

Indonesian Feminists' Discourse and Politics

Editorial

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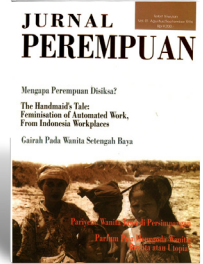
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Anita Dhewy and Bella Sandiata

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Indonesian Feminists' Discourse and Politics

The political reform in 1998 has brought a change to Indonesia's political situation, from an authoritarian system to democracy, from a centralized to a decentralized government, and from military supremacy to civilian supremacy. This change also had implications for the socio-political movements in Indonesia, including the women's movement.

The Indonesian women's movement was actively involved and became an important part of the fight for reformation. Furthermore, the women's movement introduced a new political culture based on the ethics of care in the midst of masculine political culture. This can be seen in the actions and strategies taken by the women's movement in the face of the May 1998 riots and social conflicts using the issues of SARA (ethnicity, religion, race and intergroup) in various regions.

During the era of reformation, the Indonesian women's movement also offered new discourses, which broke the separation between the private and the public. This discourse was embodied in policies that favor women, such as the Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence in 2004. The Indonesian women's movement has also incorporated women's issues into the political agenda. This can be seen in the birth of a 30 percent quota policy for women's representation in the Election Law and Political Party Law since 2002. At policy level, a number of pro-women laws have been ratified even though the implementation in many instances is still somewhat lacking.

In short, after 20 years of reformation, the women's movement and feminist discourse continues to develop. The development of the women's movement is evident in the emergence of various organizations established to voice and defend women's interests in various issues, such as diversity of gender identity, disability, indigenous women, women migrant workers, domestic workers, and much more.

However, twenty years after the reformation, the fundamental issues that women have fought for long ago have not been fully resolved yet. Until now, women still face fundamental problems such as maternal mortality, child marriage, human trafficking, and the wage gap. The issue of violence and discrimination based on gender still continues, such as rape and sexual abuse, as well as persecution of LGBT.

The struggle of the women's movement is not over simply because there has been an emergence of various regulations and policies that accommodate gender inequality. The reformation also provided space for the emergence of religious-based conservatism and puritanism, which exercise control and restrictions on women. The state increasingly facilitates the tendency of violence and discrimination against women through regional regulations that discriminate against women and marginalized groups.

Faced with this situation, the women's movement continues to look for ways and discourse to push the political agenda of women in the public sphere, starting from the national level to the grassroots. Women's collective action is one method of the women's movement that aims to bring demands in the public sphere while still carrying on women's gender identity. The women's movement does not stop at women's issues, but also penetrates wider public problems, environmental sustainability and social justice. The articles in this edition of *Jurnal Perempuan* show the efforts of women's movements and feminist discourses to keep fighting in various domains and issues, starting from the basic movement at the grassroots level to advocacy movements at policy level, from a small scope at village level to national scale.

All collective actions involving collective actors and gender discourse emphasize that women's movements have an impact and push for important social change—not only for families, but also communities, governments and society at large. **(Anita Dhewy)**

Abstracts Sheet

Titiek Kartika Hendrastiti (Public Administration Department, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Universitas Bengkulu, Bengkulu, Indonesia)

Oral Story of Women's Anti-mining Group in Sumba: A Narrative of Subaltern Movement for Food Sovereignty

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 1-11, 1 table, 2 image, 15 ref.

This article analyzes the meaning of the anti-gold mining group oral story from Praikaroku Jangga Village, Central Sumba Regency, East Nusa Tenggara. This documentation is important to record the dynamics of the history of local women's movements in the post-reformation era Indonesia in 1998. This study uses a postcolonial feminist ethnographic approach. The female anti-gold mine forces identify as a subaltern movement, whose struggle goes beyond practicality rejecting the gold mining corporation operations. Their speeches about the movement show that the direction of their resistance leads to food independence and sovereignty from extractive business aggression. To maintain their space of life, the women's forces were only connected by words of experience and knowledge of *adat* and tradition. Postcolonial feminist ethnography explains the dis/interconnectivity between the interests of the state, political economic power, local-national-global. The construction of this anti-mining women's discourse shows the strength of women as agents in caring for natural resources.

Keywords: Central Sumba women's movement, food sovereignty, postcolonial feminist ethnography, subaltern, women's agency

Anne Lockley¹, Lies Marcoes¹, Kharisma Nugroho¹ & Abby Gina² (¹Migunani, Yogyakarta, Indonesia; ²Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Women's Collective Action for Empowerment in Indonesia

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 13-24, 7 table, 1 image, 6 ref.

Women's groups in Indonesia have used women's collective actions since the early 20th century. The collective action of women in this study is defined as the formal or informal formation and activity of groups or networks of predominantly women that aim to bring about positive changes in women's lives. Eight case studies of women's collective actions discussed in this study reveal a variety of backgrounds, motives and agencies in those collective actions. This variety exists due to the different and specific conditions and needs of each of the women's groups. The object of the study in this research were eight collective actions, namely: Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA), Serikat Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA), Sekolah Perempuan, Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia Parepare branch, Migrants Workers United Wonosobo (MUIWO), Kelompok Bunda Kreatif, Community Center, and Posko Lestari and Mentari. The data of the research was collected through document reviews, surveys, and in-depth interviews. This research finds that the involvement of women in collective actions stems from gender inequality that they experience in their daily lives. Through the collective actions, the women were empowered to strengthen their access to social services and legal protection. This research also finds there was a growing understanding about the concept of gender inequality among the women who were involved in the collective actions.

Keywords: women's collective action, empowerment, gender inequality, participation

Akhmad Misbakhul Hasan¹, Betta Anugrah¹ & Andi Misbahul Pratiwi² (¹Seknas FITRA, Jakarta, Indonesia; ²Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Gender-Responsive Budget Analysis on Social Protection Programs in Indonesia: A Case Study in Two Districts and A City

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 25-38, 2 table, 6 graph, 16 ref.

Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 9 of 2000 concerning on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development has an impact on the planning and implementation of public policy in Indonesia. Public policy becomes an important arena for the struggle to realize gender equality and justice. One of the government's commitments in this matter can be seen through Gender-Responsive Budgeting (GRB). This study analyses gender-responsive budgeting in social protection programs in Indonesia, with case studies in three locations, namely Gunungkidul Regency, North Lombok Regency, and Padang City. Data collection is carried out by in-depth interviews and literature studies, including the Indonesian Budget and Regional Government Budget documents. This study conducted GRB analysis in three regions with three categories of budget expenditure analysis, namely specifically identified gender-based expenditure, equal employment opportunity expenditure, and mainstream budget expenditure. The results of the study show that in several regions there have been gender-responsive specific budget allocations for affirmation programs for women, children, the elderly, and people with disability. However, it can be seen that the budget and gender-specific expenditure are still centralized in services that are identical to women's affairs, and not yet mainstreamed in all of the budget allocation.

