

Women's Movements in West Java during the Reform Era: Case Studies of the Rumpun Indonesia Women's Movement, Samahita, and the Indonesian Women's Coalition

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Abstract

West Java continues to experience significant gender inequality, making women's organisations key political actors in driving social change. This study examines women's movements in West Java during the Reform Era (2018–2023) through the lens of political opportunity, mobilisation structures, and framing processes. Using feminist research methods, including interviews, online and offline focus group discussions, literature reviews, and documentation, the study analyses independent women's organisations that are neither state-formed nor party-affiliated. The findings show that political opportunities, the contestation of ideas, and the collective mobilisation and public engagement practices shape the growth, sustainability, and impact of women's movements.

Keywords: Social Movements, Women's Movements, Reform Era

Introduction

The development of a democratic political system has opened up space for citizens, including women, to voice injustices and mobilise themselves in the struggle for social justice and gender equality. In a democratic society, freedom of expression, freedom of association, and the ability to make collective demands are prerequisites for the emergence and sustainability of social movements. Conversely, authoritarian political systems restrict society's capacity to organise itself and challenge unjust power relations. Therefore, the women's movement can be understood as a form of citizen participation in democratic practice, namely when women collectively voice their experiences, interests, and political demands. As Jill Bystydzienki and Joti Sekhon (1999) wrote about democracy:

"... enables the full realisation of human creative potential. ... [and] thereby supports the development of values and structures that promote and give people a direct say in matters affecting their lives."

The view of democracy as a process through which ordinary citizens can express themselves is becoming increasingly organised within social institutions, as reflected in numerous studies on the women's movement. These studies position the movement as a

primary form of collective expression for women and as a means of achieving democratic citizenship (Beckwith 2005).

In this study, the women's movement is understood as the collective expression of Indonesian women's desires and interests. Following Wieringa (1999), a broad definition is adopted to capture its heterogeneity and complexity: it is considered to be a spectrum of actions, activities, groups, and organisations — both individual and collective — which seek to reduce the various forms of gender subordination intertwined with class-, race-, ethnicity-, age- and sex-based oppression.

In line with Mazur and McBride (2008), the women's movement is understood as collective action by women who explicitly make demands in the public sphere on the basis of their gender identity. This definition, therefore, encompasses two main elements: an organised collective action and claims of gender identity. Furthermore, Mazur and McBride (2010) emphasise that the fundamental characteristics of the women's movement lie in discourse and actors. Discourse encompasses ideas, objectives, and claims about women's gender identity, while actors are collectives of women operating outside state structures in the socio-political sphere.

The 1998 Reform brought about changes to Indonesia's political landscape, shifting the country from an authoritarian system to a democratic one, from a centralised to a decentralised system of government, and from military supremacy to civilian supremacy. These changes have implications for social and political movements in Indonesia, including the women's movement. This is particularly relevant when considering the women's movement in West Java, which has received little attention thus far and may have been overshadowed by various highly masculine heroic narratives. In fact, the women's movement in West Java is part of Indonesia's broader women's movement. While several notable women from West Java, such as Dewi Sartika, Raden Ayu Lasminingrat, and Emma Poeradiredja, are recorded as having played a part in the struggle for women's rights during the colonial era, evidence of collective action by women in West Java during this period and the subsequent Old and New Orders is scarce.

During the colonial era, *the Pasundan Istri* organisation showcased the participation of West Javanese women in the fight for independence. This involvement included political participation and organising the Women's Congress, which established 22 December as Mother's Day. The organisation survived into the post-independence era and continues to be active in social causes. However, as Rahayu (2007) notes, the history of Indonesian women tends to portray female figures as elite individuals, thereby obscuring their existence as a collective within social movements.

Various women's organisations and collective actions emerged in West Java during the Reform era, much as they did in Jakarta and other cities influenced by the democratic political system. Democratisation in Indonesia following the 1998 Reform has given women greater access to political processes and policymaking (Dhewy 2019). However, the mainstream literature on democracy generally focuses on institutional transformations during democratisation, neglecting the gender-relations dimension that explains these complexities. The contradictions in the interactions between the women's movement, the democratisation process, and the three electoral agencies — namely political parties, elections, and the legislature — are also overlooked (Margret 2019). Democratic transitions measured against gender-neutral criteria silence women's voices and interests (Jaquette in Margret 2019).

In West Java, particularly in the city of Bandung, women's organisations have flourished. These range from religious groups to organisations focused on economic development, politics, and critical thinking. They typically provide capacity building for local stakeholders through training, public education, and community organising. However, not all women's movements are automatically categorised as feminist movements, whether they are directly led by women or address women's issues.

