

## Advocacy for Gender-Just Lawmaking by the Women's Movements in Post-Transition Indonesia

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### Abstract

The women's advocacy movement within the legal reform efforts of the post-Reform era is dynamic. Legislative advocacy aims to promote the enactment of gender-just legislation, but the process is complex, particularly due to the internal dynamics of the women's movement. The diversity of women's organisations influences the issues raised in advocacy. This study examines how the dynamics of the women's movement in Indonesia influence the agenda-setting and promotion or rejection of legislation on women's issues. Drawing on secondary data and the author's reflections as an advocate, the study demonstrates that the diversity of ideologies and visions among women's organisations influences the causes they support. This study examines three legislative advocacy processes — the Law on Sexual Violence Crimes, the Amendment to the Marriage Law, and the Maternal and Child Welfare During the First 1,000 Days of a Child's Life (KIA) Bill — and finds that these processes reinforce the organisations' ideologies and visions. However, not all issues affecting women that are advocated for through legislation aim to transform patriarchal structures and systems. This depends on the organisations championing the issues.

Keywords: legislative advocacy, women's movement, legal reform, gender justice policy.

### Introduction

This paper specifically examines the women's movement in legislative advocacy at the national level, focusing on the struggle for gender-just state policies across a range of issues. Studies of the women's movement in Indonesia have demonstrated its dynamism and diversity in terms of ideology and organisational form (Susan Blackburn 2004; Eddyono et al. 2016), as well as the issues raised and the strategies employed (Aripurnami et al. 2013). This diversity can be a source of strength (Eddyono et al. 2016) and has made a significant contribution to democratic life in the post-reform era (Porter 2003; Rinaldo 2013).

The diversity of women's organisations does not hinder the formation of coalitions when all groups perceive a shared issue, such as the advocacy of anti-violence policies against women (Eddyono et al. 2016). Blackburn (2004) agrees with Wieringa (1992) that it is difficult to categorise Indonesian women's organisations by issue because various groups prioritise the same issue from different perspectives and with different objectives.

Aripurnami (2013) explains that, despite working on different issues, women's organisations complement

one another. These organisations operate across various distinct spheres, ranging from economic empowerment for rural women to public education, outreach, and raising public awareness. This paper focuses specifically on women's movements that advocate for gender-just policies. This focus was chosen based on the author's experience of being involved in various policy advocacy efforts related to gender justice. However, the paper does not disregard other forms of women's movements in different fields with different agendas. Previously, the author examined legislative advocacy movements on various themes, including the state's response to women's movements advocating for gender justice in Indonesia (Eddyono et al. 2016), as well as legislative advocacy movements for the protection of migrant workers (Eddyono 2021). This paper builds on that analysis in the context of ongoing developments.

Studies of the women's movement in the context of legislative advocacy are limited, particularly in examining the movement's internal dynamics. A key manifestation of the women's movement's strength lies in its achievements in national policy advocacy. Notable examples include the enactment of Law No. 23 of 2024 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence

(UU PKDRT) (Munti 2008; Eddyono 2019), and Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes (UU TPKS). Munti (2008) examines the complex legislative dynamics of UU PKDRT and highlights the success of the women's movement. Meanwhile, Siregar and Prihatini (2024) analyse the legislative advocacy process for UU TPKS from the perspective of the dynamics within the House of Representatives (DPR).

In contrast, Nalle and Arianto (2023) focus on deliberations regarding digital movements' support for UU TPKS. Kurniyasih (2024), on the other hand, examines advocacy for UU TPKS through a coalition-based approach involving various actors. Eddyono et al. (2016) discuss in more detail the dynamics of the legislative advocacy movement regarding the Domestic Violence Law, the Pornography Law, and the Domestic Workers Bill. Eddyono et al. (2016) demonstrate that the women's movement was successful in its advocacy for the enactment of UU PKDRT. However, they also experienced failures in advocacy, particularly with regard to monitoring the Pornography Law and the Domestic Workers Bill. Eddyono et al. (2016) emphasise that differing perspectives amongst various women's organisations resulted in strong pro- and anti-dynamics. This study focuses on advocacy and legislation within the women's movement itself, examining these dynamics from a feminist perspective. Eddyono (2020) built upon the research of Eddyono et al. (2016), but that study did not capture the latest five years of advocacy developments. Furthermore, the context may have changed considerably over the past five years compared to the early years of the reform era.

Drawing on her experience of interacting with various social movements, the author argues that the women's movement is frequently criticised for its perceived lack of cohesion, limited contribution to democracy, and focus on women's issues alone. The women's movement tends to advocate for issues of gender-based violence. This paper argues that the women's movement is integral to social and democratic movements that invigorate democracy through legislative advocacy. Htun and Weldon (2014) state that gender-based violence, including sexual violence, is a gender-specific issue that feminist groups will always address. In many countries, other social movements do not necessarily support the feminist movement in addressing sexual violence, including domestic rape and sexual harassment in the workplace (Htun & Weldon 2014). For Indonesian feminists, this issue is of paramount importance as it relates directly to women's

bodies and their sense of safety. Sexual violence affects how women interact and carry out their daily activities.

This study analyses the extent to which women's movements in Indonesia are sustainable in their efforts to confront patriarchal structures that permeate all areas of women's lives. It explores the question: to what extent do diverse women's movements engage in setting the agenda and championing or rejecting legislation on women's issues? The author argues that various legal reform agendas are being championed in the name of women's interests. However, not all issues advocated through legal reform aim to dismantle patriarchal ideology. Success in challenging one aspect of patriarchy does not automatically eliminate it in other areas. Understanding the circumstances and strategies through which diverse women's movements can collaborate and consolidate is crucial for the success of policy advocacy. While acknowledging the challenges of policy implementation, the paper focuses specifically on the process of advocating for gender-just policies.

## Research Methodology

The author adopts a feminist approach to researching policymaking processes and legislative advocacy. Munro (2017) explains that this approach helps researchers analyse women's positions within decision-making processes and determine the extent to which their diverse voices are heard. In a context of unequal power relations in society, women's voices are often dismissed as unimportant. This research emphasises the perspectives of the women's movement and its efforts to advocate for gender-just policies. Bartlett (1990) asserts that adopting a feminist perspective when researching the law-making process encourages researchers to pay closer attention to how laws are drafted and debated, and to consider women's interests.

The researcher analysed secondary data by conducting a literature review of news items published by organisations on their official websites, as well as media reports and advocacy organisation reports available online. In constructing the analysis, the author also consulted international journals and existing research findings available online. Data from discussions and seminars at feminist conferences, including those organised by the Kartini Annual Conferences (2025), were also used.

The author acknowledges the subjectivity involved in interpreting data and considers their experiences and perceptions of events worthy of sharing with

various parties. Within academic feminism, there is a strong view that the academic role is one of 'knowing' rather than 'changing' (Wasserfall 1993). Academic feminists tend to separate their academic work from their activism. In contrast, the author is both an academic and an active advocate for the legislation in question. Nencel (2014) emphasises the importance of researchers contextualising their position in relation to research data. Reflexivity, or awareness of this position, encourages the author to understand better the context of the data's availability within the existing knowledge structure. The primary source of data in the law-making process tends to be policy-making bodies. However, the author sought out and collected primary data from members of the women's movement involved in advocacy. The author triangulated the data by gathering further information to supplement and complete it. The author endeavoured to remain open to scientific findings that differed from her own views. She attempted to process the information obtained and structure it for this presentation. Data triangulation was conducted by confirming existing data through informal discussions with several advocacy stakeholders.