Keywords: Gender-Responsive Budget, Social Protection Program, Gunungkidul District, North Lombok District, Padang City, Budget Analysis

Adivya Perdana and Delia Wildianti (PUSKAPOL LP2SP FISIP Universitas Indonesia, Depok, Indonesia)

Women Political Movements After 20 Years of Reformasi in Indonesia

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 39-47, 1 table, 21 ref.

This article raises the important question of the achievements of women political movements after 20 years of reformasi in Indonesia. This article intends to elaborate on two main issues, namely the reasons underlying the women's political movement, which has stagnated, and the offer of a strategy that needs to be discussed to attract young women to politics. There are three main issues that are important concerns in the women's political movement after the 1998 Reformation. First, the character of civil society organizations and political parties in Indonesia has its own peculiarities. Second, there is a space of political interaction that has been sufficiently built between political parties and groups of NGOs and women's organizations. Third, in electoral competitions, one of the important issues that still need to be explored further is the effort to win female candidates and regional head candidates so that the number of women's representation can be achieved. Connectivity between millennials and political parties needs to be an important means to be carried out in the near future when parties feel the need for nominating women and their victory must be immediately overcome.

Keywords: gender and politics, elections, women's political representation

Retno Agustin, Indriyati Suparno¹, Samsidar² & Bella Sandiata³
(¹KOMNAS Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia; ²Forum Pengada Layanan, Indonesia; ³Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Integrated Service for Empowerment: The Assessment of P2TP2A in 16 Provinces

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 49-62, 2 table, 5 graph, 8 ref.

The increasing number of violence against women every year raises question about the effectiveness of intergrated service programs for the women victims of violence. The government established the Integrated Service Center for Empowerment of Women and Children (Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak/ P2TP2A) in 2002, supported by National Commission on Violence against Women (KOMNAS Perempuan), in the effort to provide protection and empowerment of women victims of violence. However, the increasingly diverse forms of violence against women have resulted in complex needs of the victims. The question arises whether the function and performance role of P2TP2A has fully answered the needs of victims or not. This article focuses on assessments conducted by KOMNAS Perempuan and Forum Pengada Layanan (Service Provision Forum/FPL) in 16 provinces to re-examine the role of P2TP2A's functions and performance in meeting the needs of victims. Based on the findings of the assessment, there are still shortcomings in the system and performance of P2TP2A in taking care of victims' needs, such as lack of awareness as service providers, coordination problems among institutions and limited budget. This assessment uses in-depth interviews and document studies, by including the lessons from the P2TP2A Surakarta city, Bandung district and Central Java Province.

Keywords: P2TP2A, victims, integrated service, violence against women

Linda Susilowati and Petsy Jessy Ismoyo (Universitas Kristen Satya Wacana, Salatiga, Indonesia)

Women's Role in Central Java Agriculture: A Case Study on Qaryah Tayyibah Peasants Association

DDC: 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 63-71, 18 ref.

This research proves the importance of the role of women in the agricultural sector in Central Java through a case study of the Peasants Union Society movement Qaryah Thayyibah, in Salatiga, Central Java. This research uses qualitative methods, with data collection techniques through literature studies, observations, FGDs and in-depth interviews. The analysis technique uses categorization, interpretation and conclusions from the results of data collection. This research shows that women have a key role in the development of the agricultural sector. Therefore SPPQT's programs for empowering female farmers include: (1) women's political education, (2) involvement of women in the Production Assembly and Peasants' Association, (3) Women's involvement in the Village Development Council (Team 11). The findings also show obstacles to community resistance for the third point. This can be overcome again by SPPQT's vision, gender equality needs to be seen as a solution to improve the agricultural sector.

Keywords: the role of women, farmer groups, marginalization

Anita Dhewy and Bella Sandiata (Jurnal Perempuan, Jakarta, Indonesia)

Political and Legal Novelty as the Contribution of Indonesian Women's Movement in the Advocacy on Affirmative Policy in Election and Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence

DDC 305

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 24 No. 1, February 2019, pp. 73-82, 10 ref.

This article discusses the novelty of the women's movement in encouraging women's political representation and advocating for the elimination of domestic violence. Data is obtained through interviews with actors involved in the women's movement, especially actors from civil society organizations. The results of the study show that the women's movement in the Advocacy on Affirmative Policy in Election becomes a sign of the inclusion of women in the political agenda. While the women's movement in the advocacy for Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence dismantles private and public dichotomies that are detrimental to women in the context of domestic violence. This study also shows that women's movements need strong concepts, adaptive strategies and synergies with various elements to be able to push the women's agenda and encourage change.

Keywords: women's movement, women's political representation, affirmative action, Law on the Abolition of Domestic Violence

Women's Collective Actions For Empowerment in Indonesia

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Abstract

Women's groups in Indonesia have used women's collective actions since the early 20th century. The collective action of women in this study is defined as the formal or informal formation and activity of groups or networks of predominantly women that aim to bring about positive changes in women's lives. Eight case studies of women's collective actions discussed in this study reveal a variety of backgrounds, motives and agencies in those collective actions. This variety exists due to the different and specific conditions and needs of each of the women's groups. The object of the study in this research were eight collective actions, namely: Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA), Serikat Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA), Sekolah Perempuan, Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia Parepare branch, Migrants Workers United Wonosobo (MUIWO), Kelompok Bunda Kreatif, Community Center, and Posko Lestari and Mentari. The data of the research was collected through document reviews, surveys, and in-depth interviews. This research finds that the involvement of women in collective actions stems from gender inequality that they experience in their daily lives. Through the collective actions, the women were empowered to strengthen their access to social services and legal protection. This research also finds there was a growing understanding about the concept of gender inequality among the women who were involved in the collective actions.

Keywords: women's collective action, empowerment, gender inequality, participation

Introduction

Discrimination against women is systematic and the perpetrators are not only individuals, but also Community and State. Therefore the movement against women's discrimination emerged as a group agency, and not merely as individual actions. This group agency rejects subordination and pressure manifested through collective action on culture, politics and individuals (Abrams 1999, p. 807). Problems faced by women in the form of domestic violence, child marriage, stigma against female heads of household, women's poverty, the lack of women's involvement in decision making, both at the family and community level, and others, are only a few of the many everyday problems faced by women. One of the efforts of women in responding to discriminatory situations against them is through collective action. This paper discusses forms of grassroots women's collective action in eight case studies as an empowerment effort in facing discrimination against women.

