

Women and Public Policy

Editorial

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Articles

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

Yulianti Muthmainnah

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

Lilis Lisnawati, Nadia Utami L & Gatot Goei

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

Rinawati Prihatiningsih

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

Iva Hasanah

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

Hastanti Widy Nugroho, Mukhtasar Syamsuddin & Ali Mudhofir

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

Anita Dhewy

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Contents

Editorial

Women and Public Policy	iii
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Articles

- Discrepancies in the Implementation of the Indonesian Health Card (KIS)-Contribution Assistance Recipients (PBI): Studies in Jakarta, Bogor, and Depok 1-8
Yulianti Muthmainnah
- Meeting the Special Needs of Women Prisoners and Detainees: A Study in 12 Women's Correctional Facilities... 9-17
Lilis Lisnawati, Nadia Utami L & Gatot Goei
- Access to Equal Right to Property: A Study of the Struggles of Indonesian Women in a Transnational Marriage. 19-28
Rinawati Prihatiningsih
- Encouraging Pro-Feminist Public Policy through the Gender Watch Movement: Studies in Gresik Regency 29-35
Iva Hasanah
- Hannah Arendt's Politics of Women in the Perspective of Philosophy 37-46
Hastanti Widy Nugroho, Mukhtasar Syamsuddin & Ali Mudhofir
- Gender Perspective as a Mere Gesture: Feminist Policy Analysis of RPJMN 2015-2019 and KPPPA's Strategic Plan 2015-2019..... 47-55
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)

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 22 No. 1, February 2017

Abstracts Sheet

Yulianti Muthmainnah. Universitas Muhammadiyah Prof. DR. Hamka (UHAMKA), Jakarta, Indonesia.

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.

Lilis Lisnawati, Nadia Utami L & Gatot Goei. Center for Detention Studies, Jakarta, Indonesia.

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.

Rinawati Prihatiningsih. Gender Studies Program, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta, Indonesia.

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

Iva Hasanah. Women's Groups and Source of Livelihoods (KPS2K), Sidoarjo, Jawa Timur, Indonesia.

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.

Hastanti Widy Nugroho, Mukhtasar Syamsuddin & Ali Mudhofir.
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Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

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

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

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Abstract

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.

Introduction

Win (27 years old) already had a Jamkesmas (Public Health Insurance) card because, as a poor housewife, she qualified for the program. When she was pregnant with her second child, she couldn't decide where to deliver her baby. The midwife in Win's village advised her to go to the hospital closest to her home, but the closest hospital was located in a different district. Win wanted to use her Jamkesmas card and deliver her baby at the Regional General Hospital (RSUD) in the city of Gresik, but the RSUD was about 50 km from her home and she did not have the money to travel to the hospital and back. Although all services are free with a Jamkesmas, drivers are not always available when a patient requires an ambulance for transport from the local clinic. Panicked, Win finally followed the midwife's advice and borrowed money to cover the cost of childbirth. Now she has to pay off her debt in installments and her financial situation has worsened. Poverty impacted Win's ability to make decisions both for herself as a woman as well as for her family (Hasanah 2016).

This type of predicament is a partial picture of women's poverty in Mondoluku Village Wringinanom Gresik, one of the many border villages with little

access to public facilities in their respective regencies. The lack of access not only has to do with low incomes or economic factors; social factors also contribute. For example, society's perception that women's role should be confined to the domestic. This view also restricts women, placing them in limited contexts, so that they lack access to decent employment and even to important decision-making process in their home villages. In fact, women have to be responsible over their households and make sure that all domestic needs are fulfilled on a daily basis. As a result, it's very difficult for women who are part of the Poor Households category to overcome their poverty. So far, impoverished women have not been acknowledged as important stakeholders in solving the problem of poverty because their existence has not been taken into account—which is why poverty alleviation programs have not touched on changes in the conditions of poverty experienced by these women.