### **The Women's Movement in Indonesia**

There are various perspectives on how the women's movement in Indonesia is conceptualised. Blackburn (2004) describes it as a collective will of women, which is realised to a certain extent through women's organisations (Blackburn 2004; Qibtiyah 2009). Blackburn categorises Indonesian women's movement organisations into three groups: religious and non-religious organisations; membership-based and non-membership-based (foundations); and class-based and non-class-based. This categorisation cannot be separated from the state's political and ideological context, including how the state views and positions women within statehood and its policies.

Qibtiyah (2009) categorises women's organisations into two types: religious and secular. Each type is then divided into three subtypes: women's organisations that are subsidiary or dependent on a main organisation; semi-autonomous organisations; and autonomous/independent organisations. Eddyono et al. (2016) utilise Blackburn's framework, modifying it to categorise women's organisations into three groups based on their objectives: organisations that challenge and seek to transform the patriarchal system; organisations that affirm the patriarchal system; and organisations situated in between. Religious/non-religious, membership-

based/non-membership-based, and class-based/non-class-based organisations can be categorised according to their objectives. Some secular, membership-based, and class-based women's organisations aim to challenge patriarchal structures. Furthermore, some organisations do not challenge patriarchal structures, instead focusing on discussing women's issues within the status quo. There are also more pragmatic organisations that occasionally contribute to efforts to promote change in patriarchal culture, albeit in a more issue-based way (Eddyono et al. 2016). Rinaldo (2019) distinguishes between two simpler categories of women's movement: women's rights activists and conservative women's activists. Rinaldo links this categorisation to faith-based women's organisations. Qibtiyah (2009), Eddyono et al. (2016), and Rinaldo (2019) all argue that the Indonesian women's movement is connected to the global feminist movement.

This paper argues that each category has its own distinct role in explaining the various directions of women's movements. The author does not perceive any significant differences in perspective between the various views, but rather a complementarity between the different categories. For this paper, the author adopts the women's movement framework developed by Eddyono et al. (2016). This framework categorises women's organisations based on their ideological or movement-specific vision as either opposing, reinforcing, or pragmatically situated between the two.

This framework is used because, in the context of legislative advocacy, there are groups of women who support women's issues and groups who oppose them. Between these two extremes, there is a third group that neither supports nor opposes. Blackburn (2008) refers to this group as 'government-aligned organisations'. Whether they support one side or the other depends heavily on the issue at hand and the direction of the state's gender ideology. This neutral stance can have a positive or negative impact on legislation that promotes gender justice.

The dynamics of this third group are evident in their advocacy of UU PKDRT and the Pornography Law (Eddyono et al. 2016). Third-category women's groups, including Kowani, supported and participated in the legislative advocacy for UU PKDRT, which was championed by the feminist movement. However, regarding the Pornography Law, this group opposed the feminist movement, instead forming a coalition with conservative women's groups and supporters of patriarchy.

Recent literature on the women's movement in Indonesia suggests that religious-based feminist movements are becoming increasingly prominent and cannot be ignored. In the early years of the reform era, women's movements opposing the New Order were predominantly initiated by non-religious feminist groups and class-based organisations, such as women's worker groups and organisations representing the urban poor (Eddyono et al. 2016). However, religious-based women's movements have gradually become more organised. Blackburn (2008) specifically examines the uniqueness of the women's movement in Indonesia, which is characterised by religious-based movements. The existence of women's organisations affiliated with religious organisations lends these groups a distinct character, as they tend to be masculine in nature (Blackburn 2008; Qibtiyah 2009).

Rinaldo (2013) found that religious-based women's organisations such as Rahima play a crucial role in advocating for women's rights within an Islamic framework and have sparked a discourse on Islam and gender. Furthermore, Rinaldo (2019) emphasises that women's movements in Indonesia tend to exhibit a stronger connection between secular feminist movements and religious-based women's movements. This aligns with the findings of Eddyono et al. (2016), who discovered that religious and non-religious women's groups collaborate on various advocacy efforts for gender-just policies.

Kusmana (2019) identifies the emergence of the women ulama movement, known as the Indonesian Women Ulama Congress (KUPI), as a moral movement grounded in gender equality and justice. Qibtiyah (2020) confirms the existence of a Muslim feminist movement in Indonesia. This movement, including KUPI, contributes to the strengthening of discourse on democracy and women's rights within a framework of just Islam. Issues raised by KUPI include the protection of victims of sexual violence and the abolition of both female genital mutilation and child marriage. Qibtiyah (2020) states that Muslim feminists oppose conservative interpretations of Islam that weaken women's position by reinterpreting religious teachings to promote women's empowerment and equal rights, as well as building cross-organisational networks within religious groups.

The distinction between class-based and non-class-based women's movements is not always clear. The differences between the two and the discourse

surrounding them have not become particularly pronounced, particularly as issues of sexual violence in both the public and domestic spheres have received more attention. Sexual violence is considered an issue that transcends class, category, and group (Eddyono et al. 2016). Nevertheless, class-based women's movements have played a more prominent role in legislative advocacy for the protection of migrant and domestic workers (Eddyono et al. 2021). Meanwhile, membership-based movements have emerged alongside the growth of membership-based women's organisations, such as the Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy (1998) and the Empowerment of Female-Headed Households (PEKKA) (2002).

The above studies show that women's movements are more closely linked to women's organisations, particularly non-governmental organisations (NGOs). When it comes to addressing issues of sexual violence, these organisations have expanded their advocacy efforts to include academics from higher education institutions (Eddyono 2024). Following the Agni case in 2018 and several other cases of sexual violence within higher education institutions, academics at various universities—including both faculty members and students—are advocating within their institutions (Fitri et al. 2021) for a national anti-violence policy at both religious and non-religious universities, as well as a specific law addressing sexual violence.

### **Advocacy for Pro-Gender Justice Legislation**

At the global level, Engeli and Mazur (2018) found that gender issues have begun to be raised through policy advocacy, reflecting the view that state laws and policies can reduce unequal power relations. Htun and Weldon (2013) argue that policy interventions to reduce gender injustice, gender-based discrimination, and violence are crucial for three main reasons.

Firstly, discriminatory laws and policies violate women's rights by being discriminatory, failing to provide benefits, and disregarding women. Secondly, policies cannot be implemented if they are not adopted or if the state does not issue written policies. Thirdly, in order to understand the policies adopted by the state, it is necessary to understand the legislative process.

In a study conducted across Europe, the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, and East Asia, Htun and Weldon (2013) discovered a correlation between the existence of women's movements and pro-gender state policies. They found that countries with strong women's

movements tend to have more gender-responsive policies.

### **Contestation of Issues and Advocacy Agendas in the Women's Movement during the Reform Era**

The issues raised by women's movements in Indonesia are highly diverse. Various organisations may advocate for a single issue from different perspectives, while different organisations may prioritise different issues. Shared issues can serve as a bridge between organisations, but conflicting priorities can also create tension.