Women's collective action is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia, —since the 20th century this practice has occurred in various regions. According to Susan Blackburn, in the context of Indonesian history, the women's movement has struggled to articulate their

concerns about their status, experiences of discrimination, and oppression by organizing themselves into women's organizations and being involved in politics. According to Blackburn, women's movements through organizations are more powerful and sustainable than individual efforts (Blackburn 2004, p. 11). It means collective power has been seen as an important method in the women's movement in Indonesia.

Women's collective action in this study is defined - as the formal or informal formation and activity of groups or networks of predominantly women that aim to bring about positive changes in women's lives. Collective action is defined as the process of working to affect change, and by which voluntary institutions are created and maintained, and the groups

that decide to act together (Pandolfelli, Meinen-Dick & Dohrn 2007, pp. 1-3). Empowerment in this study is understood as positive changes related to the five types of assets of the MAMPU empowerment framework, namely: human assets (power within), financial and resources assets (control), agency assets (power to), social assets (power with) and enabling assets. MAMPU empowerment frameworks was developed from Rowlands' (1997) concept of power.

This study examines eight collective actions as case studies. The eight collective actions were Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA), Serikat Perempuan Kepala Keluarga (PEKKA), Sekolah Perempuan, Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia Parepare branch, Migrant Workers United Wonosobo (MUIWO), Kelompok Bunda Kreatif, Community Center, and Posko Lestari and Mentari. From the history of their establishment, the eight organizations were born in different era. The first collective action is 'Aisyiyah. 'Aisyiyah Association was founded in 1917, formerly named Sapa Tresna. 'Aisyiyah is a religion-based collective action, which has been focusing on promoting education for women and girls since the beginning of the 20th century.

Under Soeharto's New Order (1966-1998), the civil society movement was suppressed. Women's movements were extensively regulated with the aim of taming Indonesian women (Blackburn 2004; Wieringa 2015). At that time women's collective actions at the community level virtually disappeared, other than that of religious groups and the PKK (Family Welfare Education). PKK itself was originally a collective action at the local level emerged in Central Java, but after being controlled by the state, PKK lost its original character as a collective action of women. The name of the PKK was later changed by the New Order to the Development of Family Welfare. Community Center and Posko Lestari are examples of women's collective actions born at the end of the New Order era. Posko Lestari was established in 1994 for environmental issues. The Community Center focuses on issues faced by women at the local level, such as maternal mortality, violence against women, and unwanted pregnancies in adolescents.

In the Reformation era, opportunity for women to engage in activities other than those of the PKK and

pengajian are widely opened. This was different from the New Order era where feminist and critical women's collective actions were under controlled. During the reformation era, women's collective actions emerged from diverse contexts and factors. Culture, religion and belief systems, kinship, governance, and poverty are all drivers and shapers of the way in which women come together, whether for social interaction and support. Women's collective actions today are also driven by economic factors to increase income, respond to issues of inequality and insecurity. The PEKKA Union (Empowerment of Family Heads of Women), KPI Parepare Branch, Sekolah Perempuan, MUIWO (Migrant Workers United Wonosobo) and PPR (Women Home Workers), Kelompok Bunda Kreatif Yasanti and Posko Mentari are examples of collective actions that emerged in the Reformation era.

The eight collective actions discussed in this paper are organizations or groups that are partners of the MAMPU Program (Australia-Indonesia Partnership for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment).

Research Method

This study uses a qualitative approach with feminist perspective in examining eight case studies of collective actions. The main question of this research is how and under what conditions does women's engagement in local groups lead to individual and collective empowerment? Meanwhile, derivative question focuses on knowing women's concrete experiences regarding their participation in certain collective actions. This question encompasses the focus of collective actions and the impact of collective actions on empowering women both individually and collectively. These questions are the basis of the study for the following eight case studies:

Table 1. Location of Field Research

Example of women's collective action	Location of field research	in collaboration with
Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA)	Kabupaten Pangkajene Kepulauan (PanKep), Sulawesi Selatan (pedesaan)	'Aisyiyah
Posko	Kabupaten Minahasa Selatan, Sulawesi Utara (pedesaan)	Komnas Perempuan Forum Pengadaan Layanan - Dewan Pengarah Nasional, dengan sub-mitra Swara Parangpuan
Sekolah Perempuan	Kabupaten Gresik, Jawa Timur (pedesaan)	Kapal Perempuan dengan sub-mitra <i>Kelompok Perempuan dan Sumber-Sumber Kehidupan (KPS2K)</i>
<i>Balai Perempuan</i>	Kabupaten Parepare, Sulawesi Selatan (perkotaan)	<i>Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia (KPI)</i>
Migrant Workers United Wonosobo (MUIWO)	Kabupaten Wonosobo, Jawa Tengah (pedesaan)	Migrant CARE dengan sub-mitra Social Analysis Research Institute (SARI)

Example of women's collective action	Location of field research	in collaboration with
<i>Serikat PEKKA</i>	Kabupaten Lombok Barat, Nusa Tenggara Barat (pedesaan)	PEKKA
Community Center	Kabupaten Merangin, Jambi (pedesaan)	Permampu, melalui <i>Forum Komunikasi Perempuan</i> and <i>Aliansi Perempuan Merangin</i> , (APM)
Kelompok Kreatif Bunda	Kabupaten Bantul, DI Yogyakarta (peri-urban)	Yasanti, melalui Program Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan (PPR)

Source: compiled from the data of field research

This study focuses on the village or community level as the locus of activities and the expected locus of change. Data is obtained through individual and group interviews, as well as surveys administered to collective action members. In total 219 women and 78 men participated in individual or group interviews, and 169 members of the various women's collective actions were surveyed.

Characteristics of Women's Collective Actions

The focus of collective actions as a whole is the development of confidence, self-confidence, knowledge and skills of women. Collective actions also targets greater interaction between women and local decision makers and service providers. Based on the table 1, it is also known that women's collective actions focus on encouraging access to services and increasing income for members, as well as to the community.

The eight collective actions encourage women's empowerment and leadership by employing the concept of women's rights. For example, women's rights in politics, women's rights to sexual and reproductive health, and economic rights. Collective actions also encourage women's participation in policy making. This efforts was

carried out by advocating local issues faced by women to the government from the village to the district/city level.