In various Asian contexts, for instance, a distinction is made between women and feminism, specifically between feminist and women's movements. Stivens (2000, p. 31) notes that Islamic women's activists in Malaysia feel more comfortable using the term 'womanist' than 'feminist'. Furthermore, Chinese academics and researchers tend to use the term 'feminology' to differentiate themselves from Western feminist theories (Edwards 2010, p. 53). The term 'feminist' is still widely regarded as originating from outside 'them', so many women, particularly academics and researchers, feel more comfortable being part of Women's Studies than a feminist group (Arivia & Subono 2017). Women's movements with a feminist agenda can be characterised by features that prioritise women's experiences of gender relations in society, women's issues, women's leadership and women's participation in policymaking processes (Beckwith 2000).

This study aims to identify and analyse women's movements in West Java during the Reform Era. According to Beckwith (2007), studies of women's movements seek to trace organised female actors, contextualise them spatially, and compare the movements' dynamics with the responses of the state and other actors. The Reform Era was chosen because it was a period of significant political change that shaped the dynamics of women's movements both directly and indirectly.

Research Methodology

In line with the research focus on mapping the ways in which political opportunities and the democratisation process provided space for women's organisations and movements in West Java to participate, this study employs a feminist research methodology. Feminism views patriarchy as a power structure that produces androcentric bias and sexism in knowledge production, placing men at the centre whilst disregarding other perspectives (Hesse-Bieber 2011). Feminist research, therefore, aims to correct these biases by incorporating all genders into knowledge production, while ensuring

that the situation of any one group is not homogenised. Other factors, such as race, class, sexual orientation, and cultural context, also play a role. Feminists must strive to be as inclusive as possible (van Witteloostuijn 2013).

This study takes a feminist approach, focusing on the diverse experiences of women and the institutions and structures that influence them (Creswell 2007). Adopting a participatory approach, this study follows Álvarez (1990), who views the women's movement as a socio-political movement primarily driven by women to advocate for gender interests. Based on this framework, the study focuses its analysis on three women's organisations in West Java: *Samahita*, *Rumpun Indonesia* and the Indonesian Women's Coalition (*Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia/KPI*).

Political Opportunities

The post-New Order era was characterised by the increased participation of civil society, including women, in advocating for public policy. During this period of reform, religious, secular and progressive women's organisations flourished, each with its own ideologies, issues and strategies of resistance. This study aims to map the political opportunities and cultural structures of three such organisations/ movements: *Rumpun Indonesia*, *KPI*, and *Samahita*.

Since 1998, the women's movement has continued to develop, including in West Java. Gadis Arivia and Nur Iman Subono (2017) describe this phase as characterised by the diverse discourses and critical research produced by women's organisations. From a social movement perspective, the state becomes a battleground for women's organisations, according to Singh (2001). This relates to the structure of political opportunities, which opens up spaces for discourse for many groups in society.

Ruang Media Perempuan (Rumpun) Indonesia is an example of a women's social movement in West Java that focuses on anti-corruption issues. Initiated by women activists, one of whom has a background in the Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW), the organisation promotes the vision of 'Integrity in Indonesian Families' through arts-based participatory communication. *Rumpun* identifies itself as a nationalist organisation. Its emphasis on women is based on the interpretation of the body and the role of the mother as the source of the formation of values, characters and social ethics, a view also held by the interviewees in this study.

"*Rumpun Indonesia* actually came into being during the "Save the KPK" campaign... It was the issue because I was with the ICW... I noticed that these movements had previously been very male-dominated. The same people always took the lead, and the movement lacked inclusivity, failing to involve women... Eventually, the Women Against Corruption group launched the "Nine Women's Initiatives"... and friends in Bandung with similar concerns came together. In 2014, we continued to organise the "Nine Women's Initiatives" activities. As our relationships developed positively and we had been helping each other via the WhatsApp group from the start, we eventually continued to meet and organise follow-up activities. The issue of corruption continued to gain prominence... so we created a distinctive tagline for the 'anti-corruption family' and fought corruption from home. We used symbols of resistance, such as handprints... because our activities had to be participatory and involve physical action, making use of free days and schools. The highlight was the declaration of the 'anti-corruption family' on International Women's Day. More and more communities became involved in the campaign, which promoted the KPK's values of integrity and the keyword 'patience' because corruption stems from impatience. On National Anti-Corruption Day, 300 communities were involved" (SM 2021, Focus Group Discussion, 30 March).