At the start of the Reform Era, *Suara Ibu Peduli* (SIP) disguised its agenda by drawing attention to the limited availability and high cost of milk for children from lower-income families, a situation exacerbated by the economic crisis (Pohlman 2011; Arivia & Subono 2017). The demand to lower the price of milk was not merely a matter of children's consumption. In this context, 'milk' functioned as a political symbol or semiotic. It provided an opportunity to challenge the state's failure to meet the basic needs of its citizens and, implicitly, to criticise the Suharto regime. Ideologically, the SIP movement mobilised various groups of women to challenge the authoritarian regime that had failed to prevent the economic crisis (Arivia & Subono 2017). The SIP movement ideologically worked to mobilise various groups of women to challenge the authoritarian regime that had failed to prevent the economic crisis (Arivia & Subono 2017).

The concept of 'motherhood' was once powerful and used to champion women's issues. However, in the 2020s, it has instead become a contested and problematic term in discussions of women's rights, particularly during the debate on the Maternal and Child Welfare During the First 1,000 Days of a Child's Life (KIA) Bill in the House of Representatives. The Bill tends to reinforce the idea that women's primary role is to provide unpaid care for their children (Eddyono 2024).

The issue of sexual violence emerged at the beginning of the reform era, driven by the experiences

of ethnic Chinese women. The state's failure to prevent sexual violence and protect women from it led to the establishment of the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan), an independent state institution (Pohlman 2011). Arivia and Subono (2017) characterise Komnas Perempuan as 'state feminism' (feminism that is rooted in or operating within the state sphere). Following its establishment, Komnas Perempuan's position as a state institution has been instrumental in advocating for policies on sexual violence in Indonesia (Eddyono et al. 2016; Alifah et al. 2021; Triguswinri 2023).

The issue of sexual violence remains contentious, particularly in relation to past gross human rights violations that remain difficult to resolve to this day (Eddyono, forthcoming paper). Sexual violence is an ongoing issue, whether within marriage, in efforts to advocate for the protection of women within the household, in efforts to provide legal protection for children against sexual violence, on university campuses, in the workplace, or in national policy advocacy in the form of Law No. 12 of 2023 on Sexual Violence Crimes. Although the Law has been passed, there are ongoing calls for effective advocacy to ensure its implementation for the protection of victims (LBH APIK 2024).

Rinaldo (2019) emphasises that women's rights activists emerged following the New Order era, campaigning and mobilising for legislative advocacy. This mobilisation has yielded various gender-just policies, including Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT) (Eddyono 2016; Poerwandari et al. 2018). Building on the momentum of democracy (Poerwandari et al. 2018; Rinaldo 2019) and the more fluid relationship between the state and civil society (Eddyono 2021), the women's movement prioritised legislative advocacy as a key focus at the start of the reform era.

Eddyono et al. (2016) identified six major policy agendas championed by various women's organisations during this period, which are outlined in Table 1.

**Table 1.**  
**The Indonesian Women’s Movement’s Agenda for Legal and Policy Reform**

No.	Agenda	Issue
1.	Protection of women’s rights in marriage.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Ensuring equal rights for women in marriage.</li> <li>b. Amending Articles 31 and 34 of the Marriage Law to remove the codification of gender roles.</li> <li>c. Ensuring that women in cross-border marriages receive equal protection.</li> </ul>
2.	Protection against violence against women and girls within the framework of the right to bodily autonomy.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Establishment of an independent institution for the protection of women from violence – the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan).</li> <li>b. Promoting the enactment of Domestic Violence Law.</li> <li>c. Promoting the enactment of legislation on sexual violence.</li> <li>d. Amending the Criminal Code.</li> <li>e. Enacting legislation regarding human trafficking.</li> <li>f. Ensuring that women are not criminalised for exercising their sexual rights and bodily autonomy.</li> <li>g. Ensuring women’s right to justice.</li> <li>h. Advocating for the establishment of women’s service units by the police and local governments across cities and regions.</li> <li>i. Advocating for the establishment of witness and victim protection.</li> <li>j. Advocating for legal aid for victims.</li> <li>k. Advocating for the resolution of sexual violence cases as part of past human rights violations.</li> </ul>
3.	Women’s economic rights.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Protection of migrant workers.</li> <li>b. Protection of domestic workers.</li> <li>c. Protection of migrant workers’ reproductive rights.</li> </ul>
4.	Reproductive health.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. Abolition of female genital mutilation.</li> <li>b. Safe and woman-friendly abortion that does not criminalise women.</li> </ul>
5.	Women and politics.	Ensuring political participation through the implementation of a quota policy for women’s representation.
6.	Gender Mainstreaming Policy.	The existence of a gender mainstreaming policy that is applied and binding at every level of government.

Source: Adapted from Eddyono et al. 2016

This policy agenda constitutes a joint advocacy framework that will remain in effect until 2025. As Table 2 shows, the majority of the agenda has been successful in formulating and enacting existing policies.

**Table 2.**  
**Agendas and Laws Successfully Advocated**

No.	Agenda	Laws with a gender justice dimension	Substance
1.	Protection of Women's Rights in Marriage.	Law No. 16 of 2019 on the Amendment to Law No. 1 of 1974.	Raising the minimum age of marriage for women from 16 to 19 years.
		Law No. 12 of 2006 on Citizenship of the Republic of Indonesia.	Ensuring equal rights for married couples of different nationalities, including mothers with children from cross-border marriages.
2.	Protection for victims of violence against women and girls.	Law No. 23 of 2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (UU PKDRT).	Defining domestic violence and protecting victims of domestic violence through specific provisions in criminal law.
		Law No. 13 of 2006 on the Protection of Witnesses and Victims, as amended by Law No. 31 of 2014.	Establishing the foundation for the protection of witnesses and victims, including victims of human trafficking, human rights violations, and sexual violence.
		Law No. 21 of 2007 on the Eradication of the Criminal Act of Trafficking in Persons (UU PTPPO).	Protecting victims, particularly women and children, from human trafficking through prevention, punishment of perpetrators, and victim protection.
		Law No. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection, as amended by Law No. 35 of 2014 in conjunction with Law No. 17 of 2016.	The revised law provides for the protection of children in special circumstances, including child victims of sexual violence.
		Law No. 12 of 2022 on Sexual Violence Crimes.	This is a special criminal law that regulates the types of violence categorised as criminal acts and the sanctions and procedural laws for processing criminal cases. It also covers the rights and protection of victims of sexual violence.
3.	Women's economic rights.	Law No. 18 of 2017 on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers.	Protection of migrant workers, from recruitment, training, and placement to repatriation.
		Law No. 13 of 2003 on Labour.	Protection of women workers' reproductive rights.
4.	Reproductive health.	Law No. 36 of 2009, which was replaced by Law No. 17 of 2023 on Health.	Regulations on abortion for women who have been raped.
		Law No. 1 of 2023 on the Criminal Code.	Prohibition of forced abortion; abortion is not criminalised if performed on a rape victim with a pregnancy of less than 14 weeks.
5.	Political rights.	Law No. 12 of 2003 on General Elections, in conjunction with Law No. 10 of 2008 on the Election of Members of the DPR, DPD and DPRD.	A 30 percent quota for candidates for the House of Representatives (DPR), Regional Representatives Council (DPD), and Regional People's Representative Councils (DPRD) nominated by political parties.
6.	Gender mainstreaming.	Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development.	This policy is still an executive policy and has not yet been enacted into law.