Problems in Poverty Alleviation Programs

Poverty, according to the government, is the condition of living under the standard line of minimum basic needs, both needs relating to sustenance and other types of needs. The line is called the poverty line,

or the poverty threshold. The poverty line is marked by the amount of rupiah needed by an individual to pay for sustenance equivalent to 2,100 kilo calories per day and non-sustenance needs comprising shelter, clothing, health, education, transportation, and various other types of items and services. This concept is apparent in the 14 criteria for poverty published by the Central Statistics Agency (BPS). The 14 criteria often create problems in their application, particularly in data collection throughout the regions. Discrepancies result in inaccurate data and can also trigger worse impacts, namely horizontal conflicts in communities. The centralistic criteria are considered too inflexible, and do not allow regions to determine or include their local contexts of poverty. For example, fisherwomen are still not acknowledged in statistics, when in the Pangka Jene Regency in the South Sulawesi Islands, many women derive their income from fishing.

The low rate of participation among poor communities in the planning and monitoring of poverty alleviation programs thus far will create difficulties in determining the extent of achievements in terms of changes experienced by the beneficiaries of these programs and efforts that must be done to improve programs already in implementation. Spaces for public participation are filled only by the government as representatives in charge of policy-making as well as those who are thought as experts in statistics, which means that spaces for public participation are focused on numbers without synchronizing qualitative findings in communities, findings that are important to consider. One of the reasons why poverty alleviation is difficult is the stark inequality in welfare in the country, considering income disparity can reach up to 100x, while in developed countries it can reach 10x, at most. Disparity is seen also when comparing rural regions and urban settings, so that it would be impossible to intervene without taking into account existing socio-economic contexts. Additionally, gender disparity has not yet been clearly identified in poverty alleviation programs designed by the government. So the important question to ask is: Are poverty alleviation programs able to reduce all poverty or do these programs only benefit certain groups?

Women as the Face of Poverty

Based on Indonesia's Demographic and Health Survey (SDKI), maternal mortality rate per 100,000 births is in gradual decline, from 390 (1991) to 334 (1997), and 307 (2003) and 228 (2007). But in 2012, the figure spiked to 359, not much different from 22 years ago. In the Global Gender Gap's 2014 report, Indonesia is ranked 97 in

gender gap, below poor countries such as Vietnam and Laos, and far below middle-income countries such as the Philippines, with a level-9 gender gap. The 30%-quota in parliament has not been met with only 17.3% women members of parliament. Under-age marriage is at 43.85%. Indonesia's National Commission on Violence against Women (Komnas Perempuan) recorded 279.760 cases of violence against women in 2013, with domestic violence making up the majority of cases at 263.285 cases. Komnas Perempuan recorded 282 discriminative policies as of December 2012.

Apart from micro poverty, Indonesia is also burdened with women's poverty, or the feminization of poverty. By using the Community-Based Gender Audit (AGBK) method in participative mapping performed in the Kesamben Kulon Village, it was found that there was not only a general problem of poverty, but also specific poverty, or women's poverty. This problem can also be observed in situations and conditions that have severe impacts on women, problems experienced by women and are often found across villages. There are 22 indicators for the feminization of poverty identified by the community of Kesamben Kulon Village. These indicators can be categorized based on several criteria: public and private sphere, socioeconomic class, basic education services, and women's health and rights. The findings, among others: issues of women domestic violence victims, women with low incomes, women school drop-outs, women who are illiterate, poor women without a jamkesmas, women with reproductive ailments, child marriage, and women without citizenship documents. Addressing all of these concerns requires special attention.

The marginalization of women in social contexts is a portrait of the feminization of poverty, which includes conditions of poverty that keep women or female heads of households away from access over important requirements for leaving said poverty, such as access to employment, access to equal wages, access to education, access to justice for violence, and access to to public participation and participation in politics. Known facts, such as the high number of women who receive low wages, women who experience domestic violence, etc., show that the results of the community-based gender audit are similar to study results that generalize poverty as a condition that is suffered more by women, that in the third world women and their children are most vulnerable to malnutrition, have least access to health care, clean water, sanitation, and other forms of social services (Todaro 2000, p. 170). Todaro also points out

that many women heads of households lack the capacity required for generating their own incomes and these women also lack control over their incomes. Additionally, according to Torado women have limited access to education, decent employment in formal sectors, social benefits, and employment opportunity programs created by governments. Women are therefore not left behind because they are inadequate and are incapable of participating in development, but rather due to unfair treatment and the opinion that the work they perform is not beneficial work (Shiva and Miles 2005, p. 83). Feminization of Poverty is therefore simultaneous growth in the population of women living below the poverty line (Moghadam 2005, p. 7).

