registrant must wait for a new connection. The waiting time can be up to three months. Dy's family (56 years) was lucky because there was one customer around his house who was no longer active, so he could be replaced. To check it, the officer must search for 2 (two) days after reporting it to his office. "I installed it because it is much cheaper than having to pay for a data package for each cell phone at home. I myself only use a minimal data plan. Only when outside the house." The same thing was conveyed by the husband and wife couple Beau (44 years) and Kus (48 years), while the Ar family (56 years) had used it long before the Covid-19 pandemic. "To find materials for children's lectures, and to fill out report cards online. No need to go to school. No need to go to a cafe or internet cafe. More practical."

The increase in internet consumption in Indonesia during the Covid-19 pandemic was well recorded by the World Bank when discussing an inspiring new middle class group. Nationally, 73% of new middle class (AMC) families have used smartphones. Meanwhile, AMC family computer users are 13% and internet users are 29%. This figure is higher for the lower middle class (MC1) and the second middle class (MC2) in the classification of classes based on income above the relative poverty line. 89% of MC1 smartphone users and 97% of MC2 users. 41% of MC1 computer users and 66% of MC2's computer users, as well as the internet, namely: 55% for MC1 and 76% for MC2. Meanwhile, AMC car ownership is only under 6%, while MC1 is only 25% and an increase of 60% in MC2 (World Bank 2020). This means that overall middle class car ownership is only around 30.3%. An insignificant development compared to its ownership in the 1980s which was only 8.8% (Dick 1985).

Adding a load or Shifting the function of Space in the House

Houses are often given different names depending on their understanding. House can mean physical or termed "house" (English). House means a building in which people are emotionally attached or not. The house can also mean a sociopsychological building or the term "home" (English). In these terms, the house shows a sense of intimacy and comfort in the interactions of its occupants. The word "home" contains the meanings of "privacy," "identity" and "familiarity." The three words represent domestic constructions in society. Inside the house, the family feels privacy, both individually and in groups from the outside community. The house also gives the identity of the family that occupies it. In addition, the house reflects familiar, intimate, down-to-earth interactions, as well as an arena for the socialization process carried out by parents to their children (Somerville 1997).

Although they do not differentiate in terms, the Indonesian people provide an understanding that is not much different. More than that, the house is not just a physical building, on the contrary, it is socio-psychological, but also a space that unites "jagad cilik" (micro-cosmos/human being) and "jagad gedhe" (macrocosmos) spiritually. Therefore, cosmologically, the space of the house is always in the frame of private and public and sacred-profane. The inner space is seen as a private and sacred space. In that section, people carry out personal activities, including individual rituals, such as: bedrooms and worship rooms (sentong Tengah/pedaringan) (Cahyandari 2017; Hastuti 2014). Meanwhile, public ritual spaces are placed at the front, such as: mushala (Islam) or pamerajan (Hinduism). If you follow Javanese cosmology, the prayer room is actually a miniature of the great mosque in front of the palace. After that, the prayer room is pulled into the yard into a single unit with the residence. In a cosmopolitan Islamic society with limited land, this prayer room is pulled into the house, becoming a prayer room (Wardani 2007).

In the front area, there is a living room and family room. Borrowing a term from Irving Goffman, the living room is the family's front stage. The living room connects the outside world and the family. The living room becomes a family display case. In the living room, all attributes of family identity, ranging from harmony, religious culture and politics are displayed by displaying photos, paintings and other artifacts. The living room gives a picture of success and joy, but also sadness and tragedy experienced by the family. Related to work, work desks and chairs will be placed in the living room as the family's economic identity. Another option is to use the space next to the living room as a workplace. Meanwhile, as a marker for the middle class, in front of the house, next to the terrace there is a car-port and/or garage. The terrace is a transitional space between the outside world and the living room. The family picture of the outside world is represented on a simple terrace with plants and ornaments that are "up to date" .(Hastuti 2014).

What happened during the pandemic about the space in the house reflects the dynamics of the family in adapting. Families of "old" people have provided a certain area workspace next to the living room or upstairs room. They separate precisely between the warm and intimate domestic sphere and the public sphere full of books and work tools. This separation often leads to ownership of cellular phones (smartphones). He was holding two smartphones with different numbers. The first smartphones were used for families and contained contact numbers for family members, relatives and people who were considered family. Meanwhile, the second smartphone is used for trading applications, and stores the contact numbers of business partners, as did Mar (65 years) and Set (58 years). With the sound of a different ringtone, they know and immediately respond when there is an incoming call. With two smartphones, they have two different whatapps numbers. Meanwhile, And (28 years) and Dit (24 years) prefer to use a smartphone with two cards, but have sophisticated specifications. The price is above 6 million rupiah, it can even reach more than 10 million. For his work friends, he created a group for his contact number and whatapps.