Source: Compiled by the author from policy review findings

Of the six priority issues of the women's movement at the start of the reform era, gender-based violence against women and children has been the subject of the most vigorous advocacy. Significant attention has been given to this issue by women's organisations, which has become a unifying factor transcending ideological divides. This is due to the alarming reality of sexual violence that persists to this day. According to 2024 data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS), the prevalence of gender-based violence experienced by women aged 15-64 has decreased, with a 17 per cent decrease in sexual violence and a 12.9 per cent decrease in physical violence compared to 2021, when the figures were 18.7 per cent and 13.8 per cent, respectively. While these figures have decreased, they remain relatively high, indicating that gender-based violence is still a serious issue (BPS 2024).

Referring to research findings on advocacy for gender-just policies in 70 countries, Htun and Weldon (2014) state that advocating for legal changes to criminalise perpetrators of violence is only one key strategy. However, this must be accompanied by changes in legal administration and law enforcement, as well as a shift in societal attitudes. Sustained public awareness of gender justice is essential to the process of advocacy for gender-just policies. Ongoing studies by Komnas Perempuan indicate that protecting women victims remains highly problematic, particularly within existing legal practices (Komnas Perempuan 2025). Consequently, gender-just policy advocacy requires sustained effort, particularly to raise critical public awareness of gender justice.

Policies successfully advocated for by women's organisations at an institutional level have brought about changes to institutional policies regarding gender-based violence. These include Supreme Court Regulation No. 3 of 2017, which sets out guidelines for adjudicating cases involving women in conflict with the law, and Attorney General's Office Regulation No. 1 of 2021, which ensures access to justice for women and children in criminal cases. These regulations represent a step towards a fairer approach to handling cases, pending the establishment of clearer rules for enforcing laws on sexual violence.

Following the enactment of UU TPKS, several ministries have formulated policies to combat sexual violence and other forms of intersectional violence:

- 1) Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology Regulation No. 30/2021 on the

Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Higher Education Institutions;

- 2) Regulation of the Minister of Religion No. 73/2022 on the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Educational Institutions under the Ministry of Religion;
- 3) Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research and Technology No. 46 of 2023 on the Prevention and Handling of Violence within Educational Institutions;
- 4) Regulation of the Minister of Education, Culture, Research and Technology No. 55 of 2024 on the Prevention and Handling of Violence in Higher Education Institutions;
- 5) Ministry of State-Owned Enterprises Circular Letter SE-3/MBU/04/2022 on the Respectful Workplace Policy (RWP);
- 6) Ministry of Health Instruction HK.02.01/1512/Kemenkes/2023 on the Prevention and Handling of Bullying, including Sexual Bullying, against Students at Teaching Hospitals under the Ministry of Health.

The existence of these subsidiary policies suggests that the state is becoming more responsive to violence against women. Education, religious education, and higher education are considered critical areas requiring intervention to prevent and handle sexual violence, alongside the labour and health sectors.

However, advocacy issues and agendas continue to evolve. For example, the digital era and the post-COVID-19 period have brought significant changes to social interactions in the context of sexual violence, including the emergence of social media. Women's organisations such as the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan 2022) and LBH APIK Jakarta have begun raising the issue of legal protection for women against sexual violence in the digital context (Eddyono & Fathurozi 2022), including digital scams targeting women.

The women's movement extends beyond the national level. Eddyono (2016) analysed advocacy movements aimed at eliminating violence against women in West Lombok, Jember, and West Pasaman. She found that the constellation of state power is becoming increasingly complex at the regional level. Despite decentralisation, the national government still plays a significant role. Women's movements, therefore, face a multi-layered

power structure comprising the national government, local governments, and local cultures or customary laws. Kabeer argues that patriarchal structures operate in a highly contextual manner. While Blackburn observes the interconnection between women's movements and the state, Kabeer (2011) analyses women's agency and collective action against patriarchal culture, which is manifested through culture and non-state actors, such as traditional leaders and community figures.

During the reform era, women's movements have increasingly interacted with other movements, such as those advocating for people with disabilities, environmental protection, Indigenous communities, religious freedom, pluralism, labour rights, and other democratisation movements. This diverse interaction has led to the evolution of advocacy issues and agendas that increasingly highlight the intersectionality of women across dynamic contexts and spheres. For instance, the disability rights movement's advocacy for the protection of persons with disabilities, which resulted in Law No. 8 of 2016, incorporated gender intersectionality by affirming multi-layered non-discrimination and including specific provisions regarding the rights of women with disabilities. Furthermore, advocacy for the protection of migrant workers through Law No. 18 of 2017 on the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers is expected to affect the protection of female migrant workers positively (Eddyono et al. 2021).

Furthermore, the face of the feminist movement is increasingly being shaped by young feminists. Although they did not experience the New Order era or the early Reformasi movement first-hand, they are becoming increasingly visible within women's organisations. This also indicates the continuity of the movement. Young feminists have played a key role in raising awareness of important issues in the public sphere through digital platforms, particularly in advocating for policies against sexual violence and issues concerning women's bodies (Maryani et al. 2021). Rather than operating within the framework of a single women's organisation, these young feminists act collectively as individuals, utilising more flexible platforms and spaces, including the virtual realm. Based on the author's experience of advocating for the enactment of UU TPKS, digital platforms and young influencers such as Khalis Mardiasih played an active role in raising awareness of the importance of enacting the UU TPKS in public forums.

### **Challenges Facing the Women's Movement in Legislative Advocacy**

Advocacy is a continuous and dynamic activity. Following the New Order era, the state has not always accepted the women's agenda for policy reform. Blackburn (2004) notes that the state is not monolithic. In the Indonesian context, state institutions hold the legislative, executive, and judicial powers. These three branches interact with one another and possess the authority to shape legal norms and legislation. Previous work by Eddyono et al. (2016; 2020) shows that political dynamics play a particularly strong role in advocating gender-just policies. At least four factors influence the state's response to the demands of the women's movement: i) the processes of democratisation and decentralisation in Indonesia following the New Order era; ii) the presence and strength of the women's movement in initiating and/or acting as agents of mobilisation and cohesion within the movement itself; iii) gender ideologies within cultural and religious frameworks; and iv) the influence and presence of international organisations providing support to the women's movement (Eddyono et al. 2016; 2020).

The outcomes of women's advocacy do not always align with the initial demands voiced. Political negotiations occur at almost every stage of the process, including when the issues are determined. Furthermore, negotiations take place not only between the state and women's movements, but also amongst, and even within, the women's movements themselves.

Building on the work of Eddyono et al. (2016; 2020), this paper focuses on the diversity of women's movements, their ideologies and visions, the policy issues they champion and the strategies they employ. Within a legal reform agenda concerning women, collaboration can be observed between women's movement organisations with different ideologies. However, divided perspectives may also arise, complicating the advocacy process itself. Secondly, this paper presents an argument based on the state's gender ideology. The author argues that the state's response to the demands of the women's movement is influenced by its own gender ideology, which remains fluid (Eddyono 2025). This dynamic ideology is influenced by the leadership of the president and the ruling party. The fluid nature of gender ideology influences how issues raised through the women's movement's policy advocacy are perceived.

This paper examines the dynamics of women’s movement advocacy using case studies of several advocacy initiatives, including Law No. 12 of 2022 on Criminal Acts of Sexual Violence (the TPKS Law), Law No. 16 of 2010 amending Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage (the Marriage Law Amendment), and Law No. 4 of 2024 on Maternal and Child Welfare During the First 1,000 Days of a Child’s Life (UU KIA). These three laws were

championed by women’s movements with different ideological perspectives and demonstrate distinct advocacy dynamics.

