

Women and Public Policy

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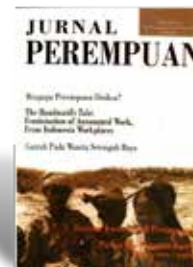
Anita Dhewy

Published by:

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Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan
No. Akreditasi: 748/Akred/P2MI-LIPI/04/2016

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First published in February 2017



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Anita Dhewy

Women and Public Policy

The fall of the New Order Regime and the reform period that followed opened the door for women's involvement within a wider reach, particularly in politics and in policy-making, after a period when women were stigmatized, domesticized, and co-opted in the New Order era. The process of transitioning to democracy that occurred and is still taking place has enabled women to claim some space for gender equality and justice in newly emerging or reformed institutions. Efforts to improve women's representation and involvement in public policy-making institutions are seen as important and as a priority for women's movements—especially considering public policy impacts men, women, and the third gender differently. Moreover, public policy has the capacity to both to perpetuate and to eliminate gender-based discrimination and gender inequality. This is way, by including the feminist perspective as a primary consideration in the drafting and implementation of public policies, we can hope for the fulfillment of parity and gender equality. So far, steps taken to include and involve women have shown some results: in the House of Representatives (DPR) the number of women elected saw an increase; women made up 12% of the DPR in 2004, 18% in 2009 (two election periods), and the number decreased by 17.63% in 2014. At the regional level (DPRD), women's representation is not as significant; several regions do not yet have women in their Regional Representative Council. In executive institutions, the number of women occupying echelon I positions and women with strategic positions and roles as policy-makers have also risen: 9.17% of these positions were occupied by women in 2011, 16.41% in 2012, 20.09% in 2013, and 20.65% in 2014 (Indonesia's Statistics Publication 2015). But available data show a steep imbalance between the men-women ratio of civil servants occupying structural positions and those occupying functional positions.

Apart from the quota for recruiting women in political parties, legislative bodies, government or private agencies to ensure the presence and involvement of women, other efforts are supported by feminists to make public sectors more gender-sensitive. For example, by introducing gender-equality issues in work-dynamic evaluations, applying gender-sensitive budgeting, and a reform of legal frameworks and justice systems to improve women's access to justice. Regional autonomy, along with reform, is hoped to also open access as well as improve women's participation and access to various

public policies at the local level, so that women can also reap benefits and become subjects of policies. The important question to ask, which has to do with the presence and involvement of women in the political arena and public policy-making, is: are women who occupy public positions truly promoting women's interests in the making of public policies? Are the policies they produce automatically gender-fair? In what situations can women and their male colleagues produce gender-sensitive public policies? According to Joyce Gelb, we can measure feminist influence on national politics by analyzing issues concerning public policy (1989). Doing so involves exploring: 1) agenda-planning, the roles of women groups in initiating and designing public policies; 2) the influence of feminist groups in decision making both in legislative and executive bodies; 3) the implementation of policies in effect. The important objective of this analysis to evaluate the roles assumed by feminist groups in one or all of these important steps, including in the process of policy-making.

We can already note a number of women-friendly policies produced by the DPR post-reform, such as Law No. 23/2004 on the Eradication of Domestic Violence, Law No. 12/2006 on Citizenship, Law No. 21/2007 on the Eradication of Human Trafficking Crimes, Law No. 21/2007 on Health, Law No. 52/2009 on Demographic Developments and Family Building, Law No. 15/2011 on Election Organizer, Law No. 10/2007 on Elections, and Law No. 7/2012 on Social Conflict Mitigation. At the regional level, there are a number of regional regulations (Perda) that serve women's interests, such as the Perda on the Protection of Woman and Child Victims of Violence, Perda on Free Birth Certificates, Perda on Women's Empowerment, and Perda on Child Marriage Prevention. Additionally, the government also issued Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in Development. On the other hand, there are draft policies that are still in the deliberation process and are yet to be made into laws, for example the draft bill on the protection of domestic workers, the draft bill on gender justice and equality, and the draft bill on the eradication of sex crimes.

Writings in JP92 discuss several key questions that concern women and public policy, seen from various angles. How does the implementation of policies—both policies specifically aimed at women and those that aren't—affect women's lives? What lessons can be learned

from women's efforts to promote pro-feminist public policies? How do we develop the foundation for women's political philosophy? These questions are narrated in the Topik Empu column, which discusses the implementation of social security policies manifested in the Healthy Indonesia Card; policies on the protection of women's rights in detention centers, specifically concerning the fulfillment of female inmates' unique needs; and policy on land rights by highlighting Indonesian women's

access to land rights in a mixed marriage. Topik Empu also narrates Hannah Arendt's idea of the politics of women and the experiences of grass-roots women in promoting pro-feminist public policy at the regional level. Additionally, a discussion on the extent in which policies drafted and implemented by Joko Widodo's administration have accommodated women's interests is published under the Research column. Enjoy!

(Anita Dhewy)

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Discrepancies in the Implementation of the Indonesian Health Card (KIS)-Contribution Assistance Recipients (PBI): Studies in Jakarta, Bogor, and Depok

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 1, February 2017, pp. 1-8, 21 ref.