In the history of *KPI*'s formation, the congress — attended by over 500 women activists from various backgrounds and regions — demonstrated robust support for women's issues across different regions and areas of interest. The congress successfully identified and agreed upon fifteen activity sectors, including farmers, fisherfolk, domestic workers, migrant workers, sex workers (later renamed 'women forced into prostitution'), housewives, the elderly, child labourers, and LGBTIQ+ individuals. The driving spirit behind its formation was a commitment to an independent, autonomous mass base. This means striving to remain free from state control, unlike most mass organisations under the New Order. *KPI*'s organisational principles are democracy, human rights, gender equality, justice and diversity, with feminism forming its ideological foundation. Gender equality and justice lie at the heart of these principles. This was reiterated by a *KPI* representative from West Java in the following interview:

"*KPI* is an independent women's mass movement organisation that was established in 1998, following the Reform Era. The West Java branch was formed in 2003. Its activities focus on two areas: organisational strengthening and public policy reform. While there are 18 interest groups championed nationally, in West Java itself, only 8 groups are currently supported: Housewives, Elderly Women, PPM (Youth, Schoolchildren, and Students), Women in the Informal Sector, Professional Women, Women Farmers, Women Fisherfolk, and Women Migrant Workers. This categorisation is based on interest groups because each

group faces different issues” (DW 2021, Focus Group Discussion, 27 March).

KPI itself emphasises that the principle it upholds is democracy. However, the source revealed that the journey towards a healthy democracy, including with regard to women’s participation, is still a long way off and faces various issues. The source provided the following further elaboration:

“When it comes to democracy, KPI is fundamentally based on democratic principles. However, we still have a long way to go in combating deviant practices such as vote-buying and identity politics, as well as other forms of corruption within the democratic system. Furthermore, in the post-Reform era, everyone, including women, has been given a platform to voice their opinions on how to improve state systems. However, this is not as straightforward in practice. Oligarchy persists; for instance, although it has begun to erode in Indramayu, new oligarchies continue to emerge. At KPI, we already have voter education programmes for women in place. The aim is, of course, to improve Indonesian democracy in the future” (DW 2021, Focus Group Discussion, 27 March).

Samahita is a community that advocates for gender equality and combats violence and sexual harassment. It also addresses LGBTQ issues, which have long been considered taboo in public spaces, particularly in West Java, a province that often claims to be religious. Samahita is based in Bandung, where its secretariat is located. The name Samahita derives from Sanskrit, meaning ‘steadfast’ or ‘strong’. In the Batak language, Samahita is an acronym for ‘sama’ and ‘hita’, meaning ‘together we are’.

Samahita was founded in 2015 by six female student initiators from various universities in Bandung. Notably, the majority of board members and volunteers are young women aged between 15 and 30. The Chair of the Samahita Community explained that the organisation was inspired by the global movement One Billion Rising (OBR),¹ launched in 2012 by Eve Ensler to end rape and sexual violence against women. Furthermore, Samahita was formed in response to the high number of victims of sexual harassment and other forms of gender-based violence that often go unaddressed. This was highlighted in an interview with the founder of Samahita, who stated:

“Samahita began its work in 2013. It was not originally called Samahita; it was part of a global campaign held simultaneously around the world, with Bandung, Indonesia, being one of the cities to take part. However, by 2014, more and more people were becoming interested and getting involved. In 2015, an increasing number of victims began

sharing their stories with us about the violence they had experienced, seeking our advice on how to proceed. Eventually, a particular case came to our attention that made us realise that we could no longer use the name of the global campaign for our movement. Ultimately, in 2015, we agreed that we needed a platform focused on Dating Violence (DV) among young people. Samahita was established on 16 February 2015 with the aim of supporting victims or survivors of sexual violence. However, as we developed, our focus also shifted to include other forms of gender-based violence. The founders of Samahita were students from various universities and disciplines who had experienced sexual violence. At the time, they were unsure who to report such incidents to or where to report them (AY 2021, Focus Group Discussion, 9 April).

Like other collective movements or actions, women’s movements capitalised on political opportunities within a democratic context to expand further. During the reform era, women had greater opportunities to engage publicly through various media channels, free from fear of repression by the authorities. This expansion was supported by structural conditions that enabled the movement to flourish, with women activists beginning to articulate its ideas. The conditions described above are evident in the three women’s organisations that were studied. All three can be said to have ‘benefited’ from the previous reform movement. A Samahita source elaborated further on her understanding of democracy and its connection to women’s movement activism, as in the quote below:

“If you ask whether there has been any change, there certainly has been, albeit a small one. At the very least, gender issues are now being incorporated into various policies being drafted, as well as those already enacted. Some policies are also gender-sensitive. The Ministry of Communication and Information Technology is now addressing gender-based digital divides, too. In my view, the changes between the pre-reform and post-reform periods are very evident. However, as the government and policymakers’ system and mindset remain patriarchal, current policies are merely a formality. Thus, in my opinion, democracy has not yet fully embraced women’s rights” (AY 2021, Focus Group Discussion, 9 April).