Gender Watch as a Gender-Based Collective Monitoring Movement

The gender watch movement is an initiative for developing a movement that fights for the right to social protection for the welfare of poor citizens, women, and marginalized groups. The gender watch movement began with the development of community-based gender audit performed by Institut Kapal Perempuan in several regions in NTT, NTB, and South Sulawesi. Community-based gender audit is an innovation inspired by social audits already performed by non-governmental organizations. The difference is, community-based gender audit is conducted by direct beneficiaries or grass-roots communities.

In its development, community-based gender audit was then strengthened by a multi-stakeholder movement called the gender watch. This movement is hoped to be carried out through 4 main strategies: (1) Knowledge development by enhancing knowledge on women's leadership and social protection systems. Recommendation for an inclusive and transformative gender-based social protection system by the government. (2) Data-based advocacy for the government's social protection programs to encourage policies and local government budgets that are pro-poor and pro-gender. (3) Development of poor women's leadership and capacity. (4) Strengthening national and local networks for facilitating data-based advocacy for social protection programs. These steps are performed to alleviate the problem of the feminization of poverty, so that policies and budgeting that can improve services for poor women (pro-feminist) and marginal groups (inclusive) can be created, especially in providing social security. Second, to encourage the government to integrate a gender and inclusive perspective in the

system for collecting data on poverty and its monitoring models. Third, so that village and regional governments are willing to adopt a system for collecting data on poverty and a monitoring model that has a gender, inclusive, and transformative perspective.

The first strategy will succeed if stakeholders are capable and are working together to ensure that monitoring results can serve as the basis for creating pro-women policies. But external factors, in this case public pressure, must also be consolidated through the strengthening of resource centers, both at the national and regional level, as centers for the development of systems for collecting data on poverty as well as alternative monitoring models for social protection programs. Three requirements must be fulfilled in order to move village governments to create pro-feminist policies, namely: empowering grass-roots women, in this case poor women for developing schools for women that can function as a center for learning and for building women's leadership; performing data-based advocacy; and improving women's livelihoods. By taking these steps, it's hoped that women leaders will be involved in the process of decision-making through the *musrenbang* (development planning forum) at the village level through the regency level. Additionally, women will have the capacity to perform data-based advocacy for development programs.

Schools for Women to Produce Grass-Roots Women Leaders

How to bring an end to women's poverty remains a significant question and is the reason why feminists are still restless. Motivated by this restless, feminists attempt to further analyze the feminization of poverty as a perspective. Though results of such analyses are various, a red thread brings them together: the belief that the failure of development to improve women's welfare comes from the inability of the advocates of development to acknowledge the subordination of women in patriarchal communities as a primary consideration, so that women are not seen as a main target group for development, as women are included as wives, mothers, and reproductive agents—in short, in roles distinct from men's. Efforts to bring feminist analyses to discourses on development have been made since the 1970s. For example, Ester Boserup (1910-1999), in her book titled *Woman's Role in Economic Development* challenges the assumption that women are secondary contributors in families and are extremely dependent on their husbands (1970). Boserup presented facts to support the importance of women's

roles in the third world in the agriculture industry, especially in Africa, where she performed her research. The assumption that women are simply reproductive agents are rendered erroneous.

The involvement of women as subjects of development as well as in contributing the the process of policy making can be encouraged among others through alternative education. Giroux categorizes the paradigm of education into three types: conservative, liberal, and critical (Giroux cited in Muchtar, Pulu & Salbiyah 2006). Formal education does not develop critical thinking and does not change how women perceive their condition, which is why women can still be said as naïve, as many are still unaware of their equal rights. Furthermore, there are still plenty of women who believe that there is no need for women to be intelligent because smart women are not liked by men and tend to argue or disobey. This naïveté causes an abundance of women's issues, such as a high rate of domestic violence, women's poor reproductive health, and women's low level of education due to the high drop-out rate among women. This is why a critical education that questions power relations, particularly the power relations between men and women, should be the basis for deconstructing women's misguided perceptions. Though one can't deny that schools for women and women's organizations that tend to deconstruct perceptions will always be met with resistance from the status quo, which has always benefited from existing imbalance of power.