This paper does not only provide an illustration of the National Social Security Healthcare System, but also narrates findings based on a direct field study of the registration process for the Indonesian Health Card (KIS)-Contribution Assistance Recipients (PBI) for underprivileged women, minorities, and other vulnerable groups in Jakarta, Bogor, and Depok's poor areas. This study was performed by semester-5 students at UHAMKA's Department of Primary School Teacher Education, in October-December 2016, to fulfill a 'social service' assignment in a course on *Kemuhammadiyah* (Aspects of Muhammadiyah).

Keywords: National Social Security System (SJSN), the Healthcare and Social Security Agency (BPJS Kesehatan), National Health Insurance (JKN), Indonesian Health Card (KIS), Contribution Assistance Recipients (PBI), minority groups, vulnerable groups.

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Meeting the Special Needs of Women Prisoners and Detainees: A Study in 12 Women's Correctional Facilities

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 1, February 2017, pp. 9-17, 1 table, 20 ref.

Just like free women, women inmates and detainees also have special needs, which having to do with women's biological and psychological conditions, as well as women's vulnerabilities. In Indonesia, the government's commitment to fulfill these special needs began with the signing of a number of national and international regulations. The commitment's realization is mandated to the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, in this case the Directorate General of Corrections who responsible for crime affairs practices in Indonesia. To gauge government's resolve in executing this commitment, Center for Detention Studies performed survey of correctional quality service at 12 women correctional centers, involving 385 women inmates and 35 women detainees throughout 4 (four) different periods in 2013-2015. Study results show that the commitment to fulfill the special needs of women inmates and detainees has not been executed well. Strong patriarchal paradigm that women aren't meant to commit crime has caused many elements in women correctional center lack of gender sensitivity. From the correctional building's construction to the treatment guidance, it shows that women are not expected to be in correctional center. As a result, women who live in correctional center experience various form of neglect, particularly the neglect of women's special rights.

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Access to Equal Right to Property: A Study of the Struggles of Indonesian Women in a Transnational Marriage

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 1, February 2017, pp. 19-28, 1 table, 16 ref.

This paper examines the personal experiences of Indonesian women citizens (women WNI) married to foreign nationals in gaining access to their right to property and in challenging certain restrictions imposed by the state. This paper also explores strategies for the restoration of these women's rights, to be executed by the state, which has so far treated its citizens unfairly. These women's marital status has caused them to be discriminated against in the absence of a prenuptial agreement. This study uses a feminist-perspective qualitative methodology, reinforced by three theories, namely multicultural feminism, feminist legal theory, and access to justice theory. The study arrived at three findings. First, a prenuptial agreement places women WNI in the dilemmatic position of having to choose between accesses to right to property or merging assets. Second, certain efforts by these women to access their right to property are viewed by some as legal maneuvering and by others as legal breakthroughs. Third, a strong sense of kinship is needed so that we can be united in fighting for changes in discriminative policies, by getting involved and being open to invitations for voicing the ideas and experiences of women so that equal rights before the law may be restored—to unite in the struggle for change against discriminative policies, by involving and being involved in voicing women's experiences in order to restore equal rights before the law.

Keywords: Agrarian Law, access to justice, land rights, transnational marriage

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Encouraging Pro-Feminist Public Policy through the Gender Watch Movement: Studies in Gresik Regency

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 1, February 2017, pp. 29-35, 1 picture, 1 table, 9 ref.

Gender Watch is a strategy for advocating for policies that are based on pro-women data. Gender Watch was developed to improve poor and marginal women's access to government social protection programs as well as women's participation in such programs. With the establishment of the Schools for Women in Gresik, efforts made in the regency to improve women's access to social protection began with capacity building for poor women and organizing people at the grassroots level. In these schools, women collect data, work with many stakeholders, submit collected data to policy-makers, and oversee the Regional Development Planning Forum (*musrenbang*) in the village and

regency level. The work and contribution of the Schools for Women in development have compelled Gresik's regional government to commit to allocating budget for the schools and to replicate the Schools for Women model in several villages. The regional government's commitment is included in the Medium-Term Regional Development Plan (RPJMD), the City Work Plan (RKPD), and regent's regulation. This paper outlines organizational structuring and experiences at the grassroots level, as well as data-based advocacy efforts, which allowed the strategy for advocating for policies that emphasize the organizational structuring of grassroots women through Schools for Women to compel the regency government's to allocate budget at the village to regency level.

Keywords: Gender Watch, School for Women, grass-roots women, data-based advocacy.

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Hannah Arendt's Politics of Women in the Perspective of Philosophy

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 1, February 2017, pp. 37-46, 20 ref.

This article, titled "Hannah Arendt's Politics of Women in the Perspective of Philosophy," is the result of our philosophy research. Our goal is particularly to explore the philosophical concept of Hannah Arendt's politics of women and reveal the forms in which it's implemented, in the context of open access, participation, and political control involving women. Hannah Arendt's idea of politics is adopted for application as a political strategy to fight for women's political equality in Indonesia. Concepts, forms of implementation, and women's political strategy are analyzed through library research using the typical elements of philosophical research: interpretation, deduction and induction,

historical continuity, idealization, heuristics, and inclusive language. Using these methodological elements, it is found that women's political thought originates from Hannah Arendt's idea of labor. The idea lies in a private area which is regarded as the political basis of reproductive and the strength of birthrate. In addition, Hannah Arendt introduced the politics of women as a feminine ethics which is conceptually defined as the ability to forgive and to love. The politics of women at the praxis level, according to Hannah Arendt should emphasize the principle of equality in the public sphere and apply the typical feminine power.

Keywords: politics of women, political philosophy

Anita Dhewy. Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia.