Ideologically, Samahita affirms its adherence to a feminist ideology, which, according to the interviewees, is considered the most appropriate approach to issues such as the oppression of women and minorities, as well as environmental concerns. They also revealed that transformative justice is the working principle employed. The women’s movement of the Reform Era is part of a new social movement that can operate within a democratic political system. A key consideration in strengthening collective action by women is reinforcing the women’s movement’s platform.

Although the three organisations in this study emerged post-Reform, they are not entirely new, as the structure of political opportunities merely provided a medium for movements that already had foundations, goals, and strategies. The history of the women's movement in Indonesia demonstrates this continuity, as illustrated by Wieringa (1999) in her study of *Gerwani*, which had been operating since the early 1950s within a highly pressured political context.

The democratisation process that followed the Reform opened up vast spaces in which women's movements could express their needs and demands regarding gender issues. This is particularly evident in the ease with which the three collective actions in West Java gained access to resources and established networks, and in the absence of repressive actions by the state or other groups when they formed their organisations and carried out subsequent activities in public spaces.

The political opportunities examined in this study also refer to the active involvement of women's organisations in West Java Province in the development of gender-responsive public policies. One issue they are advocating for is child marriage in West Java. With the support of Oxfam Indonesia through the STRONGER programme (Sustainable Intervention, Greater Voices, and Change the Barrier on Violence Against Women and Girls), KPI West Java continuously undertakes efforts to prevent child marriage through discussions and training sessions, as well as by advocating for the adoption of local policies. KPI West Java has also contributed to the enactment of West Java Governor Regulation No. 40 on the Prevention of Extremism in West Java Province. It is actively involved in monitoring the progress of the draft Regional Regulation (Raperda) on the Protection and Empowerment of Women in West Java. A KPI spokesperson stated that democracy and decentralisation should naturally influence women's organisations' participation in public policy formulation, particularly in West Java.

"My hope, particularly in West Java, is that, once the necessary regulations are in place and the governor's programmes better accommodate women, the government will commit to implementing those regional regulations (Perda), for instance by translating them into governor's regulations (Pergub). Through these regulations, I hope to establish a shared commitment with district governments and local authorities. This is because provincial-level regulations are often merely drafted and not implemented through programmes. But have these regulations been evaluated to ensure they meet community needs?" (ZA 2021, Focus Group Discussion, 27 March).

To advocate for and monitor the legislative process of the Draft Regional Regulation on the Protection and Empowerment of Women in West Java, KPI West Java organised a discussion entitled "Youth Campaign Strategies for the Protection and Empowerment of Women" on 21 March 2023. This programme focused on gender justice and aimed to improve the position of young people, women, and marginalised groups by applying the principles of the Gender Transformative Approach (GTA), encouraging youth participation, and ensuring the explicit involvement of men.²

The subsequent term of the regional head (2018–2023) saw a change in political party affiliation (from a faith-based to a non-faith-based party), which led to differences in policy on implementing gender mainstreaming in West Java. In 2019, the West Java Provincial DP3AKB initiated the Women's School programme, which has been funded annually from the Regional Revenue Budget (APBD) ever since. *Sekoper Cinta (Sekolah Perempuan Capai Impian dan Cita-Cita)*, also known as *Sekoci*, is a programme run by the West Java Provincial Government as part of the Governor of West Java's 100-day 'quick wins' initiative. It is designed to help women achieve their dreams and aspirations. It is one of several programmes designed to address high rates of divorce, stunting, human trafficking, and gender-based violence in West Java. The programme provides a platform for women in West Java to share insights and experiences, identify and recognise women's needs and interests, and improve their quality of life. This empowers West Javanese women to realise their vision as individuals capable of uplifting themselves, their families, and their communities.³

The DP3AKB allocates annual funds to support the development of women's organisations that are affiliated with the Women's Organisations Cooperation Body (BKOW). These organisations are included in the DP3AKB's work programmes at provincial and district/city levels. Other women's organisations, whether faith-based or non-faith-based, collaborate with the DP3AKB in formulating various local policies, such as the Governor's Regulation (Pergub) on preventing child marriage and radicalism.

Political opportunities enable women's organisations and movements to represent themselves as part of socio-political change. In West Java, both religious and secular women's movements demonstrate the characteristics of a new social movement by engaging with policy issues and articulating public interests through various strategies. Strategic choices, particularly networking,

are heavily influenced by political considerations and the social context of the time, including assessments of momentum, opportunities, and obstacles. The success of networks depends on a shared consensus regarding the issues being advocated for, as well as a willingness to set aside individual organisational interests. In the context of regional autonomy, this opportunity was used to promote and monitor local government policies that favoured women in West Java.

