

Reading the Direction of Post-Reform Feminism: Critiques and Collective Practices

Editorial

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Articles

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
Antik Bintari

The Mobilisation of Reformative Women's Movements in Increasing Women's Political Representation and the Decline of Democracy in Indonesia
Nisa Nurachmah and Sri Lestari Wahyuningroem

Advocacy for Gender-Just Lawmaking by the Women's Movements in Post-Transition Indonesia
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Women Human Rights Defenders: From State Absence to Stigmatisation
Christine Constanta and Vania Christabel

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State Violence in Digital Spaces: Digital Feminism, Repression, and the Struggle of Women's Civil Society Organisations
Abby Gina Boang Manalu, Asterlita Tirsa Raha, Patricia Beata Kurnia, Faiz Abimanyu Wiguna, and Panca Lintang Dyah Paramitha

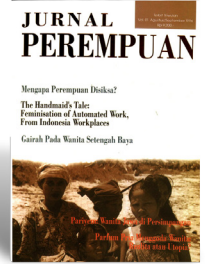
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Reading the Direction of Post-Reform Feminism: Critiques and Collective Practices

Over twenty years since the 1998 Reform, the focus of feminism and women's work in Indonesia has shifted beyond merely opening up spaces for participation. Instead, they focus on a more fundamental question: how can feminist work be made sustainable in an unstable and fragmented political context that demands short-term adaptation? Although post-Reform democracy offers procedural opportunities, it does not automatically guarantee protection, policy consistency or the conditions necessary for long-term continuation.

This concern is reflected in Issue 121 of *Jurnal Perempuan*. Rather than depicting the women's movement as weakened or failed, the six featured articles present it as a political practice operating under structural pressures such as widespread state repression, the professionalisation of civil society organisations, dependence on project-based funding, fragmented strategies, and the shift of the arena of struggle to the digital spheres. This shift simultaneously opens up opportunities and introduces new vulnerabilities.

In her article on the women's movement in West Java during the Reform era, Bintari shows that the sustainability of women's work at a local level hinge on their ability to identify political opportunities, build mobilisation structures, and navigate ideological debates. By examining independent organisations such as *Rumpun Indonesia*, *Samahita*, and the Indonesian Women's Coalition between 2018 and 2023, the research demonstrates that sustainability cannot be taken for granted, but is instead the result of continuous collaborative efforts within a context of fluctuating political opportunities.

The article by Nisa Nurachmah and Sri Lestari Wahyuningroem prominently features questions regarding the resilience of strategies. By examining the agenda for women's political representation, the authors demonstrate that reformist mobilisation, which has long been the main pillar, is severely restrained when democracy is in retreat and oligarchy is on the rise. This raises the crucial question of whether strategies that rely on democratic procedures can sustain feminist work in the long term when democracy itself is fragile.

In the legal sphere, Sri Wiyanti Eddyono's article shows that advocating for gender-just legislation requires

significant compromise and is an arduous undertaking. The diversity of ideologies and organisational visions within women's organisations influences the issues that are championed, prioritised or disregarded. In this context, legal advocacy becomes the arena in which the sustainability of feminist work is tested against the movement's internal dynamics, political pressures, and the state's institutional boundaries.

The article by Christine Constanta and Vania Christabel on Women Human Rights Defenders (WHRDs) highlights the most vulnerable dimension of sustainability. A lack of legal protection, stigmatisation, and threats to physical and psychological safety demonstrate that activism carries a high personal cost. In these circumstances, survival becomes a political practice in its own right, not merely a technical prerequisite.

Khaerul Umam Noer's article discusses the transformation of the arena of struggle into the digital realm. It shows how social media opens up spaces for solidarity and the articulation of experiences, while also creating a reliance on virality and posing digital security risks. As this article demonstrates, the sustainability of digital feminist work cannot be separated from structural work at the grassroots level - work that is often invisible yet determines long-term resilience.