Families of "new people" do not have a dedicated workspace. The living room has been transformed into a workspace. All photographs, paintings and other artifacts were removed. If the color of the walls is too bright, then they use a green cloth that is affixed to the wall and becomes the "background" when inserting a virtual flyer that is pasted when zooming. The flyer can be changed according to the type of activity. When it's an office event, the flyer is an office atmosphere, even the agencies/institutions often make and "force" to install flyers at certain events. When teaching, the teaching atmosphere is also displayed in flyers, such as: bookshelves. However, there are also those who put up beach flyers and other atmosphere to show the freedom and joy of working outside the office.

One of the couples who changed the layout of the living room into a workplace were Beau (44 years old) and Kus (48 years old). They rearranged the entire contents of the house. The front yard which has become a terrace because it has been installed with a gavalum roof and plastered is used as a new "living room" by moving guest tables and chairs. Meanwhile, apart from keeping its function, the living room is also used as a workplace with some of the walls covered with green cloth. When guests come, they give the option to sit outside or in the living room as usual. They imitated his church friend who is also a teacher, Yan (48 years old). Meanwhile, Dy (56 years) and Nar (54 years) make the dining room which doubles as their family room their new place of work, especially when it comes to online meetings with zoom. At the table, their children also use it for the lecture hall. Wk (45 years old) did the same thing. In addition to cell phones, three computer screens are placed on the dining table to monitor currency and stock movements.

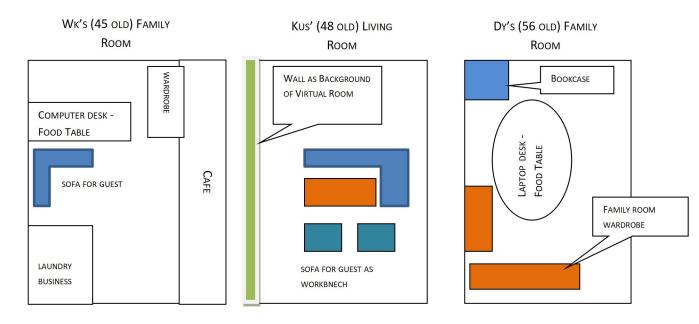


Figure 3. Adding Function to a Living Room or a Family Room

Cell phones (smartphones) do have a tremendous impact. The handheld device can function like a computer. With certain applications, Wk (45 years old)

can use it to transact currency and stocks while at home. And the same thing was done by And (28 years) and Dit (24 years). When at home, And (28 years old) and Dit (24 years old) make their bedroom their place of work. In the bedroom, there is a bed and a work desk, along with a bookshelf and a clothes rack. Worse yet, with their smartphones, Dy (56 years) and Nar (54 years) change their spare time in the bedroom to open messages from the office and work on them at the same time. This is done when you wake up in the morning and before going to bed at night.

Space is a human construction. There is space that is constructed as a public area, and some is a private area. The presence of technology and work at home policies have made people change the construction of space in their homes. The house which was originally arranged in such a way based on its function, now every private space can and in fact also be treated as a public space. The bedroom which was originally a private room was shifted little by little into a hybrid space. The bedroom is the last bastion of privacy, intimacy and kinship penetrated by cell phones with work from the office. This may be exaggerated, but sociologically human awareness about privacy, intimacy and kinship has shifted.

Multitasking: Negotiating between Domestic and Public Roles

Human awareness of space is actually always followed by awareness of time. In the awareness of these two things, people perform their functions and roles. The term domestic or private actually does not only indicate the place where people carry out their roles, but also the time, along with the forms of relationships that are built. Domestic space shows the house that has personal closeness that plays a role in it. The closeness can also be caused by blood ties and marriage or other things. Meanwhile, the public space is an encounter between humans outside their domestic space. In that space, everyone acts as "ordered" by the value order in society (Gieryn 2000; Löw 2016; Prasetyo 2013; Urry 2004). In society, the relationship is not only functional, but there is power that has been embedded in the role and status. In this situation, the intimacy is different from that in a loving domestic space. Explicitly, when working in the office and then returning home, the statement that is more or less the same for all informants is "Work matters are completed at the office, at home for the husband (or wife) and children." Or, the words of his spouse and children not to bring work at home.