Research confirms that the study of women's movements cannot be reduced to electoral politics alone. Until now, political studies have largely ignored women's movements unless they relate to parliamentary representation or elections. This implies that activism by women outside these areas holds no political significance. In reality, however, women's movements operate as political practices in a broader sense, namely in the struggle for interests and gender power relations.

In the Indonesian context, faith-based women's organisations such as *Aisyiyah*, *Fatayat NU*, and *Wanita Katolik Republik Indonesia* (Catholic Women of the Republic of Indonesia) are independent of the political system's openness or closeness. Nor are they influenced by the stability or instability of intergroup relations. Their presence throughout Indonesia's political history, including during the colonial era prior to independence, is evidence of this. Prior to the Reform Era, it was challenging for Indonesia's women's movement, including in West Java, to prioritise strategic gender issues such as women's representation, gender equality, human rights, and sexual violence. Global issues were not easily adopted, and even when they were, they were quickly viewed with suspicion and regarded as opposing the government or challenging religious and cultural values. Women's movements in West Java, whether faith-based or secular, tended to utilise the state as a battleground for various practical and strategic gender-related interests.

Religious minority women's organisations in West Java, including Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, and *Penghayat* groups, have not yet maximised their presence in the public sphere. This includes collaborating with the local government to implement various pro-gender policies. *Penghayat* groups, in particular, still need to adapt to a situation in which their presence was previously rejected. Consequently, building strength, capacity, and self-confidence within the organisation has become their main focus. Based on the above, Singh's (2001) assertion that the state is the battleground for social movement organisations holds. It is also agreed that

a democratic social system is a prerequisite for the emergence of social movements, including women's movements that address practical and strategic gender issues.

However, this study does not fully confirm Singh's assumption that movement actors generally come from the new middle class. Most women's organisations in West Java originate from marginalised groups, but subsequently collaborate with the middle classes to broaden the scope of their issues and their support base, as seen in KPI West Java. In line with Singh, almost all of the organisations studied utilise cultural and technological approaches as mobilisation and framing strategies, in accordance with McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald's (2016) framework.

More broadly, the democratisation that followed in 1998 created an environment conducive to ongoing political negotiation. This enabled a broader spectrum of identities and interests to be expressed, including those based on culture, class, gender, and the environment. Alongside the opening up of this democratic space, there was also a re-emergence of local and religious values that had previously been suppressed.

Since 1998, the women's movement has developed a new awareness and has begun to actively define its own issues and politics, rather than merely supporting the political agenda of other organisations. Indeed, the women's movement has grown in terms of its operational scope, geographical reach, diversity of participants, areas of work, and definitions of gender issues. This aligns with the views of political process experts, who regard the political context as the most influential factor in the emergence and fate of social protests. They refer to this as a 'favourable political context', which is influenced by external political components such as the state and political institutions. While there are many other factors surrounding the emergence and fate of social protests, such as social unrest, resources, and the organisation and strategy of social movements, the political context remains the most influential. This is also linked to the objectives and opponents of social protests in general, namely the effort to gain political power (Kriesi 2005).

To achieve the objectives of a social movement, it is essential to have a clear vision and mission. Through these, an organisation can plan its future direction and clarify its aims and causes. As well as serving as a guide, the vision and mission also constrain policy-making, thereby minimising decisions that deviate from the organisation's objectives. In this context, both faith-

based and secular women's organisations appear to have relatively clear visions and missions. A strong vision and mission, coupled with high levels of organisation, will give the women's movement greater bargaining power and political strength.

Mobilisation Structure

The West Java branch of KPI forms part of a wider organisation. Similar to religious women's organisations, which have a central or national structure, its mobilisation structure regarding priority programmes is aligned with that established at the central level. According to one interview excerpt, KPI West Java has around 4,000 members. In line with its village-based (bottom-up) organisational structure, known as the *Bale Perempuan*, KPI West Java has human resources extending down to the grassroots level (villages/sub-districts). As one of the interviewees stated:

"Our members are individuals, all women over the age of 18. Those under 18 are referred to as probationary members. Our structure extends down to the village level (*Bale Perempuan*). At the branch level, our structure comprises executive and legislative bodies. In West Java, several branches exist, including those in Indramayu, Garut, Bogor, Cirebon (city and regency), Purwakarta, Bandung, and Sukabumi. Kuningan Regency is the only branch where the PPM Interest Group Council has been established, rather than the full branch. Inactive branches include Cianjur, Bandung City, Karawang, Bekasi, and Depok. This is because one of the former committee members has moved to another city" (DW 2021, Focus Group Discussion, 27 March).