The article by Abby Gina Boang Manalu, Asterlita Tirsira Raha, Patricia Beata Kurnia, Faiz Abimanyu Wiguna, and Panca Lintang Dyah Paramitha complements *Jurnal Perempuan* 121 by illustrating the impact of state repression in the digital sphere on the sustainability of women's organisations. Through legislation, surveillance, moral stigma, and algorithmic discipline, repression operates silently, producing exhaustion, self-censorship, and low-profile survival strategies.

Together, the six articles in *Jurnal Perempuan* 121 show that the main challenge for post-reform feminism is not just the effectiveness of strategies, but also the ability to sustain feminist work in an uncertain political climate. Here, sustainability is not understood as linear success, but rather as the practice of nurturing networks, knowledge, solidarity and the vitality of feminism amidst fragmentation and structural pressures (Dewi et al. 2024; Hemment 2007; Bernal & Grewal 2014).

Beyond these six articles, the culture section of *Jurnal Perempuan* 121 provides a broader understanding of the movement's sustainability, offering a more reflective and practical perspective. Rita Ramadhani's profile sheds light on human trafficking as a tangible area for feminist action. It illustrates the challenges of supporting victims, changes in criminal tactics, and the importance of networks and activists' resilience. The interview with Bambang Prayudi (Yudi) explores the ongoing challenges faced by the LGBTQI+ community amid repression and social rejection. It considers strategies such as internal solidarity, layered work, and cross-issue alliances.

Meanwhile, the 'Book Review' and 'Words and Meanings' sections encourage readers to consider the limitations of women's NGO work within project logic, the retreat of democracy, and the necessity of developing a more critical and sustainable feminist political imagination that goes beyond mere symbolism. The 'Poetry and Short Story' sections complement *Jurnal Perempuan* 121 by exploring the emotional aspects

of feminism, such as memory, loss, the body, and resilience, which are not always present in analytical language. Through literary language, readers are invited to understand feminist work as both a political strategy and a fragile, layered life experience that is continually nurtured from generation to generation.

Thus, *Jurnal Perempuan* 121 encourages readers to view feminism not only as an agenda for change, but also as a long-term endeavour to sustain collective practice. In the uncertain post-Reform era, questions about how feminism endures, adapts and survives are as important as those concerning the causes it fights for. By interpreting feminism as both a horizon and a critique, *Jurnal Perempuan* 121 explicitly rejects a limited view of feminism that is confined to jargon, identity, or symbolic victories. Feminism is understood as an ideal continually tested through practice, serving as a critical tool directed not only outwards, but also inwards towards women's own work. This ensures that its vitality and emancipatory imagination endure (**Abby Gina Boang Manalu**).

Abstracts

Antik Bintari

Padjajaran University, Bandung, Indonesia

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

Manuscript Code: DDC 305

Jurnal Perempuan Vol. 30 No. 2, 2025, pp. 115–125, 20 References

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

Nisa Nurachmah and Sri Lestari Wahyuningroem

"Veteran" National Development University, South Jakarta, Indonesia

The Mobilisation of Reformative Women's Movements in Increasing Women's Political Representation and the Decline of Democracy in Indonesia

Manuscript Code: DDC 305

Jurnal Perempuan Vol. 30 No. 2, 2025, pp. 127–138, 1 List of figures, 38 References

More than two decades have passed since the end of the authoritarian New Order regime, yet there has been no significant increase in the level of women's representation in politics. Following the 1998 Reforms, the women's movement gained strength and sought, among other things, to achieve at least 30 per cent female representation in Indonesia's political institutions. This paper seeks to explain why this agenda has not yet been achieved. By examining the movement's mobilisation and strategies, we conclude that mobilisation within the women's movement has tended to be reformative, characterised by efforts to change specific aspects of the system. However, this approach becomes ineffective when democracy faces setbacks alongside the strengthening of oligarchy. Through interviews with several movement participants and an analysis of relevant secondary literature, our study also found that such reform movements must address broader, more fundamental issues, necessitating new movement strategies.

Keywords: women's movement, women's political representation, reformative movement, democratic backsliding

Sri Wiyanti Eddyono

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

Manuscript Code: DDC 305

Jurnal Perempuan Vol. 30 No. 2, 2025, pp. 139–159, 7 Lists of tables, 90 References

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.