Gender Perspective as a Mere Gesture: Feminist Policy Analysis of RPJMN 2015-2019 and KPPPA's Strategic Plan 2015-2019

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 1, February 2017, pp. 47-55, 22 ref.

Although RPJMN 2015-2019 states that policies will also go in the direction of gender mainstreaming, gender perspective has not actually become an integral part of the RPJM. In fact, some RPJMN 2015-2019 policies are still gender-neutral. The author uses the feminist policy analysis framework to uncover the limitations of RPJMN 2015-2019 and KPPPA's Strategic Plan 2015-2019 in using, translating, and implementing the gender perspective. Feminist analysis also found that sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) have not been recognized in RPJMN 2015-2019 and KPPPA's Strategic Plan 2015-2019. Moreover, women's issues and the concerns of other marginalized groups are potentially eliminated from development agendas due to policies that lean toward a new developmentalism model.

Keywords: feminist policy analysis, RPJMN 2015-2019, renstra KPPPA 2015-2019, gender perspective

Meeting the Special Needs of Women Prisoners and Detainees: A Study in 12 Women's Correctional Facilities

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Manuscript Chronology: received August 11, 2016; revised January 2, 2017; accepted for publication January 14, 2017

Abstract

Just like free women, women inmates and detainees also have special needs, which having to do with women's biological and psychological conditions, as well as women's vulnerabilities. In Indonesia, the government's commitment to fulfill these special needs began with the signing of a number of national and international regulations. The commitment's realization is mandated to the Ministry of Law and Human Rights, in this case the Directorate General of Corrections who responsible for crime affairs practices in Indonesia. To gauge government's resolve in executing this commitment, Center for Detention Studies performed survey of correctional quality service at 12 women correctional centers, involving 385 women inmates and 35 women detainees throughout 4 (four) different periods in 2013-2015. Study results show that the commitment to fulfill the special needs of women inmates and detainees has not been executed well. The strong patriarchal paradigm that women aren't meant to commit crime has caused many elements in women correctional center lack of gender sensitivity. From the correctional building's construction to the treatment guidance, it shows that women are not expected to be in correctional center. As a result, women who live in correctional center experience various form of neglect, particularly the neglect of women's special rights.

Keywords: women inmates and detainees, special needs fulfillment, correctional house and detention facility, Directorate Generale of Corrections, survey of correctional quality service

Introduction

Women as part of the social reality cannot be seen apart from all social phenomena, including the phenomenon of crime. Same as men, women can also be penalized and imprisoned if proven as guilty for committing crime because the state guarantees that all of its citizens have equal rights before the law.¹ This required law enforcement institutions to accommodate women correctional center. Each year, the number of women who occupy detention center increases, just as the rate of crime committed by women has continued to increase. Throughout 2012-2015, the Directorate General of Correction recorded an average increase of women detainees at 7.56% and average increase of women inmates at 8.67% (smslap.ditjenpas.go.id, accessed on July 31, 2016; data processed by the writer).

The fact that women occupy correctional facilities brings particular consequences for the government. The government is responsible over the well-being of inmates and detainees. This responsibility is met by fulfilling basic needs, such as the need for clothes, meals, shelters, as well as needs concerning life upon return to society, such as school education and skills. Apart from these needs, women inmates also have other needs,

like women in general. These needs are strongly tied to the biological and psychological conditions of women, and also women's vulnerabilities. On these aspects, there are at least 2 (two) international regulations and 4 (four) national regulations that govern the fulfillment of women-special needs in correctional centers for women in Indonesia. These regulations, among others, cover guidance, services, and special attention for pregnant women and women with infant, reproductive health, and women inmates' psychological conditions. Fulfilling women inmates' special needs is the responsibility of the government, which must be fought for in order to protect the rights of women as part of human rights. Human rights are the rights of each individual, regardless of social, economic, cultural, and political status—including individuals found guilty by the law and are given a prison sentence, including women inmates.

To gauge the extent of the government's commitment in fulfilling these special needs of women inmates and detainees at Indonesia's correctional centers, Center of Detention Studies (CDS) collaborated with the Directorate General of Correction held survey of correctional quality services given to women inmates and detainees in correctional and detention centers that are run under the

Directorat General of Correction. This article will portray the reality life of women inmates and detainees living in correctional center, based on a survey in 12 (twelve) regions in Indonesia, using feminist perspective.

Survey on the Quality of Correctional Services

Survey of correctional quality service was initiated by the Center for Detention Studies, in collaboration with the Directorate General of Correction, as an element in the practice of external supervision. The survey was performed over a period of 4 (four) months in 2013-2015, at 12 (twelve) correctional facilities under the Directorate General of Correction, spread over 12 regions: Jakarta, Banten, Malang, Palembang, Bandung, Semarang, Aceh, Makassar, Bali, Lampung, Kupang, and Pontianak. The 12 facilities comprise: Women's Correctional Centers, Women's Detention Centers, and Men's Detention and Correctional Centers where women inmates were also held. Survey was performed through structured interviews, using questionnaires for 35 women inmates/detainees as respondents in each women's correctional and detention center. The number of respondents was determined to achieve dispersion measures that are close to dispersion measures in real life, as recommended by Guilford and Fruchter (1979), who believe that a minimum number of 30 participants is necessary for obtaining dispersion measures that resemble normal measures of dispersion.