The eight collective actions examined represented three types of relations between the MAMPU national partners and collective action at the local level. The focus of empowerment for each collective action is different from one to another. However, it can be seen that the collective actions focused on five thematic areas, namely: (1) Improving women's access to government social protection programs. (2) Increasing women's access to employment and removing workplace discrimination. (3) Improving conditions for women's overseas labour migration. (4) Strengthening women's leadership for better maternal and reproductive health. (5) Strengthening women's leadership to reduce violence against women.

The eight collective actions studied aimed to increase women's access to services. The main strategies used are direct assistance to women such as in cases of legal identity, access to services, and local level advocacy that seeks to create regulations and allocate supporting resources. The five thematic areas are advocated by each type of collective action equally or differently, depending on the focus of the area, as described in Table 2.

Table 2. The goals and focus of MAMPU's national partners in relation to women's collective actions

Example	Focus of MAMPU	Focus of the women collective action
Type A: Multi-level vertical structure		
Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah/' Aisyiyah	Increase the value and dignity of women in accordance with Islamic teachings; increasing education and economic opportunities for women; improving and developing social public welfare, health, law and justice, and the environmental activities. (Targeting thematic area 4)	Following 'Aisyiyah's national policy, and five priority issues mentioned on the left.
Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia/Balai Perempuan	Fulfillment of women's rights in the political, economic, legal, sexual, reproductive, education, religious, social and cultural rights and environmental Strengthening women's leadership, improving access to social protection schemes, and provision of basic services to reduce poverty. (Targeting thematic area 1)	Member capacity development focusing on -building knowledge of women's human rights, increasing self-confidence, collegiality and networking. Representation and leadership; support for access to services, including in cases of violence against women; and access to social protection.

Example	Focus of MAMPU	Focus of the women collective action
PEKKA/Serikat PEKKA	Improving the standard of living and well-being of women heads of families; opening up various livelihood options; building critical awareness towards equality in roles, positions and status, and women's participation in social and political life; promoting the role of women heads of families - from the household to the state level. (Targeting thematic 1)	Starting with savings and loans and moving on to developing women's knowledge and skills in various organizational and technical areas. Building advocacy and representation skills, and improving leadership and women's participation in decision making. Specific focus on support to accessing legal identity document and social protection schemes.
Type B: Sub-partner Engagement		
Insitutit KAPAL Perempuan / KPS2K/Sekolah Perempuan	Four main interrelated activities: (i) knowledge development; (ii) strengthening women's leadership; (iii) data-based advocacy; and (iv) institutional development. (Targeting thematic area 1)	Village level study groups focusing on critical education and gender awareness in poor areas. Through KPS2K, conducting advocacy to increase availability and access to services.
Migrant CARE/SARI/MUIWO	Strengthening state protection of migrant workers rights; enhancing organizational capacity and network; and advocating for migrant worker related services (Targeting thematic area 3)	Training and skills development related to potential income earning activities. Through SARI, encouraging the development of local regulations and services to support safe migration and integration of returned migrant workers.
Yayasan Annisa Swasti (Yasanti)/Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan/Kelompok Bunda Kreatif	Focuses on: (i) strengthening women's organizations to be independent and democratic; (ii) developing critical awareness for women workers through organizing, education and advocacy; and (iii) strengthening women's economic rights. (Targeting thematic area 2)	Facilitating the organising of women homeworkers with the aim of building understanding of their labour rights, expanding access to services, increasing household income through home-based enterprises, and through the Perempuan Pekerja Rumahan initiative promoting protection of homeworkers through policy advocacy and information.
Type C: Multi-stakeholder activity		
KOMNAS Perempuan-FPL DPN/Swara Parangpuan/Posko	Monitoring and influencing policies and services related to violence against women; capacity building related to laws relevant to gender equality and the protection of women's rights. Providing direct support for access to services; enhancing community-based violence prevention mechanisms (FPL-DPN members). (Targeting thematic area 5)	Community organisation for assisting women and children affected by violence; advocate for formalization of community support; higher level referral with support from Swara Parangpuan; information and education for community members that aim to reduce acceptance of violence and prevent violence.
Permampu/APM/Community Center	Advocating for Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights (SRHR) for women; developing leadership and working to empower grassroots women primarily focusing on Sumatra island. Providing comprehensive education and monitoring of SRHR, increasing public awareness and understanding of community, traditional and religious leaders; Advocating for supporting policies and local resources allocations; undertaking research and documentation; developing sexual and reproductive health rights networks. (Targeting thematic area 4)	Providing training for women on sexual and reproductive health within feminist framework. Through the APM, advocating for changes in local policy and resource allocation.

Source: Survey facilitators, interviews with national partners, partners, facilitators, and members of collective action, as well as information from the MAMPU website and national partners.

The study of eight women's collective actions identified three types of relationships between MAMPU national partners and local-level collective actions sat the local level, namely: type A (multilevel vertical structure); type B (involvement of partners); and type C (multi-stakeholder activities).

Type A collective actions (multilevel vertical structure) have the following characteristics: national

partners connect to local groups through provincial, district or sub-district representation. The identity of the local group mirrors that of the national partner and has a similar form in each location. Type A collective action members are specific, such as members of Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah (BSA) and women's head of families (Serikat PEKKA/PEKKA Union). The national partner organizations have strategies to develop the knowledge and skills of women in local groups.

Type B collective actions (sub-partner engagement) have the following characteristics: national partner forms partnerships with civil society at different levels working on similar issue. The sub-partners then establish or support collective action groups or activities related to the shared issues. Group identity is more individual and the role of the sub-partner is prominent. In type B collective actions, there is special attention to integrating rights awareness and advocacy into group formation and education for members. Type C collective actions (multi-stakeholder activity) are essentially a multi-stakeholder interactions. This means that civil society organizations (CSOs) involved in this effort may or may not have direct links to the village level. It appears that those in a multilevel vertical structure are in a position that allows to encourage the formation of potentially more sustainable groups. Examples of type C collective actions are (1) Permampu, through Forum Komunikasi Perempuan Akar Rumput/the Communication Forum for Grassroots Women at the provincial level up to women's groups at the village level. In this case, it was represented by the Community Center which was the community assisted by APM (Aliansi Perempuan Merangin/Merangin Women's Alliance); (2) KOMNAS Perempuan through the FPL-DPN (Forum Pengadaan Layanan - Dewan Pimpinan Nasional/Service Provision Forum - National Executive

Board). In some areas members of FPL-DPN have direct links to women's collective actions at a village level, such as Swara Parangpuan through Posko activities. The involvement of partners and multi-stakeholder activities enables diversity to occur because various organizations are involved. The three types of relations between national partners and local collective actions apply strategies of equal value, even though the direction of expansion is different.