Christine Constanta¹ and Vania Christabel²

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Women Human Rights Defenders: From State Absence to Stigmatisation

Manuscript Code: DDC 305

Jurnal Perempuan Vol. 30 No. 2, 2025, pp. 161–174, 1 List of figures, 2 Lists of tables, 16 References

The dynamics of the women's movement in Indonesia since the Reform era are inextricably linked to the vital role of women human rights defenders (WHRDs), who have driven the advocacy agenda to achieve gender equality and the protection of women in Indonesia. However, WHRDs face various challenges, ranging from state-imposed obstacles, such as gaps in legal protection, to internal challenges within the movement itself. These challenges hinder advocacy efforts and impact the safety and well-being of WHRDs. This study uses qualitative methods and a feminist legal theory approach to analyse data collected through in-depth interviews with six WHRDs from diverse backgrounds. The findings suggest that the primary needs of WHRDs include legal protection, security, and well-being guarantees, as well as the integration of a gender perspective into every decision and legal instrument. The study details the nature and dynamics of the challenges and legal gaps faced by WHRDs in their struggle in Indonesia.

Keywords: women's movement, Women Human Rights Defenders (WHRDs), legal protection

Khaerul Umam Noer

Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Muhammadiyah
University of Jakarta, South Tangerang, Indonesia

**From Physical Space to Cyberspace: Hashtags, Feminist
Digital Activism, and Counterpublics**

Manuscript Code: DDC 305

Jurnal Perempuan Vol. 30 No. 2, 2025, pp. 175–187, 73 References

The feminist movement in post-Reform Indonesia has undergone a transformation with the emergence of digital spaces as arenas for advocacy. Through digital ethnography, analysing conversations, hashtags, and interviews with survivors, members of the PPKS Task Force (Task Force on the Prevention and Handling of Sexual Violence) and the academic community at 28 campuses, this study shows that social media acts as an alternative public sphere. It enables people to share experiences, reduces isolation, and fosters solidarity. The #KampusAman, #NamaBaikKampus, and #SahkanRUUTPKS campaigns have raised public awareness and pressured the state to take action. However, key challenges include reliance on virality, digital security risks, and patriarchal backlash. This study highlights the importance of linking digital campaigns with grassroots structural work to ensure the movement's sustainability.

Keywords: digital feminism, sexual violence, social movements, counterpublic space

**Abby Gina Boang Manalu^{1,2}, Asterlita Tirsa Raha³, Patricia
Beata Kurnia⁴, Faiz Abimanyu Wiguna⁵, and Panca Lintang
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**State Violence in Digital Spaces:
Digital Feminism, Repression, and the Struggle of
Women's Civil Society Organisations**

Manuscript Code: DDC 305

Jurnal Perempuan Vol. 30 No. 2, 2025, pp. 189–204, 3 List of tables, 25
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This article analyses state violence in the digital sphere and its impact on women's civil society organisations (CSOs) in Indonesia. It also examines how feminist digital solidarity is formed and why it is fragile. Employing a critical feminist lens, this qualitative study uses cross-CSO online focus group discussions (involving urban, youth, progressive religious, disability, indigenous and LGBTIQ+ groups) and social media content analysis. The findings suggest that repression occurs through the intersection of lawfare (the ITE Law and the Criminal Code), surveillance, doxxing, moral stigma, and algorithmic discipline, resulting in a chilling effect and self-censorship. CSOs respond by implementing digital security measures, diversifying funding, adopting low-profile strategies, and establishing solidarity networks. However, transformative solidarity requires protection, equitable resources, and cross-issue alliances.

Keywords: state violence, digital feminism, technology-facilitated gender-based violence, digital solidarity, women's civil society organisations

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Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is a quarterly interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. JP invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships.

The journal encourages practical, theoretically sound, and (when relevant) empirically rigorous manuscripts that address real-world implications of the gender gap in Indonesian contexts. Topics related to feminism can include (but are not limited to): sexuality, queer, trafficking, ecology, public policy, sustainability and environment, human and labor rights/ issues, governance, accountability and transparency, globalization, as well as ethics, and specific issues related to gender study, such as diversity, poverty, and education.

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