Respondents were chosen using *purposive random sampling* method for obtaining sample, while the framework for sampling was determined based on certain criteria for retrieving sample randomly. For inmates, the criteria were: an inmate status, healthy, and has lived in the detention center surveyed for 1-3 years. For detainees, criteria were: a detainee status, healthy, and has lived in correctional/detention center for a minimum of one month and a maximum of one year. Apart from interviews, observation was also performed as a supporting method for collecting data. Data from interviews and observations are used to present a strong picture on the quality of services provided by correctional centers where the survey was performed.

A Review of Policies on the Protection of Women's Rights in Correctional Facilities

Efforts to protect the rights of women inmates and detainees have been realized in the establishment of several legal products, both in the form of international agreements ratified by Indonesia and national regulations on the general management of inmates and detainees.

a. Mandela Rules (Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners)

Mandela Rules or the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (SMR) are minimum standards and basic guidelines for developing regulations or policies and legal practices in regard to the treatment of prisoners and detainees. The Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners (SMR) was adopted in 1995 at the United Nations Congress as a response to crime prevention and the treatment of perpetrators of criminal acts. After several parts were revised, SMR was then adopted by the United Nations Assembly on December 17, 2015, under the name of Mandela Rules. Points relating to the fulfillment of women's special needs are addressed in several rules:

- Rule 11 on separation, which states that inmates must be separated based on categories such as sex, age, criminal record, legal reason for detention, and other reasons regarding special attention. More specifically, point "a" states that women inmates must be separated from men and held at detention facilities only for women. However, in an institution which receives both men and women, the whole of the premises allocated to women shall be entirely separate
- Rule 28 on special accommodations for pregnant women and women in delivery mentions that there shall be special accommodation for all necessary prenatal and postnatal care and treatment. Arrangements shall be made wherever practicable for children to be born in a hospital outside the prison. If a child is born in prison, this fact shall not be mentioned in the birth certificate.
- Rule 29 on a child stay along with inmate mother states that: first, a decision to allow a child to stay with his or her mother in prison shall be based on the best interests of the child concerned. Where children are allowed to remain in prison with mother inmate, provision shall be made for: internal or external childcare facilities staffed by qualified persons, where the children shall be placed when they are not in the care of their mother; child-specific health-care services, including health screenings upon admission and ongoing monitoring of their development by specialists; and children in prison with a mother shall never be treated as prisoners.
- Rule 48 on disciplinary sanctions state that instruments of restraint shall never be used on

women during labour, during childbirth and immediately after childbirth.

- Rule 52 on searches state that intrusive searches, including strip and body cavity searches, should be undertaken only if absolutely necessary. Prison administrations shall be encouraged to develop and use appropriate alternatives to intrusive searches. Intrusive searches shall be conducted in private and by trained staff of the same sex as the prisoner. Body cavity searches shall be conducted only by qualified health-care professionals other than those primarily responsible for the care of the prisoner or, at a minimum, by staff appropriately trained by a medical professional in standards of hygiene, health and safety.
- Rule 58 point 2 on contact with the outside world states that where conjugal visits are allowed, this right shall be applied without discrimination, and women inmate shall be able to exercise this right on an equal basis with men. Procedures shall be in place and premises shall be made available to ensure fair and equal access with due regard to safety and dignity; and
- Rule 81 on institutional personnel states that women inmates shall be attended and supervised only by women staff members. No male staff member shall enter the part of the prison set aside for women unless accompanied by a woman staff member.

b. United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Woman Prisoners and Non-Custodial Measures for Woman Offenders (The Bangkok Rules)

The Bangkok rules was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 2010 as guidelines for policy and law makers, correctional institutions, and correctional facility personnel, to fulfill the special characteristics and needs of women held at correctional centers. In general, there are 70 points focused on women's special needs, with several main points concerning women's special needs are emphasized, as follows:

- On admission, women inmates and detainees who have just arrived at a correctional/detention center are given the opportunity to contact her relatives and are given access to legal advice as well as all information about prison rules and regulation. They must also be given the opportunity to make arrangement with their children by taking into account the best interests of the children

- On registration, the number and personal details of the children of a woman being admitted to prison shall be recorded at the time of admission. All information relating to the children's identity shall be kept confidential, and the use of such information shall always comply with the requirement to take into account the best interests of the children.
- On allocation, women inmates and detainees must be placed in correctional/detention center close to their home or place of social rehabilitation.
- On personal hygiene, the availability of related accommodations must be adjusted to women's characteristics and hygiene needs, such as needs during menstruation, pregnancy, delivery, and post-delivery.
- On health service facilities, health checks include general health inspections (sexual transmitted diseases, mental health, reproductive health, substance dependency, and sexual violence experienced during prior detention periods) and health checks for children must also be performed by female health staff. During emergency situations, male medical personnel can perform health checks as long as they are accompanied by female personnel.
- On safety and security, points governed specifically include searches, discipline and punishment, and instrument of restraint. Checks must be performed using special procedures by competent and professional staff who are sensitive to women's integrity and dignity. Searches using supporting tools is prioritized as an alternative to body searches. Punishment by close confinement or disciplinary segregation shall not be applied to pregnant women, women with infants and breastfeeding mothers in prison.
- On contact with the outside world, correctional facilities are required to encourage and facilitate women inmates and detainees to contact with their family members as well as their legal representatives. The environment and personnel of facilities for visits by children must be friendly and favorable.
- On staff capacity, personnel must join a capacity building program so they can function as a medium for transferring information on guidance and care strategies for women inmates and detainees, and so that they can avoid all forms of discrimination and violations against women.