Meanwhile, KPI West Java comprises approximately nine interest groups,⁴ namely women workers and women migrant workers, housewives, elderly women, youth, schoolchildren and students, coastal women and fisherwomen, women in the informal sector, professional women, female farmers, widows, female heads of households, and single women. Several other interest groups, including Indigenous women, women in prostitution, domestic workers, and women from urban and rural areas, as well as groups related to people with disabilities, and the LGBT community, have not yet been included due to various considerations. Other interest groups have not yet been included as their numbers are currently unknown and remain small. In the WhatsApp interview below, the interviewee stated the following:

"As for interest groups that do not yet exist, this is because there are currently no members of such groups, and their numbers are dwindling. Furthermore, at the regional congress, no one stood for election to the regional praesidium, so these interest groups have no regional

representation. There are also no members of the LGBT-related interest group, as it is a highly sensitive group facing significant resistance in West Java. This group also presents a challenge for the regional executive in terms of educating cadres and the network. This is why candidates must first undergo basic cadre training as part of the KPI cadre recruitment process to gain an understanding of KPI principles, the role of KPI cadres, and the KPI Articles of Association. Although some have not yet accepted this, it remains a challenge in the cadre development process in West Java" (DW 2021, Focus Group Discussion, 27 March).

KPI takes into account the socio-cultural context of West Java, a region generally considered highly religious. LGBT issues present a particular challenge for them, as resistance to these issues is considered to be quite high in West Java. This aligns with the views of LZ and ZJ (2012), who state that organisations based on a collection of issues or sectors tend to be more vulnerable than union-style organisations in addressing local needs. This applies to issues relating to the provision of early childhood education (PAUD) and other local issues. Organisations based on issues or sectors do not necessarily accommodate the needs of a particular region, as they always align local needs with the issues or sectors of their parent coalition. KPI continues to strive to ensure that all interest groups mandated at the central level can be realised in West Java. KPI West Java mobilises resources through various activities, such as training, outreach, education, workshops and webinars, in partnership with numerous stakeholders.

When it comes to mobilising resources, KPI West Java consistently involves its partner networks, including local governments at provincial and district/ municipal levels, universities, women's activists, organisations that advocate for women and children, and other institutions such as the Regional People's Representative Council (DPRD) and the Election Supervisory Agency (Bawaslu). Given its focus on child marriage, KPI's resource mobilisation efforts are largely directed towards preventing such issues. For instance, KPI West Java supported the amendment to Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 regarding the minimum marriage age for women. The revised Marriage Law was passed by the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR RI) on 16 September 2019 and set the minimum marriage age for women at 19. Prior to the revision, the marriage age for women was 16. In response to this decision, KPI West Java organised a meeting to strengthen the Child Marriage Prevention Network in West Java. The chapter collaborated with civil society and government networks to advocate for a legal framework to prevent child marriage, including releasing a statement opposing the practice.

In terms of funding, KPI relies on membership fees and partnerships with various institutions, including domestic and international donor organisations and the West Java provincial government. Unlike KPI West Java, *Rumpun Indonesia* is a women's movement in West Java with a simple organisational structure, a foundation comprising a chairperson and specific departments.

It was stated from the outset that *Rumpun* is an acronym for *Ruang Media Perempuan* (Women's Media Space), a platform that enables women to express themselves and their interests through art and culture. This information was confirmed by a source who was one of the initiators of *Rumpun*.

"We advocate for the interests of all women, particularly with regard to public services such as education, healthcare, and citizenship. These are our priorities. In our view, women should be the first members of the family to access these services. Furthermore, *Rumpun Indonesia* uses art to convey messages and values of integrity. For example, when injustice occurs, we respond in this way" (SM 2021, Focus Group Discussion, 30 March).

Although the foundation has a structure, *Rumpun* has a core team of nine people who can be considered the founders. However, it does not yet have a permanent membership base or a membership system, nor does it have a leadership development process. This is because *Rumpun's* activities are largely non-routine, although various activities always involve volunteers from other women's communities. *Rumpun* has no branches in other cities or districts; it is based solely in Bandung. To mobilise public participation and promote the organisation, *Rumpun* actively utilises art and culture. Whenever organising an event, *Rumpun* forms an organising committee involving volunteers from various communities, particularly women's communities.