Meanwhile, UU TPKS and the Marriage Law Amendment were strongly supported by the feminist movement in Indonesia. UU KIA is also said to be an attempt to protect women and was supported by a non-feminist women’s movement.

**Table 3.**  
**Three National Policies**

Law	Issues raised	Initiating actors and support	State response
UU TPKS	Protection for victims of sexual violence includes: types of sexual violence constituting criminal offences, criminal procedure law, and victims’ rights to handling, protection, and recovery.	The National Commission on Violence Against Women and the Service Providers’ Forum.  Support from religious-based women’s movements, feminist women’s organisations, academics, young feminists, and Gen Z youth.	The draft Bill and academic papers were facilitated by the DPD (2016).  The Bill became a DPR-initiated Bill in 2017 and was passed in 2022.
Amendment to the Marriage Law	Raising the minimum age for marriage for girls; from 16 to 19 years of age.	The 18+ Coalition of Civil Society Organisations and Individuals concerned with ending child marriage, led by the Indonesian Women’s Coalition for Justice and Democracy (KPI 2025). The 18+ Coalition has filed a judicial review with the Constitutional Court regarding Article 7 of the Marriage Law as one of the legal strategies to encourage state policies to prevent child marriage.  Support from religious organisations (Fatayat NU, Aisyiyah, and the Indonesian Congress of Women Ulama) and academics.	Constitutional Court Decision No. 22/PUU-XV/2017 states that Article 7 of the Marriage Law regarding the minimum marriage age for girls of 16 years is not binding and is of an institutional nature. The decision orders the state to carry out a revision within a maximum of three years.  The government proposed the Bill to Amend the Marriage Law as a government-initiated Bill in June 2019.  The House of Representatives passed the Amendment to the Marriage Law on 15 October 2019.
UU KIA	Improving the well-being of mothers and children in the first 1,000 days of life.		Academic Paper 9 June 2022.  The Bill was a 2022 House of Representatives initiative Bill, originally titled the Maternal and Child Welfare Bill.  The Bill was passed in 2024.

Source: Compiled by the author from various sources

### *Advocacy for UU TPKS: A Dynamic Women's Movement*

Advocacy for UU TPKS marked a significant milestone in the Indonesian women's movement, both in terms of the issues it addressed and in the advocacy process itself. Sexual violence has been a key issue for women's rights campaigners since the beginning of the Reform era. The mass rape of ethnic Chinese women in 1998, which was later confirmed by the Joint Fact-Finding Team (Seno 2005), sparked strong demands for the state to take responsibility for victims of sexual violence—one of the measures introduced by President B. J. Habibie, at the time, established an independent state institution: the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan 2025).

Komnas Perempuan is expected to make sustained efforts to eliminate violence against women in Indonesia. One of Komnas Perempuan's key roles is to compile data based on reports of cases of gender-based violence from victims to various service-providing institutions. This data is analysed annually, with trends being identified in the form of an Annual Report. The annual reports have revealed that sexual violence remains a persistent and concerning issue, with cases tending to increase over time. In 2011, Komnas Perempuan initiated a comprehensive study of women's experiences of sexual violence in Indonesia.

The study was conducted in 2012, and its results were published. Komnas Perempuan identified 14 forms of sexual violence experienced by women in Indonesia. These include: i) Rape; ii) Sexual intimidation; iii) Sexual harassment; iv) Sexual exploitation; v) Commercial sex trafficking; vi) Forced prostitution; vii) Sexual slavery; viii) Forced marriage; ix) Forced pregnancy; x) Forced abortion; xi) Forced contraception and sterilisation; xii) Sexual torture; xiii) Inhumane and sexually oriented punishment; xiv) Harmful and discriminatory traditional practices of a sexual nature against women (Legislative Body of the House of Representatives 2021).

Eddyono et al. (2018; 2020) observe that the advocacy for gender-just legislation in Indonesia is both dynamic and non-linear. This is evident throughout the legislative process of UU TPKS, from planning to enactment. The advocacy for the TPKS Bill underwent four phases: a) idea generation (2012-2016); b) tabling in the House of Representatives (2017-2018); c) critical and stagnation (2019-2020); and d) network strengthening and reformulation (2021-2022). Ongoing discussions with various networks of the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas

Perempuan), particularly service-providing institutions participating in the Forum of Service Providers for Victims, prompted Komnas Perempuan to develop an advocacy programme in 2012 to draft the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence.

In 2013, Komnas Perempuan's Legal Reform division drafted an initial concept for the Bill and held consultations with networks of service providers for victims and other stakeholders. At least 132 meetings were held to develop the concept, which began to take shape as a draft bill (Siregar and Prihatini 2024). With this draft Bill in hand, Komnas Perempuan continued to lobby members of the House of Representatives (DPR). As a result, several members of the House of Representatives agreed to sponsor the Bill as a DPR-initiated Bill.

In 2016, Komnas Perempuan collaborated with an external drafting team comprising academics and activists, including Sri Wiyanti Eddyono, Estu Fanani, and Fathuroji, to draft the Bill on the Elimination of Sexual Violence. The Bill's content was based on consultations conducted by Komnas Perempuan with women's networks regarding issues to be included, informed by the challenges of addressing sexual violence. Topics discussed included the various forms of sexual violence, the rights of victims, and the mechanisms for handling cases.

In 2017, Komnas Perempuan expanded its collaboration with the Service Providers Forum (FPL), garnering support from stakeholders such as leaders of the Regional Representative Council, academics, legal practitioners, and enforcers. The Regional Representative Council supported Komnas Perempuan and the FPL in conducting further public consultations, drafting an academic paper, and refining the initial draft of the Bill. Legal and social academics contributed to drafting the academic paper, while legal practitioners and law enforcement officials participated in discussions to refine the Bill. The FPL compiled case management experiences relating to sexual violence, including relevant case studies, to serve as references, which were then integrated into the academic paper.

In 2017, an academic paper and a revised TPKS Bill, both facilitated by the Regional Representatives Council (DPD), were submitted to the legislative body. Following discussions between Komnas Perempuan, the Service Providers' Forum, and the legislative body, it was agreed that, to streamline the legislative process, the Bill would be introduced as a DPR-initiated Bill to streamline the

legislative process, despite the academic paper and the draft bill having been facilitated and funded by the DPD. In 2018, the Bill was included in the National Legislation Programme (Prolegnas). However, in 2020, the Bill was removed from the Prolegnas agenda because Partai Keadilan Sejahtera (PKS) faction and three other parties — namely PPP, PAN, and the Democratic Party — rejected the discussion of the Bill on the grounds that it contained sensitive provisions. They argued that it would be better for the bill to be passed alongside the Criminal Code (Setyawan 2022). This rejection followed a backlash against the Bill in the form of mass protests and online petitions, such as 'Reject the Pro-Adultery Bill' (Kurniyasih 2025). The TPKS Bill was perceived as being tolerant of the LGBT community and, therefore, deemed to contradict religious norms.

Following the removal of the TPKS Bill from the Prolegnas in 2021, Komnas Perempuan and the FPL intensified their advocacy efforts. Komnas Perempuan held discussions on revising the draft with government teams, academics, and law enforcement officials, while continuously lobbying DPR members, parliamentary factions, and the Legislative Body (Baleg). Meanwhile, the FPL collaborated with academics, including the Association of Gender/Women's Studies Centres and academic alliances, to support the PKS Bill as it was debated in the House of Representatives (Sinombor 2020).