• On the special needs of pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers, as well as women with infants, correctional/detention center must provide: competent health care for mothers and their children, nutritional needs, and all supporting facilities such as private/separate spaces. Additionally, the relationship between mothers and children must be fostered. There are no rules prohibiting mothers from breastfeeding their children, and all decisions must be made in the best interest of children.

c. Undang-Undang RI No. 12 tentang Pemasyarakatan (Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 12/1995 on Correction)

Law Number 12/1995 on Corrections does not mention specific points explaining in detail about mandates to fulfill woman special needs. The only point that mentions the needs of women inmates is chapter 12 article (2), that treatment for women inmates must be held at women correctional center.

d. Peraturan Pemerintah RI No. 31/1999 tentang pembinaan dan Pembimbingan Warga Binaan Pemasyarakatan (Indonesian Government Regulation No. 31/1999 on the Treatment of Prisoners)

This regulation also does not specifically mention the implementation of mentoring for women inmates. Different treatment for women is regulated in chapter 52 article (5) on accompanying personnel, which states that the transfer of women inmates or juvenile must be accompanied by female correctional personnel.

e. Peraturan Pemerintah RI No. 32/1999 tentang Syarat dan Tata Cara Pelaksanaan Hak Warga Binaan pemasyarakatan (Indonesian Government Regulation No. 32/1999 on Requirements and Procedures for Executing the Rights of Prisoners)

Two points are mentioned in this regulation concerning the fulfillment of women's special needs. First point is additional food given to inmates and detainees who are pregnant or breastfeeding and additional food given to under 2 (two) years old children who are stay with their mothers, as mentioned in chapter 20 article (1) to (5). Second, the point on providing uniform is included in chapter 7, which states that: 2 (two) sets of uniform, 1 (one) set of work uniform, 2 (two) bras, 2 (two) pairs of underwear, 1 (one) sanitary napkin unit, and 1 (one) pair of slippers must be provided.

f. Peraturan Pemerintah No. 58/1999 tentang Syarat-Syarat dan Tata Cara Pelaksanaan Wewenang, Tugas, dan Tanggung Jawab Perawatan Tahanan (Indonesian Government Regulation No. 58/1999 on Requirements and Procedures for Executing the Authority, Tasks, and Responsibilities for the treatment of women detainees)

In this regulation, one point mentions women detainees' special needs is in chapter 28 articles (3) and (4), that regulates the right to additional food for detainee who are sick, pregnant, and breastfeeding, or have under 2 (two) years old children stay with them, according to doctor's recommendations.

Women Inmates and Detainees' Special Needs

Based on related provisions regarding the protection of women's rights, as already mentioned above, several points regarding women's special needs can serve as the basis for portraying real conditions of women inmates and detainees's life in Indonesia's correctional and detention center. These points are also focus of this survey. The first point has to do with registration and placement. This point covers procedures for identity checks, body searches, and physical inspections. These procedures require the presence of female staff and aid tools as mandatory requirements in the implementation of these acts, as mentioned in the Mandela and Bangkok Rules. The survey found that identity and physical checks were already performed according to procedure, which is to say that checks were performed by women. Nevertheless, body search with security screening tools could not yet be performed ideally due to the limited availability of the tools. From the 12 correctional facilities surveyed, Women's Correctional Center Class IIA in Malang received the highest score at only 60%, it means that search procedure using security screening tools was already executed at the facility, though the execution was not yet at 100%.

The second point has to do with accommodations covering toilet built to cover the body up to the neck and special toilets for pregnant mothers. Based on the survey, most women's correctional facilities had fulfilled the need for covered toilets as a way to protect and respect women inmates and detainees. From the 12 correctional facilities surveyed, only Women's Correctional Center Class IIA in Malang, Women's Correctional Center Class IIA in Palembang, and Detention Center Class IIA in Pondok Bambu had special toilet facilities for pregnant mothers. The limited structural and infrastructural toilet facilities

for pregnant mothers had caused pregnant women in correctional facilities to have to share toilets with other women in their cells.

The third point is on the availability of clean water to fulfill needs during menstruation. Data shows that the availability of water was not an issue at the 12 women's correctional facilities surveyed. But observation results showed that several correctional facilities still encounter difficulties in obtaining clean water. For example, at Women's Correctional Center Class III in Kupang, clean water had to always be supplied using water tank vehicles because there was not yet a structure built for collecting water as well as a pump to flow water to cells, so that water had to be placed in buckets to then be carried by inmates to cell toilets.

The fourth point has to do with providing clothing. Indonesian Government Regulation No. 32/1999 on Requirements and Procedures for Executing the Rights of Prisoners already determines that women inmates have the right to get uniforms, work clothes, underwear, bras, and women's praying veil (*mukena*) every 6 (six) months, as well as one packet of sanitary napkins (containing 12 units) per month. However, in reality, clothing needs could not be fulfilled completely. With the exception of uniforms, new clothes could not be provided on a regular basis, every 6 months, as was the case with sanitary napkins. Budget deficit was known to be the cause for the shortfall, causing women inmates and detainees to obtain clothing and sanitary napkins on their own, though they did not have income.