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In the Malay tradition, there is the term "people of the house." The term refers to the wife who is at home. At home, she acts as a housewife by doing household chores. When receiving calls or telling his workmates about his domestic matters, he refers to his wife as a "houseman." The interesting thing is when his wife works and her husband doesn't work and is at home. Husbands are never referred to as "home people." This means that, apart from being related to space, domestic work is also attached to gender as constructed by society.

Regarding the application of working at home, the presence of a husband who is an "office person" (a term for people who work in an office) is actually responded positively by "home people." As mentioned by a number of wives of the informants, they feel that their partners are helping them. In addition to helping with work, couples are "forced" to understand how hard it is and must give appreciation to their wives. The statement that came from the wife, "The housework is never finished" (Da, 40 years). Da (40 years old) wakes her husband to help with shopping. Kus (48 years old) helps Beau (40 years) organize the house. They, husbands, often help their wives cook in the kitchen. For them, homework is a bit of a surprise. This is different from the old people, such as Mar (65 years), Set (58 years) and Joh (50 years). Every day, apart from taking shopping, Mar (65 years old) helps his wife to "talk" to her grandchildren. Routinely, Set (58 years) and Joh (50 years) take their children and clean the house. Joh (50 years old) has become a master cook at his home. Even at home, Joh's wife (50 years old) and Set (58 years old) never refer to him as a "houseman," but "my husband" or "father of our children (bapake arek-arek)."

These things can happen because in the same space and time they can do different jobs. The presence of the internet and cell phones. Forming a virtual/cyber society in their daily life. The boundaries of the public and domestic spaces are broken down in it, as are the relations of power and intimacy. The process of breaking down the barriers of domestic and public spaces in the virtual world does not always go well. Various legal claims show that the decay process has caused problems in the real world because text in the virtual world has power over the real world. The texts are thought to be able to influence the views, behavior and actions of humans in the real world.

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The breaking down of boundaries in the form of multitasking individuals, namely a husband or wife who is also an employee/employee at one time and place is also not going well. However, they are individuals who have autonomous consciousness. Instead of providing comfort and intimacy, they deal with and negotiate with people who are "real" in front of them with the words, *"Wait a minute, dad is working"* or *"later, there is a meeting."* Moreover, they often convey what and when to do for the "office" the day before. This shows that all family members must understand the existence of their work.

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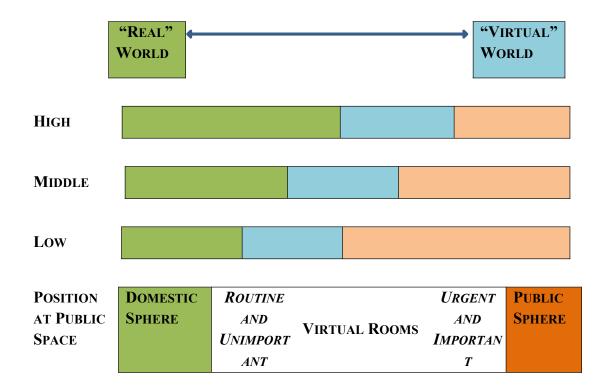
Table 1.

Characteristics between "Old Economy" and "New Economy"

Characteristic	"Old Economy"	"New Economy"
Location	Outside (office) and/or at home At office: Industry, Trading and Service At home: Trading & Service	At home
Place	Special function: Office and/or fabric	At home. The "old" people make workspace. The "new" people change or add to the function of the room.
Ability to move	Low	Mobile. Using smartphone.
Working time	Definitely and limited	Uncertain and very loose
Control over workers and working time	Definitely and limited	Unpredictable. Using the virtual presence form, webcam
Disturbance from the environment	Limited	High
The Need for Concentration	Limited	Unlimited
Salary	Measureable and preditable	Depend on a kind of jobs. On forex, salary or income are unpreditable
Individual Stress Level	Low	High
Interaction with other family members	Separated by time and place	If have workspace, they are only separated by space. But, if have not, their interactions are very flexible, depending on context and time
Risks to Family Relationships	Limited	High
Positions	Actor	Agent
	Good workers are good and obey the rules. Creativity depends on its position in the social structure.	Rely on creative mind, act quickly and adaptively. Not breaking, but able to get around the rules. Good virtual motivator. Good virtual teamworking.
Strategy	Separate office and home affairs.	Cheating and negotiating