According to the report from a community-based gender audit performed in Kesamben Kulon Village, Wringinanom Subdistrict, Gresik, Jawa Timur—based on data produced from participative mapping tools and Venn diagrams—as many as 23 women in the village are known to be involved in village activities (Hasanah 2015b). These women are Family Welfare Guidance (PKK) members, wives of village officials and wives of religious figures, who belong to well-to-do families. This supports the opinion that it's difficult for women in poverty to participate in important decision making processes in their villages, such as to public decisions regarding village development planning. Poor women are more heavily burdened with economic hardship compared to middle- or high-income women (or women in middle- or high-income families), so that their free time must be used productively in order to meet basic necessities. From the definition of participation as mentioned above,

based on data from the community-based gender audit, 3 types of participation are still low, namely political, social, and economic participation among poor villagers, particularly women.

Because of their naïve perception, both well-off and poor women can still be said as not yet participative, according to the true definition of participation. Middle- and high-income women are still at an advantage in terms of political participation; these groups of women can still become candidates for regional or village leadership because they have the money to fund the election process, which requires a lot of capital. On the other hand, poor women are only involved as passive voters, victims of money politics. Because of this situation, the gender-equal education model in schools for women is developed for marginal women in poverty. This type of education for women is cultivated to become a learning process that empowers, and is aimed at developing initiatives by women for improving their own welfare, their family's, as well as their community's welfare.

Schools for Women, which came into being in 5 provinces in 2014, have successfully organized grassroots women. Through these schools, women's critical awareness is built in stages, starting with the smallest group unit up to the village and regency level. The schools' model for learning, which integrates critical thinking process, life skills, and the organizing of women in communities, is hoped to produce grassroots women leaders. Through this integration, marginal women's bodily and political autonomy can be created and strengthened, and can someday improve women's bargaining power, in their interactions with their husbands, families, and communities. In other words, women will not only be active in decision making, both in the private and public domains, but will have authority over their own bodies and over their families and communities.

Gender Watch as the Innovative Program of Gresik Regency's Government

The development of the Gender Watch program, supported by MAMPU in partnership with Institut Kapal Perempuan Jakarta and local partners in several provinces, has been in progress since 2013 and has received positive response from local governments, both municipal and regency governments.

Tabel 1. Gender Watch's program sites in Indonesia.

Local Partners	Provinces	Region
KPS2K East Java	East Java	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mondoluku Village, Kesamben Kulon Village, Sumber Gede Village, Sooko Village, Wringin Anom Subdistrict, Gresik Regency
LPSDM NTB	West Nusa Tenggara (NTB)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bayan Village, Bayan Subdistrict, Lombok Utara Regency Tenige Village and Sokong Village, Tanjung Subdistrict, North Lombok Regency Sukadane Village, Pujut Subdistrict, North Lombok Regency Pijot Village, Ketapang Raya Village, Kruak Subdistrict, East Lombok Regency Montong Betok Village, Montong Gading Subdistrict, Lombok Timur Regency
YKPM South Sulawesi	South Sulawesi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mattiro Kanja Village, Mattiro Uleng Village, Mattiro Bombang Village, and Mattiro Baji Village, North Liukang Tupabiring Subdistrict, Pangkajene Kepulauan Regency
Institut Kapal Perempuan	DKI Jakarta	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Municipal village of Rawajati, Pancoran Subdistrict, South Jakarta Municipal village of Bidara Cina, Jatinegara Subdistrict, and municipal village of Jatinegara Kaum, Pulogadung Subdistrict, East Jakarta
Pembangkit Batang Tarandam	West Sumatra	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Municipal villages of Batu Gadang, Baringin, and Tarantang, Lubuk Kilangan Subdistrict, Padang

Source: Multi stakeholders Forum Workshop's Report, January 19-22, 2015, Gresik (Hasanah 2015c)

Several forms of support from regency/city and village/municipal village governments have been formalized in an MoU between stakeholders: regency governments, Institut Kapal Perempuan, and local partners. With the MoU, the pattern of collaboration performed to the lowest level, or the village/municipal village level. The government's interest is understandable because so far there has been little intervention from third parties—in this context, the involvement of civil societies in the regions to directly execute strategies in poverty alleviation programs, particularly social protection programs. Contribution here is meant as intervention for implementing participative data collection models to produce qualitative data, to fill in the disparity found in data collected thus far. Contribution also takes the form of monitoring and ensuring that participative policies are created, policies that are of course pro-feminist, through data gleaned and processed by the beneficiaries of these policies/programs.