The next point concerns health services. Health services relating to women's special needs comprises gynecology services, services for female sexual violence victims, information on the handling of sexual violence victims during the period of detention, and checks for breast cancer as well as sexually transmitted diseases. Result shows that it was still difficult for women inmates and detainees to access health services, especially access to health services for ailments that often plague women in particular, such as breast cancer. The lack of access to health services was not only caused by limited medical structural and infrastructural facilities, but also the unavailability of doctors. Survey records show that at least 5 of the 12 correctional facilities surveyed were not equipped with doctors.

The sixth point is on the connection with the outside world, including visit spaces that are child-friendly. Survey data shows that most correctional facilities observed in the survey had made efforts to fulfill the requirement for child-friendly visitation spaces. Only the Lhoknga

Detention Center in Aceh and Correctional Facility Class II in Bali had not met this requirement well because these two facilities were not meant for women inmates and detainees. The Lhoknga Detention Center was meant for male detainees (and indeed several sections were still meant for male detainees), while Correctional Facility Class II in Bali was a correctional facility meant for men. The non-permanent status of women inmates at both facilities was the reason why the requirement for child-friendly visitation spaces was not yet adequately met.

The seventh point has to do with separation. Separating rooms or blocks for pregnant women, breastfeeding mother, and women with infants, as well as a certain distance between holding cells and the living spaces of women inmates and detainees are needs mandated in the Mandela and Bangkok rules. This is way, special rooms/blocks must be realized to fulfill the minimum standard of treatment for women inmates and detainees. Data from our survey shows that only 3 of the 12 facilities surveyed had applied these requirements. The distance requirement between inmates' living spaces and holding cells for women detainees had not been met because women's detention facilities were still limited in number. Most often there were one women's correctional facility in the jurisdiction of each regional office of the Ministry of Law and Human Rights.

The last point has to do with the fulfillment of provisions for pregnant mothers, breastfeeding mothers, and woman with infant. Our detailed explanation on the survey's data, as follows:

- The needs of pregnant mothers, which includes supplying milk, supplements and additional food. According to our survey data, these needs were not yet fulfilled in all women's correctional facilities observed in this survey. Of 12 correctional facilities, only Women's Correctional Facility Class IIA in Malang had fulfilled all of these needs. On the other hand, delivery was already referred to hospitals at almost all detention centers surveyed. Only women at Correctional Center Class IIA in Pontianak had limited access to this service.
- The needs of breastfeeding mothers. Like other pregnant mothers, the needs of nursing mothers also cover supplying milk, supplements, and additional food. These needs are also not fully met at most women's correctional center observed in this survey. Apart from providing milk, supplements and additional food are well provided for at the Women's Correctional Center Class IIA in Malang and in Palembang.

- The needs of women with infants and the needs of their children cover administrative needs (permit to bring a child or children under the age of 2 (two) years old and a record of the child or children's identities), free vaccination service, play area for children, milk, and additional food for children. From all these needs, only administrative needs were adequately fulfilled by the majority of correction center for women observed in this survey. Access to other types of facilities to fulfill remaining needs was still limited, especially the need for children's play area. Structural and infrastructural problems were the main reason for the failure to meet these needs. This is why, efforts to uphold the children's best interests are not yet executed as mandated by the Bangkok and Mandela Rules.

Based on an explanation of the survey's results, we can conclude that women inmates and detainees in the 12 correctional facilities surveyed were living in subpar conditions during their detention period. Apart from their freedom being taken away, restraints are placed over their right to access basic services to fulfill their needs, although provisions on the fulfillment of these needs are already regulated both in international and national regulations. On the other hand, their inmate or detainee status makes them vulnerable to sexual violence. Data from the survey point out that in fact as much as 2-9% of women had experienced sexual violence.²

Women and Crime: Women's Status in Social Structures and its Impact on Correctional Practices

The inadequate quality of services relating to women's special needs, as portrayed in the subchapter above, is tied to how the general public views women in social structures. Women are viewed as an inferior group without free will. This view is then enforced on the roles of women according to job division based on sex. In the traditional family ideology, Naffine (1997) explains that work division based on sex determines the father as the primary breadwinner and the mother as the nurturer and caregiver for the family (Supatmi & Sari 2007). This view then impacts the way society views the position of women who are actors in criminal events. As primary breadwinners, men perform more public interactions. Their activities are strongly tied actions that involve excitement and adrenaline. Women, on the other hand, as nurturers and caregivers for the family, interact more in the domestic sphere. Their activities are expected

nothing like activities that involve adrenaline or are seen as dangerous. This is why women are considered less likely to perform criminal acts, unlike men who have more opportunity to perform criminal acts due to their activities. Positivist criminology theory also mentions that crimes are usually perpetrated by men. This opinion is based on several studies that, in a constant manner, show that more men are involved in crime compared to women. The realist criminology perspective also portrays an identical phenomenon (Lanier & Stuart 2004, cited in Imran 2015). Furthermore, crimes are seen as having a close relationship with aggression. Aggression, in turn, is closely tied with men's image, because primitive activities in the hypothalamus influences sex hormones, particularly testosterone—more easily activated in men than women—which then impacts brain development (Dagun 1992).