Empowering Women through Collective Actions

Based on surveys and interviews, it was found that the collective action carried out by women had influenced policy even though it was still at local level. Collective action in these eight regions focuses on the village level or maximally on regional policies (district/city level).

The MAMPU empowerment framework is based on Rowlands' work, which conceptualizes various forms of power components: (1) Power over: the ability to influence and force; (2) Power to: organize and change existing hierarchies; (3) Power with: increasing the strength of collective actions and solidarity; (4) Power from within: increasing individual awareness and desire to change (Rowlands 1997).

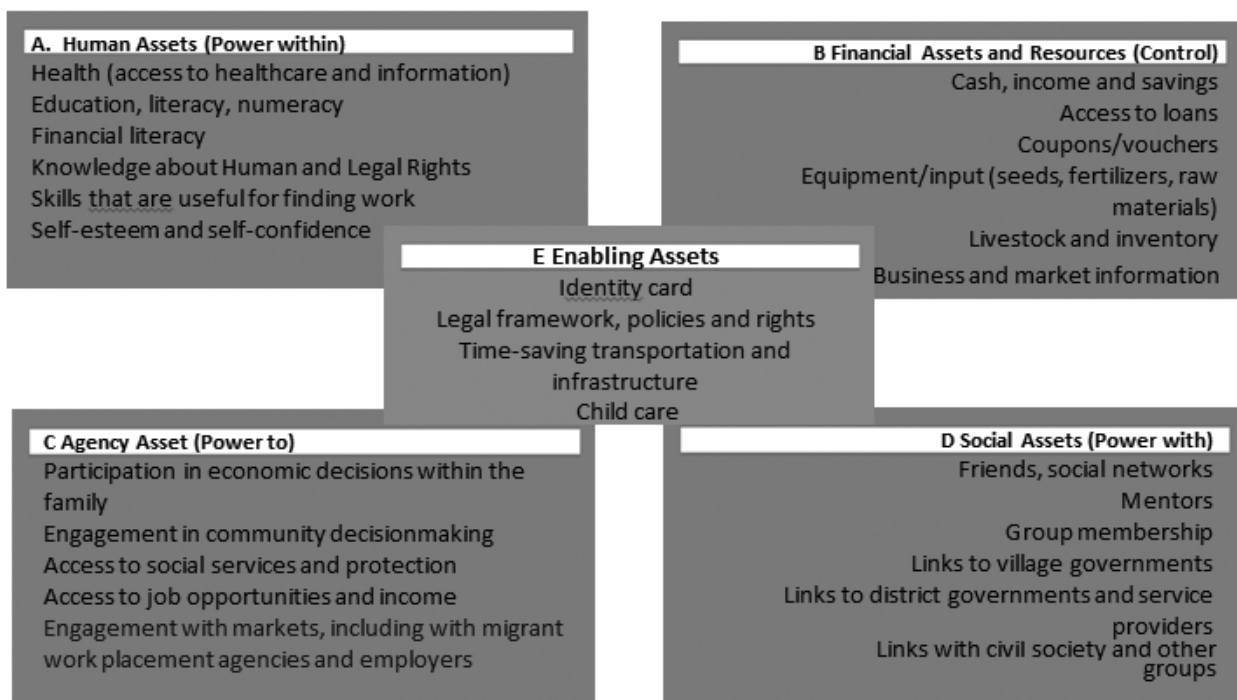


Image 1. Empowerment Framework
 Chart Source: Processed from the power concept of Rowland 1997

In general, members of the collective actions feel many positive effects from their participation. Through surveys, the impact of empowerment felt by members of collective actions has been determined.

Empowering Women through Strengthening Human Assets

Human assets or individual assets encompass changes in personal health and education, skills and knowledge,

including literacy, numeracy, income and employment-related skills, and individual self-belief and confidence. The members of collective action were asked if they felt that experience individual benefits such as increased self-confidence, skills, or health status (in one question). As shown in the table below, almost all members across all the examples studied reported changes in relation to this domain of empowerment.

Table 3. The proportion of surveyed members of women’s collective action reporting positive changes related to human assets

Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah	Posko	Sekolah Perempuan	Balai Perempuan	MUIWO	Serikat PEKKA	Community Center	Kelompok Bunda Kreatif	All examples
96%	84%	100%	95%	80%	100%	95%	100%	94%

Source: Survey of members of collective actions (N=169). Yes/no answer

Gaining self-confidence is an important first step for women, especially those from the more marginalised elements of communities. Structured capacity building programs run by several partners appear to have succeeded in accelerating and maintaining the progress of this development.

One of the successful achievements of empowering collective action on individual aspects can be found in PEKKA Union. The PEKKA Union was established in 2000, based on the initial idea of KOMNAS Perempuan to document the lives of widows in the Aceh post-conflict area, and the intention of the Kecamatan Development Program to assist them in accessing resources to overcome the economic problems and trauma they faced. PEKKA now work in 20 provinces, and more than 55,000 female headed household benefit from its presence (Pratiwi 2018, p. 143). PEKKA Union members are female headed household. They become family head because their husbands died, got divorce or separate, or they are abandoned by their husbands. Most PEKKA members come from the poor and vulnerable groups in the community. The negative stigma about widows makes them marginalised in society. It means that social categories in society make it one of the problems that make women experience multi-layered poverty. Female family heads often experience domestication and are excluded from productive work because of the negative stigma attached to their status.

As a collective action of women, PEKKA seeks to erase stereotypes about widows, encouraging the

development of female-headed households. In many regions of Indonesia, the local culture regulates that widows should not have a social life or appear in public. The status as a widow has stigma that harms women. As stated by the member of PEKKA Union Sukerede, West Lombok District, West Nusa Tenggara in a group interview in October 2016, “The community thinks that if a widow leaves the house, she will tempt someone’s husband. We are harassed, demeaned and marginalized. When we talk, we have never been heard or appreciated.”

PEKKA’s work is against the negative stigma of widowed women. Through the PEKKA Union, its members receive reinforcement on individual or human aspects.

(We) are trained mindfully about how to speak in public, how we can survive, and how to help the community ... We get training, we know the benefits, then we share both in groups and outside the group, to our neighbors. ... they have seen the proof. Since then, many people outside PEKKA Union have asked for advice from us, not just our members. (PEKKA Union Sukerede Lingsar cadre, group interview October 2016)

The most visible change in the overall interview is an increase in self-confidence. PEKKA Union members are braver to express their opinions and participating in public life more actively. The above quote also shows that collective action has brought changes in how widows are perceived by the local community. By empowering people and demonstrating meaningful participation in the surrounding community, PEKKA has made women heads of family more empowered, accepted and

recognized in the community. By participating in the PEKKA Union, many women heads of family can unite and build collective strength, started with the opportunity to interact socially and obtain peer support.