As part of its mobilisation strategy, *Rumpun Indonesia* collaborated with the *Indonesia.id* community in mid-2019 to launch the "How Indonesian Are You?" campaign, which celebrated diversity through regional dance and flash mobs. This initiative drew upon the 2018 Indonesia Survey Report (LSI), conducted in partnership with the Wahid Foundation and UN Women. The report revealed that 55 per cent of women displayed intolerant tendencies, which was slightly lower than the 59.2 per cent recorded among men. Consequently, *Rumpun* felt it was necessary to address issues of intolerance in West Java through this campaign. Dance was chosen as a cultural strategy rooted in local wisdom; as well as being a tradition, it promotes Indonesia's diversity and culture.

One example of *Rumpun Indonesia's* work came in 2022 when it collaborated with the West Java Provincial Department of Tourism and Culture to organise "Tari Merak Sadunya" – a colossal event celebrating the artistic and cultural heritage of Sundanese culture to mark World Peace Day. *Rumpun Indonesia* also collaborated with West Javanese artists and other arts communities for this event, which featured no fewer than 1,000 dancers. The event's tagline was #perempuangotongroyong. As part of a campaign series featuring mass dance performances, *Rumpun Indonesia* also organised a webinar titled "Women's Movement for a Sustainable Life" to provide community education. This webinar featured speakers from the government, academia, and *Rumpun Indonesia*.

In addition to campaigning, *Rumpun Indonesia* is actively engaged in capacity building through interactive discussions, as outlined by the interviewee:

"We produce anti-corruption parenting materials, films, and music, as well as *wayang* performances... We also network with male colleagues because we want to involve men as well as women... One of the capacity-building initiatives we have undertaken targeted PKK women and included sessions on BPJS services (integrity in public service), and the anti-corruption movement for people with disabilities" (SM 2021, Focus Group Discussion, 30 March).

Funding for *Rumpun's* activities largely comes from *Rumpun* members' self-funding. *Rumpun* also seeks public donations, primarily from local government partners via corporate social responsibility (CSR) funds, as well as from other donors. *Rumpun* frequently collaborates with KPI West Java on various activities, including international campaign events such as International Women's Day and the International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women. *Rumpun's* primary target group is urban women, most of whom are middle-class and highly educated.

Samahita has a simple organisational structure and is supported by around 30 people and other networks, primarily for case support and management with local governments, legal aid institutions, and other community or service organisations. Within its structure, the title of 'chairperson' does not exist; instead, there is a 'responsible person', such as a programme coordinator, campaign coordinator, education coordinator or support coordinator. *Samahita's* volunteers differ from *Rumpun's* in that they are involved in almost all of *Samahita's* activities and are expected to assist in the case support process. In contrast, *Rumpun's* volunteers attend on a per-activity basis.

To this end, *Samahita* regularly provides capacity-building training for its volunteers, particularly with regard to issues of sexual and dating violence. Unlike the other two organisations/movements previously discussed by the author, *Samahita* originally had no organisational structure and campaigned on global issues, thus demonstrating its ability to meet the needs of young people. The interviewee elaborates on this below:

"Samahita began its work in 2013. It was originally part of a global campaign held simultaneously around the world, including in Indonesia, and was not originally called *Samahita*. Bandung was one of the cities that took part. However, by 2014, more and more people were becoming interested and getting involved. In 2015, a growing number of survivors began sharing their stories with us about the violence they had experienced and seeking our advice. Recognising the need for a platform focused on adolescent sexual violence, *Samahita* was finally established on 16 February 2015 with this aim. However, as it developed, our focus shifted to include gender-based violence" (AY 2021, Focus Group Discussion, 9 April).

Unlike the other women's organisations and movements included in this study, *Samahita* frequently mobilises resources through themed street actions and collaborations with like-minded communities. *Samahita* regularly initiates joint actions at events such as the Women's March and in support of the Sexual Violence Crimes Bill (now known as the TPKS Law). In its efforts to mobilise resources, *Samahita* appears consistent in its choice of issues, focusing on sexual violence and discrimination against vulnerable groups, such as the LGBT+ community. These are issues that are often overlooked or rejected by other women's movements or organisations in West Java, despite their claims to be progressive in their activism.

According to Locher, the distinction between a social movement and other forms of collective action, such as crowds, riots, rebels, and fads, indicates that the women's movement in West Java is a social movement because of its organisational structure. All of the women's organisations studied were well organised, with a division of tasks, designed strategies, and clear leadership. Furthermore, all of the organisations met the participation criteria based on collective consciousness and undertook promotional activities while seeking support from various parties. Meanwhile, most other collective actions were poorly organised, took place without planning, and lacked the participants' full consideration and awareness.

Furthermore, Dieter Opp (2009, p. 139) argues that the resources of a movement encompass not only funds, but also access to the media, support from sympathisers, member loyalty, the availability of spaces, and the knowledge and capacity of its members. Based on these criteria, women's movements with a secular basis in West Java demonstrate relatively strong mobilisation structures, underpinned by media networks, supporters and adequate organisational capacity.