If a crime committed by men are considered as unexceptional, then a crime committed by women are considered exceptional. The concept of crime as an activity that is mainly perpetrated by men with excessive masculinity is still dominant (Carlen 1985 qtd in Naffine 1997). This male-centered view blurs the suffering inflicted by men against women and places women in a weak position, because if a man who committed crime is a man with excessive masculinity, then a woman who committed crime must be a mad woman or a woman who wishes to be a man (Supatmi & Sari 2007). Women who committed crime are also called double violators, first because women are not socially expected to commit violations and second, because of the violation itself (Mustofa 2007). The negative stigma on former women inmates are also more strongly attached compared to former men inmates (United Nations & UNESCO Institute for Education 1995).

The assumption that women criminals are an exception phenomenon becomes a paradigm constructed in society. The dominance of said constructed patriarchal paradigm results in gender-insensitive public policies, including policies meant for correctional facilities (Bank 2003), and specifically, policies on detention facilities for women. In principle, detention facilities were not built for women, but rather for men. This is also expressed by Banks (2003):

Prison is an institution designed for men and one that seems confused about the issue of woman in prison. It has been adapted in order to incarcerate woman but the institution itself does not seem comfortable in this role. (Banks 2003)

A similar thought is also expressed in the introduction of the *UN Bangkok Rules on Women Offenders and Prisoners: Short Guide*, as follows:

Prisons and their regimes – from the architecture and security procedures to healthcare, family contact and training opportunities – are usually designed for men. (Penal Reform International 2013)

The above statement on architectural design and building models is clearly supported by the building type of the 12 correctional facilities surveyed. For example, 3 of the 12 correctional centers surveyed were correctional center with an official status and formally operates as correctional facilities for adult men; Lhoknga Detention Center's building was meant for men and was then converted to accommodate women inmates and prisoners³; Women's Correctional Center Class IIA in Tangerang and Women's Correctional Center Class IIA in Semarang are prison structures from the Dutch colonial period meant for men; finally, Women's Correctional Facility Class III in Kupang, though the building was new, the design and building model was made exactly like the Men's Detention Center Class IIB in Kupang.

If the design and building model of women's facilities were, in fact, meant for men, then gender-insensitive perspectives will severely influence the fulfillment of needs, when women inmates and prisoners have social, psychological, and health needs that are different from those of men (Banks 2003). This has an unconscious impact on the implementation of services provided by women's detention centers, which then causes the limited right to access basic services to fulfill life needs, especially relating to special needs of women inmates and detainees in correctional facilities. In this situation, the role of correctional center for women as perpetrators of crime in the end is limited to taking away freedom, when these facilities' goals of nurture and guidance become blurred due to limitations in fulfilling inmates and detainees at women's correctional centers.

Conclusion

Efforts to fulfill the special needs of women inmates and detainees are certainly not easy, but it does not mean that current conditions cannot be altered. Although in principle correctional facilities were not built with women in mind, but the development of correctional facilities for women that are women-friendly should still be realized in the near future. The handling of women inmates and detainees should be friendlier and should be in line with

women's special needs, so that it adheres to Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming mandated to all governmental institutions, including correctional and detention centers. In this case, a gender-perspective awareness must be fostered and an awareness of gender mainstreaming among policy makers and executors are crucial. This way, policies will not be disjointed from gender mainstreaming principles.

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Rules/Regulations

Mandela Rules (Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners)

United Nations Rules for the Treatment of Woman Prisoners and Non-Custodial Measures for Woman Offenders (the Bangkok Rules)

Undang-Undang RI No. 12 tentang Masyarakat (Law of the Republic of Indonesia No. 12/1995 on Correction)

Peraturan Pemerintah RI No. 31/1999 tentang pembinaan dan Pembimbingan Warga Binaan Masyarakat (Indonesian Government Regulation No. 31/1999 on the Treatment of Prisoners)

Peraturan Pemerintah RI No. 32/1999 tentang Syarat dan Tata Cara Pelaksanaan Hak Warga Binaan masyarakat (Indonesian Government Regulation No. 32/1999 on Requirements and Procedures for Executing the Rights of Prisoners)

Peraturan Pemerintah No. 58/1999 tentang Syarat-Syarat dan Tata Cara Pelaksanaan Wewenang, Tugas, dan Tanggung Jawab Perawatan Tahanan (Indonesian Government Regulation No. 58/1999 on Requirements and Procedures for Executing the Authority, Tasks, and Responsibilities for the treatment of women detainees)

Appendix

Table: Results of a Qualitative Survey on the Correctional Centers' Services Concerning Women's Special Need Items