The Academic Alliance, which includes the author, successfully gathered at least 100 endorsements from professors and over 1,000 academics in support of the PKS Bill, which later became the TPKS Bill. The Association of Gender Studies Centres from various universities also stated support for enacting the TPKS Bill into law.

The academic movement reached its peak after the Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology issued Regulation No. 30 of 2021 on the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence in Higher Education. This regulation itself emerged from advocacy led by Komnas Perempuan and academics. Following the success of this policy, the academic movement has intensified its push to enact the TPKS Bill, as Regulation No. 30 is insufficient without a TPKS Law.

Consequently, advocacy for the TPKS Bill expanded in 2021, growing beyond Komnas Perempuan and FPL. Other civil society movements have joined the call for the TPKS Bill, including the Civil Society Movement (Germas) and the Civil Society Network (JMS). The

Indonesian Network of Female Clerics (Alimat) has also voiced its support for the TPKS Bill. Affiliated with KUPI, the network produced an analysis emphasising the importance of the TPKS Bill from an Islamic perspective that upholds justice (KUPI 2020). The network conveyed its views to the government team and the DPR (Mawangi 2021), and the author of the analysis helped to break the deadlock in the DPR's deliberations. Previously, concerns had been raised that the DPR would not proceed with discussions on the TPKS Bill due to the views of the Islamic religious group within the PKS faction. This group had consistently voiced its opposition, dominating discussions with arguments that the TPKS Bill was contrary to religion. However, with KUPI's support, the DPR and the government were able to gain legitimacy to continue discussions.

Furthermore, this advocacy was complemented by a digital campaign launched by several organisations (Nalle & Arianto 2023). On 3 May 2016, the Lentera Sintas Indonesia network launched a petition on Change.org. By the time UU TPKS was passed, this petition had received 349,525 signatures of support. Additionally, civil society organisations that were not specifically categorised as women's organisations, such as INFID, participated in a campaign on the online platform Change.org, urging the DPR to swiftly discuss and pass the PKS Bill, which subsequently became the TPKS Bill. By December 2021, INFID's petition had received the backing of 35,979 people (Nalle & Arianto 2023).

Both Rinaldo (2019) and Eddyono et al. (2016) emphasise the pluralistic ideologies reflected in the diverse visions within the women's movement itself, which are rooted in both feminist and conservative perspectives. However, Eddyono et al. (2016) add a third category: women's organisations with a more pragmatic vision or ideology that may be less clearly defined and subject to change depending on the advocacy issue at hand.

Despite their ideological diversity, women's movements that advocate for anti-sexual violence policies are aligned with feminist movements and those that challenge patriarchy. However, they conflict with women's movements that hold conservative views. This division within the women's movement mirrors the situation surrounding the Pornography Bill. In this case, however, the proponents of the Bill were conservative women's organisations, while the opponents were feminist women's organisations (Eddyono et al. 2016). Meanwhile, a third group neither vocally opposed the bill nor supported the Sexual Violence Bill.

**Table 4.**  
**Diversity of Views on the T(PKS) Bill within Women's Organisations**

Women's Organisations		In Favour
Organisations with an ideology opposing patriarchy (Feminist)	Religious	Rahima Alimat Fatayat NU KUPI Srikandi Lintas Iman
	Non-religious	The Service Providers' Network (comprising 126 organisations providing services to victims across Indonesia).  LBH APIK Jakarta, the APIK Federation, and regional LBH APIK organisations.  The Indonesian Women's Coalition (KPI).  Other civil society networks, including Kalyanamitra and the Women's Health Foundation.
	Academics	Academic Alliance for Advocacy on the PKS Bill.  Centre for Gender and Society Studies, Faculty of Law, UGM. Centre for Law and Gender Studies, UI.  Association of Gender and Child Studies Centres across Indonesia.
Women's Organisations		Opposing
Conservative	Religious	Aceh Muslim Women's Alliance (Umar & Budi 2019).  Aliansi Indonesia Cinta Keluarga (Indonesian Alliance for Family Love) (AILA) (Nugraha 2019).  Indonesia Tanpa Pacaran (Indonesia Without Dating) (ITP).  Aliansi Perempuan Cinta Pertiwi (Alliance of Women Who Love the Country).
	Non-Religious	
Category 3	Religiously-based	Aisyah (Sucahyono 2022)
	Non-religious	KOWANI  Women's/Gender Studies Centres at various universities

Source: Compiled by the author from various sources

In addition to women's organisations, other groups support or oppose the TPKS Bill. Several non-governmental organisations that are not women's organisations have also provided support through advocacy, including INFID, ICJR, and the LBH network, across various regions of Indonesia. Student organisations at various universities, such as Undip, UGM, UI, Unpad, Unesa, Udayana University, and the Adisutjipto Institute of Aeronautical Technology, have also provided strategic support. Furthermore, there are

student alliances within UI (Chaterine & Galih 2021), as well as extracurricular student organisations such as GMNI and GMKI.

Meanwhile, those opposing the Bill were largely religious organisations (Mukhtar 2019). These organisations have joined the Council of Islamic Mass Organisations, which has openly declared its opposition (Hidayatullah 2021). Religiously based women's organisations with conservative views have been linked to the religious organisations that opposed

the TPKS Bill. As Blackburn (2008) analysed, religious women’s organisations tend to be subordinate to their parent organisations. Consequently, religious women’s organisations acting as a wing of such organisations typically follow the views of their parent organisation. Similarly, while some individuals within Aisyah expressed support for the TPKS Bill, the organisation remained ambivalent. While it supported efforts to eradicate sexual violence, it also implicitly suggested that other policies were more important. The criticism of the TPKS Bill’s articles was similar to that expressed by other Islamic women’s groups who rejected the Bill. This was also consistent with the stance of the organisation Muhammadiyah, which did not explicitly state its support for the Bill, but would do so if it aligned with religious principles (Suara Muhammadiyah 2019). This ambivalent and unclear position effectively amounted to a lack of support for the TPKS Bill (FAI UAD 2019). In contrast, independent religious organisations such as Rahima and Alimat were able to adopt a more independent stance despite their affiliations with religious mass organisations (Rinaldo 2019).

*Advocacy for the Bill Amending the Marriage Law: A Collaborative Civil Society Movement*

The advocacy of Law No. 16 of 2019, which amends Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage (the Marriage Law), was intriguing and significant to examine. During the reform era, democratic spaces tended to be more open, including to the women’s movement. The Constitutional Court is one of the key institutions involved in advancing women’s rights. Although the Constitutional Court faces challenges in advocating for raising the minimum marriage age, the Court has become a strategic arena for civil society networks to challenge policies deemed contrary to the Constitution.

Pushing for a revision of Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage was no easy task. Htun and Weldon (2010) state that women’s issues and agendas are neither simple nor singular. They can be doctrinal issues, which clash with long-established cultural norms, or non-

doctrinal issues that conflict with class interests or other political considerations. According to Htun, raising the issue of gender injustice within the family, particularly in the Marriage Law, is a doctrinal issue. Advocating for changes to the Marriage Law was perceived as a challenge to the idealised family structure.

The drafting of the Marriage Law in 1973-1974 was a legislative process fraught with dynamics and tensions that could have destabilised politics and security (LBH APIK 2002). Consequently, despite being part of the legal reform agenda, efforts to push for changes to the Marriage Law have remained virtually stagnant. In every review of the Indonesian government’s report on the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Committee) has recommended amending the Marriage Law due to its discriminatory provisions against women (CEDAW/C/IDN/CO/8, 2021).