The development of other individual assets was also achieved by Sekolah Perempuan, both initiated by Yasanti with Kelompok Kreatif Bunda and the KAPAL Perempuan with its sub-partner KPS2K (Kelompok Perempuan dan Sumber-Sumber Kehidupan/Women and Life Resources Group). Collective action appears to be having some success at building women's critical awareness of gender. Members have been exposed to women's issues. The interview shows the awareness to support women's victim of violence.

Another example is a case of rape. Actually, who is the wrong person? Usually we blame women due their wearing mini skirts, for example ... In my opinion, if you want to wear a hijab or something else [that's your business], but the men the philanderers ... Now we cannot pretend to not know the women's issues in our village. Now we are looking through different perspective. So, I feel this is called, being critical! (Village Coordinator of Sekolah Perempuan Kulon Gresik, in-depth interview August 2016)

BSA (Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah) as a collective action at the village level that has been present since before the independence of Indonesia has also empowered its members significantly. BSA focuses on strengthening women's reproductive and sexual health rights. The issues involved are around family planning, exclusive breastfeeding, access to National Health Insurance (Jaminan Kesehatan Nasional/JKN), access to social protection, and women's reproductive health with a special focus on early detection or cancer prevention. BSA members are women of reproductive age, poor, and have limited access to information and knowledge. BSA utilizes reproductive health as the entry point to include discussion of rights, various types of knowledge, and empower members through strengthening decision making. BSA builds knowledge and brings women's access to reproductive health services closer, especially those related to cancer that are vulnerable to women.

The lack of knowledge of women about reproductive health is often constrained by the public taboo regarding sexuality and BSA has managed to break it.

Although this area is close to the city center, in some cases it was found that some people still lacked information, especially about reproductive health, because they were still embarrassed to even ask about reproductive health. (Coordination Team 'Aisyiyah/MAMPU Pangkep, in-depth interview September 2016)

In an interview with a group of BSA members in Bireang, Pangkep Regency, South Sulawesi, it was estimated that around 70 percent of the members had been able to access these services. 'Aisyiyah and BSA have successfully advocated for improving services at Puskesmas in Biraeng, as well as encouraging health workers to reach out and provide information to women.

BSA's collective action has resulted in empowerment of the reproductive health sector for women. For this achievement, BSA obtains appreciation from village leaders. This collective work has thus opened wider participation in relation to advocacy for women's reproductive health. This issue to be a common concern on a larger scale. 'Aisyiyah added sectoral assistance in connecting BSA members to health services and the government.

Empowerment through Economic Strengthening

Financial and resource assets include income and savings, the ability to borrow funds, access to markets, and increase productive input, including tools and consumables. Table 4 shows the extent to which each member feels financial benefits. This was not an area of strong investment for many MAMPU partners. The table shows that relatively few members feel changes in this aspect. The members were asked whether they felt they had received financial benefits such as increased income, the ability to save and borrow, increase access to markets, or assistance related inputs and productive assets.

Table 4. The proportion of surveyed members of women's collective action reporting positive changes related to economic assets

Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah	Posko	Sekolah Perempuan	Balai Perempuan	MUIWO	Serikat PEKKA	Community Center	Kelompok Bunda Kreatif	All examples
12%	5%	5%	27%	25%	100%	0%	50%	28%

Source: Survey of members of collective action (N = 169). Yes / no answer

There is an evidence in collective empowerment that members helped by mutual funds, namely through savings and loan activities. But it is still unclear whether this reflects a sustainable change in income.

In the eight case studies observed, PEKKA Unions have concerns about building financial assets and resources as their core strategy. PEKKA realizes that prospective group members' first priority is often their economic status, so starts with savings and loan activities as entry point. Savings and loan activities motivate and encourage group membership, both through productive and protective dimensions. Each member comes to save their money, and the group cycles the savings as a loan for each members to develop productive activities. Collective action carried out by PEKKA Unions has brought about changes in financial inclusion, especially access to credit:

We used to be afraid of borrowing money, and no one believed in us, especially as widows. "Who will pay the debt?" But as a group, we can borrow ... at first we borrowed 100,000 rupiah, then 200,000. Then after we joined the cooperative, then we could borrow 500,000. Over time, we can borrow five to six million rupiah. We use the money for fish farming, purchasing seeds, and feed. (PEKKA Union Sukerede cadre, West Lombok, NTB, group interview, October 2016)

The excerpt of this interview shows that the collective action of the PEKKA Union has empowered women not only at the individual, but also at the collective level. The strength and identity of the group in this collective action has provided better economic access to female heads of household.

In the PEKKA Union, empowerment begins with social interaction and peer support, then continues with assisting women to fulfill their basic economic needs, such as through savings and loans and access to greater credit. All of these entrances built through information, training and exposure to the wider community through meetings in PEKKA and other exchanges. This condition

makes members then work on issues that reach the wider community (such as access to legal identity documents). From this activity, PEKKA Union members gain status and legitimacy.

Based on the table 4 above, other collective actions such as MUIWO, Sekolah Perempuan and Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah also pay attention to strengthening asset control by developing skills related to income and efforts to create employment opportunities. But the development is insignificant compared to the PEKKA.

Kelompok Kreatif Bunda also carried out collective financial empowerment by implementing savings and loan initiative, Balai Perempuan implements a member dues system, with the common pot being available to support members experiencing financial hardship. In addition, MUIWO members also have used the pocket money and transportation allowance provided to attend meetings or training outside the village to establish a savings and loan initiative, which they want to continue if it runs smoothly.

Strengthening the Involvement and Influence of Women in Family and Society

Agency assets refer to participation and influence of women in family and society, as well as better access for women to government jobs, services and programs. Although the reporting of changes in these capacity assets was vary within all examples of the collective action studied, there are several examples of changes (Table 5). In the member survey, members were asked whether their participation or influence in family or community decision-making had increased, whether they could access better employment, or access government services as a result of their participation in collective action. Qualitative data shows that the areas of greatest changes to be in relation to participation in community discussions and decision-making forums, especially at the Musrenbang (the village level development planning level).