Most of the women's movements and organisations studied in West Java have organisational models and structures that tend to be non-hierarchical and flexible. These structures avoid the pitfalls of oligarchy and feature collective leadership, making them more responsive to individual needs and less bureaucratic. Some of these characteristics are particularly evident in secular women's movements and organisations. Nevertheless, even moderate religious women's movements and organisations, such as *Cherbon Feminist*, have organisational structures that are less rigid, offering greater openness and responsiveness to individual needs.

Conclusion

Based on the research findings and discussion, several conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, although fragmented and non-electoral, the women's movement in West Java during the Reform Era possessed strength in freedom, independence, and inclusivity. This was made possible by political opportunities within the democratic regime, which provided a broader space for movement activities. The women's movement was relatively free to determine issues and advocate for a variety of women's interests, encompassing both practical needs and strategic gender concerns. However, marginalised women's groups have not yet been fully engaged with or benefited from this movement. Conversely, resistance to the ideas of feminism and gender equality remains high, originating from organisations opposed to feminism and certain religious groups.

Secondly, the organisational structures adopted by the women's movement in West Java during the Reform Era have given rise to a movement addressing various issues affecting women. These issues include gender-based violence, violence against women, gender equality, reproductive rights, and women's participation in politics. The movement aims to advocate for women's rights and raise public awareness of these issues. Furthermore, the movement actively campaigns

for gender equality and criticises social structures that perpetuate injustice through activities such as organising and campaigning. These activities aim to change the attitudes and practices that disadvantage women in society. In terms of mobilisation structures, all women's movements and organisations meet the criteria for participant involvement based on deliberation and awareness. They also engage in publicity and seek support from a wide range of people. All women's movements and organisations in West Java, including *Samahita*, KPI West Java, and *Rumpun Indonesia*, can be categorised as new social movements. This aligns with Mc's view that new social movements take the form of pluralistic movements addressing diverse issues, such as urban, environmental, feminist, anti-racist, ethnic, and LGBTQ+ rights movements, as well as movements addressing the impacts of globalisation.

Thirdly, although one of the women's movements in West Java included in this study is based in a rural area, the research has not explicitly demonstrated a connection between the activism carried out by women's organisations and that carried out by long-established women's movements in the community, such as the *PKK* and *Posyandu*. It is crucial that other women's movements support gender inclusion and enhance women's influence in all areas of life. Progress has begun to emerge over the past two decades, but these achievements remain unevenly distributed, particularly in rural areas.

Fourthly, the women's movement in West Java faces the challenge of a lack of structured organisation at the grassroots level. Women's movements in West Java, particularly secular ones such as *Samahita* and *Rumpun* (which have no specific religious affiliation), need to extend their reach beyond the middle classes and urban areas. This is important, given that West Java comprises 27 regencies and cities, which necessitates an approach similar to that adopted by KPI West Java.

Based on these findings, issues related to strategic gender needs – such as sexual violence, gender equality, intolerance, anti-corruption, and anti-radicalism – need to target rural or suburban women, who are often the most vulnerable to becoming victims.

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Footnotes

- 1 <https://antronesia.com/event-one-billion-rising-bandung-menari-untuk-melawan-kekerasan-pada-perempuan-bersama-komunitas-samahita/>, accessed on 27 December 2019.
- 2 Further details can be found in the article titled "Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia Jawa Barat Ajak Orang Muda dan Perempuan Bangun Pemberdayaan dan Pelindungan" at

https://pasjabar.com/2023/03/21/koalisi-perempuan-indonesia-jabar-ajak-orang-young-people-and-women-build-empowerment-and-protection/?fbclid=IwAR08tdusJCbsePq8540DMaV4x3mLlcpZ0om2IRoMMZvCxwFwck_OaR179Ds (accessed on 9 June 2023).

- 3 See more at www.instagram.com/sekoper_cinta.
- 4 Interest groups championed by KPI at the national level: (1) Indigenous women; (2) Elderly and disabled women; (3) Professional women; (4) Women in the informal sector; (5) Poor women in urban areas; (6) Poor women in rural areas; (7) Youth, Schoolchildren, and Students; (8) Women forced into prostitution; (9) Women workers; (10) Widows, women heads of households, and single women; (11) Marginalised girls; Women farmers; (13) Coastal and fishing women; (14) Housewives; (15) Lesbian, bisexual, and transgender women; (16) Women with disabilities; (17) Women migrant workers; (18) Domestic workers. See <https://www.koalisiperempuan.or.id/tentang/kelompok-kepentingan/>.