A number of articles in the Marriage Law have been recommended for amendment as they fail to provide justice for women. These include: 1) the conditions for a valid marriage; 2) the minimum marriage age for girls being set at 16; 3) polygamy; 4) the codification of gender roles (whereby the husband is the head of the family and the wife is a housewife); and 5) the status of children born out of wedlock (Hukum Online 2015). In addition to the above, Rio Satria raised the issue of prenuptial agreements (Satria 2019). Some of these issues were included in the planning stage for amending the Law in 2015, following a Constitutional Court mandate that a judicial review of the Marriage Law was required. However, the deliberation process stalled. Various parties attempted to challenge the Marriage Law, whose provisions were deemed no longer relevant, by filing judicial reviews with the Constitutional Court. Some of these submissions were successful, leading to substantive changes to the Marriage Law. One such change concerned the proposal to raise the minimum marriage age for women.

**Table 5.**  
**Constitutional Court Ruling Affecting the Agenda for Amending Law No. 1 of 1974 on Marriage**

No.	Ruling	Subject
1.	Constitutional Court Ruling 48/PUU-VIII/2010	Status of children born out of wedlock.
2.	Constitutional Court Decision No. 69/PUU-XII/2015	The status of marriage contracts.
3.	Constitutional Court Decision 22/PUU-XV1/2017	Raising the minimum marriage age for prospective brides.

Source: Compiled by the author from various sources

Efforts to challenge Article 7 of the Marriage Law regarding the minimum age of marriage for children through the Constitutional Court mechanism are an ongoing endeavour. In 2014, representatives of women's organisations filed a petition for a substantive review of Article 7. The first case was Case No. 30/PUU-XII/2014, which involved Zumrotin, the Chairperson of the Board of Trustees of the Women's Health Foundation, as the petitioner (Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia 2014).

Following this case, other women's organisations recognised the need to strengthen the arguments for reviewing Article 7. This led to a second petition being filed: Case No. 74/PUU-XII/2014. The plaintiffs in this case were six women's rights activists from the Semarak Cerlang Nusa (SCN) organisation and the Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy (KPI), as well as a children's rights activist from the Children's Rights Monitoring Foundation (YPHA). The seven plaintiffs authorised lawyers from the Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (ICJR). The proceedings for both cases were consolidated. However, Constitutional Court Decision No. 30-74/PUU-XII/2014 dismissed the petition on the grounds that there was insufficient evidence to declare Article 7 unconstitutional, as the regulation of the minimum age constitutes a legal open policy, which falls under the government's remit (Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia 2014).

In response to this rejection, the women's organisations that had initially brought the case before the Constitutional Court formed a coalition known as the 18+ Coalition, also referred to as the Indonesian Coalition to End Child Marriage. The coalition consolidated its efforts and devised a new strategy: strengthening public discourse through various activities, such as discussions, to highlight the impact of early marriage on girls. These activities would either be carried out jointly or integrated into the programmes of the coalition's member organisations. Securing public support was deemed crucial to ensure government backing for the campaign against child marriage. This strategy was evident in press releases highlighting the issue of child marriage (Indonesian Women's Coalition 2021) and in the use of international forums to encourage state commitment to protecting children (ICJR 2021). One statement of position garnered the support of over 100 NGOs and more than 60 individuals (Indonesian Women's Coalition 2021). Alongside the strategy of strengthening public and government understanding, a renewed challenge was made to the Constitutional Court in the form of a new submission. This time, however, the plaintiffs were women who had experienced being married at a young age, rather than NGO activists.

**Table 6.**  
**The 18+ Coalition as a Civil Society Movement Coalition Comprising Various Types of Organisations**

No.	Organisation	Type	Focus Issue
1.	Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy (KPI)	Feminist Women's Organisation	Women and politics
2.	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography & Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes (ECPAT)	International organisation	Elimination of prostitution, pornography, and child trafficking
3.	Institute for Criminal Justice Reform (ICJR)	Legal NGO	Criminal justice reform
4.	Semerlak Cerlang Nusantara Organisation (SCN)	Transformative education NGO	Consultancy on NGO capacity building
5.	Society for Gender and Intergenerational Justice (MAGENTA)	Feminist organisation	Protection of children and women from violence
6.	Indonesian Family Planning Association (PKBI)	Civil society organisation under a state institution	Reproductive health and sexual rights
7.	Child Rights Monitoring Foundation	Children's NGO	Monitoring of children's rights

The presence of child marriage victims acting as petitioners and interacting directly with the Constitutional Court created a different atmosphere at the hearing (Indonesian Women's Coalition 2018). In Constitutional Court Decision No. 22/PUU-XVI/2017, the Court granted the petitioners' request and declared that the difference in the minimum marriage age for women and men contravenes the 1945 Constitution. The Court deemed this provision to hinder the fulfilment of girls' constitutional rights, including their right to education as stipulated in Article 28D of the Constitution.

In its reasoning, the Constitutional Court emphasised that the provisions of Article 7 of the Marriage Law are discriminatory and inconsistent with government policy on 12 years of basic education, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). However, the Constitutional Court did not set a minimum age for marriage itself, on the grounds that this is the prerogative of the legislature and must adapt to legal developments. The Constitutional Court stated that, if the government and the DPR do not amend Article 7 within three years, the phrase '16 years' will no longer be legally binding and must be interpreted in line with the Child Protection Act as meaning 18 years.

Htun and Weldon (2014) state that the advocacy for women's rights is an initiative launched by the feminist movement in many countries. However, Htun and Weldon (2010) argue that issues and advocacy regarding women's rights should not be limited to the feminist movement. With regard to the Amendment to the Marriage Law in Indonesia, while the women's movement championed this advocacy, it was also part of a shared agenda among children's organisations, women's organisations (including feminist organisations), and human rights organisations — referred to as the 18+ Coalition or the Indonesian Coalition to End Child Marriage (Indonesian Women's Coalition 2017). This is understandable, as the issue of child marriage encompasses the dimensions of women's rights, children's rights, and human rights, making it intersectional in nature. Consequently, the network of advocates is also cross-issue.

Following the Constitutional Court Decision No. 22/PUU-XV1/2017, plans to amend the Marriage Law continued, albeit with discussions limited to amending Article 7, which concerns the legal marriage age for girls. While the 18+ Coalition welcomed the Constitutional Court's ruling, they criticised the lengthy timeframe

for amending the minimum age provision — three years from the date of the ruling (Indonesian Women's Coalition 2018).

Fadli and Subono (2022) argue that the 18+ Coalition's success in advocating for justice and gender equality, particularly for girls, demonstrates the effectiveness of political movements. From the perspective of the women's movement itself, the conflict over raising the minimum marriage age between feminist and non-feminist groups was not particularly evident. Religiously based non-feminist groups that vehemently opposed UU TPKS in 2018 did not appear to voice their dissent as strongly this time. The organisations that firmly opposed the Bill were Islamic organisations, not women's organisations. The Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), the Executive Board of Nahdlatul Ulama (PBNU) and the Central Executive Board (PP) of Muhammadiyah all rejected the idea of raising the minimum marriage age for women. They argued that the significant difference between a woman's age of maturity and the legal age at which she can marry could lead to pregnancy outside of marriage (Niam 2014).