Table 5. The proportion of surveyed members of women's collective action reporting positive changes related to asset capacity

Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah	Posko	Sekolah Perempuan	Balai Perempuan	MUIWO	Serikat PEKKA	Community Center	Kelompok Bunda Kreatif	All examples
28%	74%	25%	82%	5%	62%	45%	30%	44%

Source: Survey of members of collective action (N = 169). Yes / no answer

Collective action members have spoken out about access to social protection (Balai Perempuan, PEKKA Union), gender equality (Sekolah Perempuan), protection of migrant workers (MUIWO) and recognition of homeworkers (Kelompok Kreatif Bunda), access to sexual and reproductive health services (Community Center, Balai Sakinah, Aisyiyah), protection of women and children affected by violence (Posko, Balai Perempuan, Community Center), and access to legal identity (PEKKA Union, Sekolah Perempuan, MUIWO, and Balai Perempuan).

There are various evidences of agency assets that have been achieved by the eight women's collective actions in this study. Collective capacity empowerment, for example, is demonstrated through the involvement and accountability of Sekolah Perempuan in village development. Sekolah Perempuan is actively involved in drafting proposal for village funding for clean water facilities, distributing health cards and providing education related to social assistance overseeing and criticising on social assistance used to discriminate (against the poor).

A representative of KPS2K, the intermediary CSO that supports Sekolah Perempuan activities in Gresik district of East Java notes that social assistance programs used to discriminate against, rather than prioritise the poor, but now [the village officials] know the women at Sekolah Perempuan can go [to complain] directly to the district, they have changed their behaviour, they are willing to check the [social assistance eligibility] lists and provide services to poor women. (Mondoluku Village Sekolah Perempuan Coordinator and KPS2K Gresik management representative, In-depth interview in August 2016)

Not only collective empowerment, but the increasing capacity assets affect individually. This evidence is shown by the strengthened capacity of members to advocate for personal interests and the interests of others.

I also accompanied my friend to the hospital on behalf of the Sekolah Perempuan. I feel appreciated and recognized by people in the hospital. I can articulate my complaint. When I am invited in Musrenbang, or invited to communicate with the village head, I became brave to speak. (Village Coordinator Sekolah Perempuan - Mondoluku Gresik, in-depth interview August 2016)

Strengthening asset capacity means increasing recognition for individuals and women's collective action groups. Women's collective action solidifies its

position in society through a pragmatic approach, meaning that social capital is collected through meaningful involvement and contribution of women to the community. Recognition is obtained through their usefulness and achievements in community groups. Recognition as social capital ultimately becomes a means or gateway to issues that are seen as more sensitive to the community such as the issues of gender equality and women's rights.

Although a number of positive achievements and responses from the community can be seen in a number of exposures above, it does not mean that women's collective action can work more easily. This is because acceptance of women's collective action is not entirely built by awareness of equality of rights or the adoption of feminist ideas about the importance of women's involvement in public life.

The challenges that must be faced by women to continue the struggle in collective action are still complicated, one of which is conducting negotiations with family members, for example husbands who do not really support women's involvement in collective action. In certain cases, women are allowed by their husbands to join collective actions just for economic motives. In other cases, women can join collective actions, but with terms and conditions that the main tasks of women in the domestic area must remain the most important ones. The statement showed that involvement in collective action still reaped some resistance. This is a manifestation of patriarchal culture, which often reduces women's movement to the extent of the domestic sphere.

Empowering Women through Social Assets

Social assets are defined including friends, relatives, and social networks, gaining inspiration and support for others, and having access to people of influence. The desire for increased social interaction is and continues to be a primary motivation for women to join and participate in collective actions. In the survey, members were asked whether they experienced an increase in social assets, explained as more friends and social networks, inspiration from other, facilitation, and access to influential figures in the community or government. The results are shown in Table 6.

Table 6. The proportion of surveyed members of women's collective action reporting positive changes related to social assets.

Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah	Posko	Sekolah Perempuan	Balai Perempuan	MUIWO	Serikat PEKKA	Community Center	Kelompok Bunda Kreatif	All examples
60%	74%	60%	73%	45%	86%	9%	85%	61%

Source: Survey of members of collective action (N = 169). Yes/no answer

The experience of group interaction is an important aspect of the collective action examples in this study, as well as a factor in building confidence for women and becomes the basis of the growth of peer support.

Social empowerment shows that collective action is a means of connecting women to social services and government officials. Based on the explanations above, it can be seen that collective action such as BSA with various sectoral assistance has brought women closer to better access to health services. BSA advocates for the rights of poor women to get early cancer detection services and obtain financial support, while Sekolah Perempuan promotes the involvement of women as decision makers at the village level. Through collective action, women's presence becomes more visible. That is, collective action appears as a bridge or women liaison for policy officers.

Through collective action women individually and collectively empowered through network expansion. Through regular meetings, group facilitations, and other interactions, mutual trust and a shared ideology develop. The intermediaries are the main mentors of group members and also their first step towards a broader network, and have the role of introducing groups to leaders, government institutions and other institutions from village to the district, and sometimes at national level.

Same as BSA, the Community Center has become a place to explain and socialize women's issues. The Community Center have worked to identify 'upstream' sexual and reproductive health issues such as child marriage. This activity includes for advocating a village regulation in Pulau Tujuh Village.

(...) now there are a lot of child marriages, and even worse, they are pregnant at 13 or 14 years old. One of the efforts of women in the APM is to urge the government and related parties, such as the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA) to prevent early marriage. We used to gather women sitting in the BPD (Village Deliberation Council) and village affairs, to give them an understanding of the impact of child marriage. Then, when they returned to their villages, they held discussions in their villages, and they talked with the village government about the issuance of village regulation. The village regulation aims to overcome early marriage. (APM Merangin Field Facilitator, group interview October 2016)

Such collective action clearly targets changes at the policy level at the village level. This aspiration became apparent and highlighted as a common problem through a collective action unit. The initiatives and practices

carried out by the Community Center show that the empowerment of social assets is strong.

The eight case studies show different dynamics. In collective actions where the majority or all members come from the elite (having a big influence, having a personal connection to decision makers or relatively considered to be quite rich-elite read in fully positive terms), the development of social aspects is very significant. For example at Balai Perempuan — the KPI Branch of Parepare and Posko Lestari and Mentari, the collective action provides a focus to influence its presence and the application of policies from women's perspective. These two collective action groups appear to be more exclusive than the other six case studies. Both are more focused on encouraging and participating in determining the direction of policy at village level. Although membership appears to be exclusive, the benefits of their work have an impact and are widely targeted. Posko Lestari and Mandiri for example provide benefit for poor women and women who experience violence.