Women's Special Need Items	Women's Correctional Center Class IIA, Tangerang	Women's Correctional Center Class IIA Malang	Women's Correctional Center Class II A Palembang	Detention Center Class IIA, Pondok Bambu	Women's Correctional Center Class IIA, Bandung	Women's Correctional Center Class IIA, Semarang	Lhoknga Detention Center (for Women)	Women's Correctional Center Class IIA, Sungguminasa	Women's Correctional Center Class IIA, Lampung	Correctional Center Class II Bail (for Women)	Women's Correctional Center Class III, Kupang	Correctional Center Class IIA, Pontianak (for Women)
Registration and Placement												
Searches using supporting instruments	22,86	60	25,71	17,14	8,57	31,42	28,57	23	31	23	49	26
Accommodations												
Toilets covered up to the neck	97,14	94,29	97,14	93,57	71,42	94,28	91,42	91	29	100	94	69
Special toilets for pregnant women	11,43	85,71	83,57	65,71	17,14	5,71	0	9	0	3	6	3
Sanitation and Personal Hygiene												
The availability of clean water during menstruation	68,57	100	77,14	65,71	97,14	82,85	85,71	97	83	91	97	74
Clothing Needs												
Uniforms every 6 months	31,43	57,14	20,71	0	17,14	37,14	5,71	34	17	26	34	43
Work clothes every 6 months	25,71	42,86	14,29	0	22,85	34,28	11,42	54	17	23	26	23
Panties	14,29	37,14	71	0	5,7	2,85	2,85	6	0	3	0	3
Bras	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Women's praying veil	25,71	95	55	0	31,42	42,85	31,42	17	14	9	6	14
The availability of sanitary napkins (1 pack of 12 per month)	62,86	80	29,29	5,71	2,85	11,42	2,85	6	0	31	74	0
Health Care												
Gynaecology services	65,71	74,29	62,86	40	62,85	62,85	0	66	54	74	11	26
Handling of female victims of sexual violence	31,43	25,71	51,43	37,14	14,28	42,85	8,75	40	14	26	11	17
Information on the handling of sexual crimes during detention period	8,57	28,57	37,86	8,57	5,71	34,28	5,71	23	20	20	9	14
Checks for breast cancer	25,71	48,57	57,14	11,43	28,57	37,14	8,57	49	83	20	11	51
Checks for sexually transmitted diseases	68,57	85,71	88,57	42,86	77,14	82,85	25,71	83	91	86	26	69
Violence												
Groped	0	0	5,71	2,86	0	0	5,72	0	6	0	0	9
Asked to show certain body parts	0	0	5,71	0	0	0	2,86	0	6	0	0	9

Asked to masturbate	0	0	8,57	0	0	0	2,86	0	6	0	0	9
Asked to perform oral sex	0	0	5,71	0	0	0	2,86	0	6	0	0	9
Relationship with the Outside World												
A child-friendly visitation space	60	77,14	85,71	60	60	65,71	48,57	100	60	37	71	60
Separation												
Special rooms/blocks for pregnant women	25,71	100	91,43	97,14	8,57	20	0	9	0	3	9	3
Special rooms/blocks for breastfeeding mothers	17,14	100	94,29	85,71	31,43	8,57	2,85	20	0	3	3	3
Special rooms/blocks for women with infants	8,57	100	85,71	94,29	25,71	11,42	2,85	26	0	6	0	6
Detention cells located closed to living spaces of occupants	34,29	25,71	40,71	25,71	54,29	34,28	31,42	57	37	49	26	17
The Special Needs of Pregnant Women, Breastfeeding Mothers, and Women with Infants												
Permitted to bring a child along a child under two years old	85,71	68,57	85,71	74,29	74,29	48,57	88,57	100	54	20	80	26
Documentation of the identities of children in the registry book	91,43	65,71	97,14	54,29	71,43	65,71	54,28	97	64	63	66	31
Free vaccination for women with infants	74,29	88,57	80	51,43	65,71	45,71	8,57	86	40	83	26	14
Playing room for children	8,57	80	71,43	11,43	2,86	8,57	2,85	11	6	0	3	3
Women in delivery are referred to hospitals	91,43	100	97,14	88,57	97,14	91,42	80	100	86	100	94	40
Supply of milk for children	37,14	85,71	82,86	42,86	34,29	37,14	0	9	6	20	11	3
Supply of milk for pregnant mothers	31,43	62,86	54,29	45,71	22,86	45,71	0	3	0	11	17	9
Supply of milk for breastfeeding mothers	31,43	60	54,29	42,86	22,86	42,85	0	6	3	11	9	9
Supply of additional supplements for pregnant women	51,43	68,57	68,57	62,86	42,86	48,57	5,71	43	31	51	31	3
Supply of additional supplements for breastfeeding mothers	48,57	68,57	68,57	60	40	51,42	5,71	40	14	51	20	3
Supply of additional food for pregnant mothers	17,14	68,57	48,57	37,14	17,14	40	2,85	9	6	11	9	6
Supply of additional food for breastfeeding mothers	14,29	68,57	48,57	37,14	17,14	34,28	2,85	11	9	11	6	6
Additional food for children	31,43	82,86	71,43	42,86	40	34,28	2,85	60	6	9	31	6
Waived sanctions for pregnant women, breastfeeding mothers, and for women with infants	94,29	48,57	60	34,29	37,14	25,71	34,28	31	37	23	31	26

End Notes

- 1 This is already firmly stated in chapter 27 article (1) of the 1945 Constitution, in the statement, "All citizens are equal before the law and the government, and are required to uphold the law and the government without exception."
- 2 Based on the data, such situations occur at the Women's Correctional Center Class II in Palembang, the Lhoknga

Detention Center, Women's Correctional Center Class IIA in Lampung, and Correctional Center Class IIA in Pontianak

- 3 When the survey was performed in June 2014, male inmates and detainees were still present at the Lhoknga Detention Center

Expression of Gratitude to Reviewers

1. Prof. Mayling Oey-Gardiner (Universitas Indonesia)
2. Dr. Pinky Saptandari (Universitas Airlangga)
3. Dr. Kristi Poerwandari (Universitas Indonesia)
4. Dr. Ida Ruwaida Noor (Universitas Indonesia)
5. Dr. Arianti Ina Restiani Hunga (Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana)
6. Dr. Phill. Ratna Noviani (Universitas Gajah Mada)
7. Antarini Pratiwi Arna (Oxfam in Indonesia)

AUTHOR GUIDELINES

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.

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