Interestingly, Aisyiyah, a women's organisation affiliated with the Islamic organisation Muhammadiyah, has expressed its support for the amendments to the Marriage Bill. Aisyiyah falls into the third category of women's organisations, whose ideology or vision lies somewhere between rejecting and supporting patriarchal culture. Aisyiyah urged the government to amend the marriage regulations to align with Constitutional Court Ruling 22/PUU-XV1/2017 (Pebrianto 2019). Another women's organisation in the third group is Kowani, which supported amending the Child Marriage Law to raise the minimum marriage age for women. However, it has not publicly stated this, only doing so in direct discussions with the Ministry of Women's Empowerment. Kowani first raised the issue of child marriage at its Third Congress in 1939, when it opposed the minimum marriage age of 16 (Ardanareswari 2019).

Another religious women's organisation that supported legislative advocacy for raising the minimum marriage age for girls was Fatayat NU (Indrawan 2017). Fatayat NU's firm stance on child marriage was evident in its public statements. Fatayat NU carried out advocacy efforts both within NU and publicly regarding its opposition to child marriage. Fatayat NU identifies itself as part of the feminist movement.

Support from religious women's organisations for raising the minimum marriage age for girls has

facilitated the legislative advocacy process led by the 18+ Coalition. During this process, religious women’s organisations — ranging from feminist to non-feminist — have expressed their support, while non-feminist religious organisations have remained silent, neither opposing nor endorsing the initiative. This silence proved advantageous in the advocacy process. Eddyono et al. (2016) analysed policymakers’ tendency to accommodate demands backed by stronger voices and support. The absence of counter-actors or dissenting parties influenced policymakers to accommodate the promoted agenda. Within four months of its submission, the Amendment to the Marriage Bill was passed. The existence of the Constitutional Court’s ruling and Article 7 certainly facilitated the deliberation process.

*UU KIA: Legislative Advocacy Reinforcing the Status Quo and Gender Stereotypes*

RUU KIA was initiated by the DPR on 30 June 2022 (Azizah 2024). Following meetings between the DPR and the government on 3 April and 14 June 2023, it was agreed that the Bill would focus on ‘Children in the First 1,000 Days of Life’. This refers to a child’s life from conception to age 2. Unlike the advocacy for the TPKS Law and the Amendment to the Marriage Law, the legislative process for this Bill proceeded more swiftly and was passed by the DPR on 4 June 2024 (DPR RI 2024).

Although the Bill aims to improve health standards and protect women and children, particularly during the first 1,000 days (Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection 2024), it faced opposition during the

drafting process. Opinion was divided on the existence of this Bill. The Bill received relatively strong support from the DPR. Furthermore, it was backed by Islamic women’s organisations, namely Aisyiyah and Nasyiatul Aisyah, both of which are affiliated with the Islamic organisation Muhammadiyah (Suara Muhammadiyah 2024). Muslimat NU also supported the KIA Bill, particularly the provision extending maternity leave to six months (Primanda 2022).

Conversely, the Bill was not supported by employers, trade unions or women’s activists from feminist organisations. From an employer’s perspective, the main issue was the length of maternity leave, which was set at up to six months (Paat 2023). Meanwhile, trade unions emphasised that this provision was making the labour market increasingly uncompetitive for women (KSPSI 2024). Feminist women’s organisations opposed the Bill for several reasons. Firstly, the Bill did not introduce any new provisions beyond existing legal norms. For example, provisions relating to maternity leave, including paternity leave for husbands, are already enshrined in Law No. 13 of 2003 on Labour.

Furthermore, maternal health rights and breastfeeding provisions for infants are also regulated under Law No. 17 of 2023 on Health. Additionally, the Bill was perceived as reinforcing the traditional gender norm that women are primarily responsible for a child’s welfare. There is no evidence of initial efforts to strengthen the father’s roles in caring for children under 1,000 days (Nafi 2024). The Bill attempted to re-domesticate women, which, as analysed, could limit their participation in the public sphere.

**Table 7.**  
**Women’s Organisations Supporting and Opposing RUU KIA (KIA Bill)**

Initiators	Supporters	Opponents
Members of the DPR (PKB: Luluk Nurhamidah) and (PDIP: Dyah Pitaloka)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ministry of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection</li> <li>Aisyah</li> <li>Nasyiatul Aisyah</li> <li>Muslimat NU</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Save All Women and Girls (SAWG)</li> <li>KOMPAKS</li> <li>Women’s Health Foundation</li> <li>Kalyanamitra</li> <li>Indonesian Women’s Coalition for Justice</li> <li>Alimat</li> <li>Mahardika Women</li> <li>Women’s Solidarity</li> <li>ASPPUK</li> </ol>

However, the efforts of the feminist women's movement to oppose the Bill were limited to expressing their views in discussion and consultation forums. Some opinions were also expressed via social media (ASPPUK 2022). This differs from the mobilisation strategy used to oppose the Pornography Bill in 2008. During the deliberations on the Bill, feminist groups opposed it, while conservative women's groups supported and initiated it.

Eddyono (2016) documented the strategies employed by both sides — those for and against the Bill — which involved significant efforts to mobilise the masses to either oppose or support it. In an informal discussion, two NGO activists who opposed the Bill said they were unsure how to respond to the issue. They knew that the Bill reinforced existing regulations and did not introduce any new progressive or regressive norms. They wanted to express their disagreement, but concluded that if the Bill were passed, it would not pose a significant threat to gender justice, as it contains provisions aimed at protecting women and children. Furthermore, women's labour activists who initially opposed the Bill have since come to support it in the hope that it will be implemented more effectively than existing regulations. Previous studies by Eddyono et al. (2016) analysed how the DPR responded to arguments for and against the Bill, noting that the DPR tends to follow whichever side is most successful in mobilising support for the Bill's rejection or passage. As the feminist movement neither voiced strong opposition to the Bill nor fully mobilised, the Bill was passed.

## Conclusion

This paper reinforces various analyses of legislative advocacy movements in the fight for gender-just laws. Women's movements, based on women's organisations that shape legislative advocacy, are highly diverse in terms of both ideology and vision, as well as their forms and affiliations. This diversity influences the issues raised and pursued within national legislation.

Drawing on the three legislative advocacy campaigns — UU TPKS, the Amendment to the Marriage Law (regarding the minimum marriage age for prospective brides), and UU KIA — this research shows that each campaign has its own dynamics, particularly regarding the parties that initiated, supported, and opposed them. Despite all claiming to champion women's issues and act in women's best interests, the women's organisations driving these advocacy campaigns exhibit ideological

diversity. Feminist women's organisations initiated UU TPKS, while the Amendment to the Marriage Law was initiated by organisations with a broader focus, such as human rights and children's rights organisations. In contrast, non-feminist women's organisations initiated UU KIA. These three laws also faced opposition from various women's organisations. In advocating for the TPKS Bill, non-feminist, faith-based women's movements tended to oppose it. In advocating for the Amendment to the Marriage Law, however, these movements tended not to voice their opposition. Meanwhile, in advocating for the KIA Bill, feminist groups actually voiced their opposition.

The diversity of views within the women's movement is influenced by the ideologies of the organisations that form part of it. This research reinforces the findings of Eddyono et al. (2016) that the DPR responds to and refers to the views of whichever party has the strongest voice, whether for or against. Thus, legislative advocacy movements that are pro-law and gender-just are also significantly influenced by the interconnected dynamics of the women's movement in Indonesia, which involves a tug-of-war between ideologies and visions.

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