Meanwhile, the KPI Branch of Parepare, consistently promotes more just and democratic political, economic, social and cultural development based on equality of men and women, meaning they want to create an accommodating environment for greater gender equality. The strength of KPI comes from the dedication of its cadres, its tiered ideological education, as well as structures from the national level to urban or rural communities. Cadres carry diverse networks, and their union into an interest group consolidates their influence. KPI's attention to political awareness about the importance of women's rights, and how to access various services is translating to increase activism and promotion of service accountability, at least for the groups in this case study. Network expansion is the main issue, namely promoting gender equality.

Empowerment through Enabling Assets

Enabling assets include access to administrative or legal documents, legal protection, and so on. However the proportion of collective action members who report change in the realm of empowerment is actually the smallest. In the member survey, members were asked whether they experienced changes in the legal identity documents they possessed, or in terms of legal protection through laws and policies. The results are shown in Table 7.

Table 7. The proportion of surveyed members of women's collective action who reporting positive changes related to supporting assets

Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah	Posko	Sekolah Perempuan	Balai Perempuan	MUIWO	Serikat PEKKA	Community Center	Kelompok Bunda Kreatif	All examples
0%	42%	25%	27%	0%	43%	0%	15%	18%

Source: Survey of members of collective action (N = 169). Yes / no answer

Some examples of collective action, especially MUIWO and Kelompok Kreatif Bunda, are characterized by a focus on enabling assets, such as legal status, access to information, and protection of labor rights. Meanwhile, other partners touched on security issues and individual freedom from violence, as well as access to services. Most examples demonstrate a level of awareness about the potential regulations to trigger wider actions and benefits. For example, MUIWO advocates for local level regulations at the district level, which are now completed, and at the village level on the protection of migrant workers. In addition, MUIWO also provides information about the characteristics of good employers and how to be safe and independent migrant workers. MUIWO focuses on safe work advocacy for migrant workers it means providing understanding and knowledge of procedural work for migrant workers to avoid irresponsible agents.

Kelompok Kreatif Bunda has used the process of collecting data on homeworkers to advocate for recognition of their existence, so that they can access free health services and register for health insurance. Collective action in this case opens the awareness of its members about the importance of legal identity. In addition, these groups also assist their members to obtain legal identity, as practiced by PEKKA. As stated by a PEKKA field facilitator during in-depth interview in October 2016, "PEKKA Union members can access identity documents including birth certificates and marriage certificates for free, and some cadres are also involved in assisting people to access these services."

It is also interesting that empowerment from collective action touches sensitive issues such as child marriage. The Community Center, for example, through the Aliansi Perempuan Merangin (APM/Merangin Women's Alliance), has advocated for the formulation of local regulations to reduce early marriage, and also working on an inter-agency Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) for women friendly sexual and reproductive health services. This is because in basic health services, the treatment of women is different.

Sekolah Perempuan and Balai Perempuan have both worked on transparency and eligibility related to social protection. This group collects and oversees the provision of poor rice, ensuring that social assistance targets the poorest groups.

Another important achievement was shown by the work of the Poskos supported by village regulation that formalized its role in responding to cases of violence against women and children. In addition, Posko Mentari also has cooperation agreements with social services for child neglect cases, education and school offices for preventing child abuse, and (district) police through the village head for legal issues.

Education and knowledge of women's rights, reproductive health, and legal information provided consistently through collective action groups have resulted in changes in various aspects. The most obvious changes are seen in the aspects of member awareness, elimination of stigma in certain social groups, the presence of mechanisms for protecting women recognized at the village level, changes in perceptions of violence and the growing awareness of partiality to victims. This means that the work of collective actions does not only work at the conceptual level but also provides the modalities of change. A set of policies and enforcement of the rule of law have clearly changed the constellation of society on a certain scale.

Collective actions have an influence on supporting assets, such as policy environment, personal security and freedom from violence, and access to services. Thus, collective actions have extended its benefits to those directly involved in activities and those seeking assistance. An important note from this finding is that the change in the nature of collective actions, from small group activities focused on its own members, becomes outwardly oriented to the wider community, and becomes part of a broader transformation.

Conclusion

The collective actions of women examined in this study show that all collective actions apply a collaborative approach. There is a broad spectrum of approaches, from working closely with religious and cultural fields (such as Balai Sakinah 'Aisyiyah) to approaches that are more oriented to feminist leadership or women's human rights (Balai Perempuan and others). The achievements made by collective actions in the case studies show that the advocacy they have carried out has influenced policy on a local scale. Collective actions target policy advocacy at the village level or at most at regional (district) policies. In accordance with the results of the research, this study found no clear relationship between national policy or the national women's movement outside the direct relationship with national partners except for groups participating in the 16-day campaign anti-violence against women.

The eight collective actions have different backgrounds, social conditions and cultures but all share the same ideas, namely strengthening women's capacity. This study focuses on five aspects of empowerment, namely: individual, economic, agency, social and enabling assets. The significance of strengthening these aspects differs from one group to another, which is certainly related to the purpose of each group in conducting empowerment. However, from all empowered aspects it can be concluded that empowerment of human / individual assets is the dimension that has experienced the most rapid and overall increase. The structured approach of PEKKA, KPI, Institut KAPAL Perempuan, and Yasanti seems to influence the change in self-confidence of women who also increase their empowerment assets. Meanwhile, the smallest improvement aspect of empowerment is enabling assets.

The eight collective actions have empowered women in five thematic areas. PEKKA, KPI and Sekolah Perempuan- Institut KAPAL Perempuan have empowered women by increasing women's access to government social protection programs. YASANTI has increased women homeworkers' access to job opportunities. Through PPR women are empowered by encouraging recognition of the political and economic rights of women homeworkers, as well as helping them access relevant social protection schemes. MUIWO as a collective action

with the type of involvement of subpartner, namely Migrant Care has improved the conditions of women labor migration abroad. BSA and Community Center have strengthened women's leadership to improve maternal and reproductive health. Finally, Swara Perempuan as a member of the FPL works with KOMNAS Perempuan in terms of strengthening women's leadership to reduce violence against women. Collective action studied has increased women's access to health services, legal protection, economic empowerment, and against the bad stigma of women in society.

The eight collective actions described in this study are part of the women's movement in Indonesia. Collective action is a form of articulation of women experience of injustice. Collective action is a strategic movement in responding any forms of discrimination against women. It is characterized by an awareness or will to organize themselves and be involved in politics. Collective action is an important study in feminist issues because through this kind of movement, the women's movement becomes stronger, more effective and sustainable. This study found that the collective actions presented had empowered women in terms of access to social services and legal protection. The collective actions of women described encourage the growth of a gender perspective in individuals and groups. Awareness changing is important as the basis of group action.

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Expression of Gratitude to Reviewers

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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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