It doesn't go one way. In the "real" room, while at work, the wife or children respond with the words, "Dad is always in front of the computer" "Aren't your eyes tired at the computer?" Or, in a subtly conveyed command sentence, wife said "If it's not a computer, it must be a cellphone, it's already been placed. If you are sick, who will bother...," as experienced by Nar (65 years), Ar (56 years) and Kus (48 years) and Dy (56 years). In this situation, people get around by keeping the virtual space open by not using the camera and just listening. Meanwhile, they carry out their domestic activities. Or, like Beau (44 years old), while working, he cooks. Leaving the google meeting room, with reasons behind, Th (25 years) feeds his pets. Meanwhile, Wk (45 years old) prefers to use his smartphone with a trading application to see the movement of virtual money and stocks.

Figure 4.



Construction of Virtual Space in WFH situation

Behind that, they build a cognitive structure about public activity, at least divided into three, namely: very important, important and unimportant. In very important public activities, they just sit through activities via smartphones, even leave the house and go to the office, as Dy (56 years old) and Sun (54 years old) do. Important activities are carried out by negotiating between domestic and public activities. They still follow their public activities, but do not leave their domestic activities. Th (25 years) termed "monitoring." Monitoring means not opening the camera for some reason, listening to conversations in the virtual room, being "passive," and responding when called by name or asked for opinions in the virtual room. The act of leaving the virtual space is carried out when public activities are not important in the construction of the perpetrator. They prefer domestic activities with their family members. The reasons used are usually no network, being on a trip out of town or having a family event. This ability to negotiate and act fraudulently depends on his position within the office structure. The higher the position, the smaller the public space in the virtual world and the right to leave online meetings. Meanwhile, the lower his position, he can not do anything (see figure 4).

The public sphere authority is actually trying to keep control over the workers who are at home. There are several methods used. First, they do an online presence with social media, such as: telegram. This is what happened to Dy (56 years). Second, when conducting online meetings, they use presence with virtual forms, such as: google forms. To be sure again, in the google form, they were asked to enter a selfie. Another option is at the end of the activity, each participant is asked to open the camera and the committee takes a screenshot/capture.

CONCLUSION

In short, before the COVID-19 pandemic occurred, three decades ago, the expansion of the internet network allowed for the emergence of new modes of doing business, entrepreneurship and transactions. The behavior of traders today has greatly changed. This is a form of adaptation to consumer behavior that is different from consumer behavior in the past 1 (one) decade. The very high level of individual mobility causes the need for transactions that cross time and place. Products can be in the form of goods, digitized goods and digital data. Digitized goods such as product designs sent via digital. Meanwhile, goods that are physically traded can be sent via delivery services. Therefore, the development of

shipping services in Indonesia is currently experiencing a tremendous increase. In a trading situation like this, trust is the basis of the relationship.

In the Covid-19 pandemic situation, the policy of working from home (WFH) was taken as an effort to minimize the transmission of the virus. The data shows that the number of sufferers has increased significantly in line with the increase in clusters in factories, offices, schools and Islamic boarding schools, especially in the first half of 2020, especially in the DKI Jakarta area. Regarding the government bureaucracy, working from home actually does not experience too significant obstacles because the Jokowi government has directed e-government and e-prosecurement from the start. The purpose of the two patterns is actually in the context of efficiency and effectiveness, as well as transparency. Stuttering occurs in the world of education, virtual learning is a pioneer at the tertiary level, only the Open University with the trade mark of distance learning has started far earlier. This is not imagined and must be experienced by educators at the primary and secondary education levels.

This stuttering also has an impact in the family. Working at home has actually entered public space into private space. The house no longer functions as a family residence that provides space and time for privacy, identity and familiarity, but also incorporates elements of power and non-personal relations. This public space breakthrough adds or even diverts the functions of space in the house. For people who before the pandemic had worked in the virtual world, they had prepared a special workspace at home. Meanwhile, it happens to people who have just been "forced" to work at home. The living room turns into a workspace, and sometimes they even work in the bedroom. However, humans are beings who have consciousness and are able to act on the basis of their consciousness. On this basis, they negotiate and play conflicting roles within the same time and space. By some researchers, this is termed boundary management which is used to minimize stress when working at home (Mellner, Aronsson, and Kecklund 2015; Patterson 2002; Schieman et al. 2021).

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