The regency government of Gresik has included its full support in RPJMD 2015-2020 for developing the Gender Watch program by replication the school for women in several villages across the Gresik Regency. The regency government's support takes the form of regional budget allocation. The government of Gresik Regency is interested in developing the schools for women into an innovative program for the regions, because the organizational structuring of the schools for women has produced women cadres who are critical. The government's effort in improving the participation of underprivileged women who have been 'left out' is seen as remarkable (Hasanah 2015c). The concept of approaching communities through empowerment—an approach that has always been considered difficult—can now be seen in the school for women model found in

several villages and municipal villages. The government's insensitivity to women's subordination can finally be presented by members of the schools for women, through public forums organized through village and regency musrenbang (deliberation on development planning). Through a data-based presentation model and with the support of grass-roots organizational structuring, schools for women groups have become a regional innovation, by combining poverty alleviation programs with gender mainstreaming programs at the village and regency levels.

One of the several notable successes is the effectiveness of grassroots leaders in monitoring their communities' interests and guaranteeing that these interests are accommodated in the Medium-Term Village Development Plan (RPJMD) 2016-2021 in the Gresik Regency, with the allocation of budget for replicating schools for women in all villages in stages. The commitment of the regency government is not only seen in budget allocation but can also be observed in improvements in government services; for example, in the speedy processing of the Confirmation of Poverty Letter (SPM), to allow a patient to receive quick and proper health treatment. The government's attention to women's reproductive health has also been included in its routine agenda for poor women in villages, and access to reproductive health services is now convenient and free.

The Gender Watch movement's success in data-based advocacy has also helped villages obtain data for village profiles. In phase 1 of community-based gender audit participative mapping in several villages are performed, and results have been adopted by village administrations, both for official village profiles and in RPJMD. Village

administrations will also promote schools for women, so that the initiative can become one of the strategies for improving women's participation in monitoring poverty alleviation programs, particularly social protection

programs. Grassroots leaders who are part of community-monitoring teams contribute significantly to villages as their social capitals for obtaining volunteers to help with the data collection process.



Figure 1. Model for Participative Mapping of villages adopted by Kesamben Kulon for its village profile
 Source: Data from Community-Based Gender Audit phase, 2015 (Hasanah 2015a)

Conclusion

The Gender Watch movement is an initiative for building movements that fight for the right to social protection for the welfare of the poor, women, and marginal groups. The movement has produced alternative data on poverty that are integrated with indicators for a gender disparity index and has conceived groups that are organized and critical as part of a collection of groups that contribute to the implementation of the state's responsibility to fulfill its citizens' basic rights as well as bring about policy and budgeting transformations to produce pro-poor and gender-responsive policies and budget allocations at the village, regency, and national levels. Furthermore, Gender Watch has made a recommendation for the central government [to create] a social protection system with a gender, inclusive, and transformative perspective. The movement also aims to encourage the creation of policies that serve the interests of the poor, marginal groups, and minorities, and are

oriented toward gender equality, good governance, and democratization process. To achieve all this, the active participation of poor and marginal women in monitoring as part of community-monitoring teams is a requirement. Additionally, social protection programs for poor and marginal women must reach their target groups so that these groups can enjoy the programs' benefits and escape poverty. Women are still a majority group in Indonesia and women are vulnerable to poverty because of the prevailing dominant patriarchal culture that can marginalize women through economic means, as well as social, cultural, and political means, so that women are kept in the domestic sphere, a space that is in the end subordinated by the state. Systematic efforts and initiatives are therefore necessary so that women can escape the marginalization and impoverishment process. The job of organizing communities must also touch on poor women's groups, with critical education as its primary element to improve women's critical thinking

skills and to strengthen women's capacity for performing transformative actions. Evidence-based advocacy is understood as strengthening grassroots women's groups to that these groups can become main actors and spearhead data collection, and so that these women's groups can monitor the data collected, to ensure that they reach their end goal of advocacy. The interests of women must be accommodated and transformations to more equal and just conditions must happen.

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