

Indonesian Feminists' Discourse and Politics

Editorial

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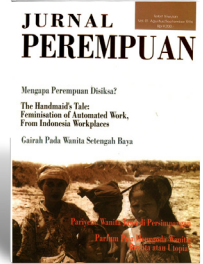
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Anita Dhewy and Bella Sandiata

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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

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

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Abstract

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. Meanwhile, the women's movement in the advocacy for the 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

Introduction

The women's movement has always been a part of every important moment in the life of the Indonesian nation, both during the struggle for independence against colonialism, the early period of independence, the wave of the 1998 Reformation movement, which became the end of the New Order authoritarian government, and continuing until the 1998 Reformation. The Reformation has brought changes to the Indonesian political system, from authoritarian politics to democracy and recognition of human rights, from centralized government systems to decentralization, from military supremacy to civilian supremacy.

In addition to being involved in various movements that drove these changes, the women's movement also encouraged reform agendas regarding gender justice and women's rights. One of the post-1998 women's movement agenda departs from the awareness of the importance of women's presence in public policy making.

Throughout the 2001-2002 period the discourse on increasing women's political representation strengthened, in line with discussions about political system reform through elections. The women's movement at that time encouraged the idea of women's representation in the package of political laws, namely the Election Law and

the Law on Political Parties. The struggle was successful, although it was not an ideal achievement; the DPR passed Law No. 31 of 2002 concerning Political Parties and Law No. 12 of 2003 concerning Elections. Unfortunately, the Political Party Law does not specifically mention the 30 percent, which is often said to be the defeat of the women's movement. Meanwhile, the Election Law specifically states the provision for political parties to pay attention to the representation of women of at least 30 percent in submitting candidates for House of Representative (DPR), Provincial Council (DPRD Provinsi) and Regency/City Council (DPRD Kabupaten/Kota) for each electoral district.

In addition to the agenda of strengthening women's politics, the post-1998 women's movement also raised the issue of violence against women in the domestic sphere. Data on cases of violence handled by victim assistance agencies, LBH APIK and those compiled by Komnas Perempuan show that violence against wives dominates cases of domestic violence (Munti 2008, p. 33). Meanwhile, legislation related to domestic violence in the pre-Reformation era has not been effective in protecting and providing justice for victims, especially because existing laws and regulations did not yet have an understanding of gender-based violence and sexual

violence in marriage. This situation then encouraged the women's movement to urge the need for special laws that regulate legal protection for victims of domestic violence, especially those experienced by many women.

The Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (PKDRT) finally materialized with the passing of Law No. 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence. Although not all the substance of the article proposed by the women's movement succeeded in entering into this PKDRT Law, this law succeeded in including a number of criminal law reforms that have never been regulated before, such as the recognition of other forms of domestic violence, which included physical violence, psychological violence sexual violence and economic violence. The PKDRT Law also accommodates legal breakthroughs for proof by prioritizing victims as the main witnesses only with the support of one piece of evidence. This law also recognizes that the scope of a regulated household is not limited to the nuclear family, so that other people, such as domestic workers, who live in the same house are also protected.

These policies, namely the Election Law, the Political Party Law and the PKDRT Law, are important achievements of the post-Reformation that the women's movement brought in the political and legal system in Indonesia. Rules regarding the quota of women's representation are the entry point for women to be able to influence and produce public policies that are friendly to women and minority groups. The representation of women in the institutions of public policy making is expected to be able to encourage broader changes regarding the gender justice system and society. Meanwhile, the birth of the PKDRT Law broke down the general view that exists in patriarchal societies, which separate private affairs from public affairs. Domestic violence is considered a personal matter or internal family affairs that are taboo if revealed to the public. This view was criticized by the women's movement who believed that personal problems such as domestic violence were political issues, as in *personal is political*. Domestic violence is not merely a private matter, but a state matter that fails to provide protection to its citizens.

This research aims to discuss the novelty generated by the post-reform women's movement by focusing on the women's movement to push for the PKDRT Law and women's representation policies in the Election Law and the Political Party Law. This study uses an idea framework developed by the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID) to study the women's movement. This article also uses the ideas of Dorothy E McBride and

Amy G Mazur (2008) to analyze the post 1998 women's movement.

Data collection was done through interviews with the actors involved in encouraging the formulation of the PKDRT Law and encouraging the inclusion of the concept of women's representation in the Election Law and the Political Party Law. The actors interviewed were limited to actors from civil society organizations.

Regarding women's representation, the actors interviewed included Ani Soetjipto (lecturer at FISIP UI, Division of Women and Election in Cetro—Center for Electoral Reform 2002-2005), Sri Budi Eko Wardani (lecturer at FISIP UI, Director of Puskapol—Center for Political Studies UI 2006-2016) and Yuda Irlang (Ansipol coordinator—Civil Society Alliance for Women and Politics). In relation to the PKDRT Law, the actors interviewed included four female activist figures involved in the advocacy process of the PKDRT Bill. The four figures are: Ratna Batara Munti (LBH Apik Jakarta), Kamala Chandrakirana (National Commission on Violence Against Women/Komnas Perempuan), Rita Serena Kolibonso (Women's Partner/Mitra Perempuan), and Sri Wiyanti Eddyono (Komnas Perempuan) who at that time worked or were active in different women's organizations but were all involved in the advocacy process of the PKDRT Bill. Interviews were conducted in January-February 2019.

Women's Movement and Feminist Movement

The women's movement referred to in this study is the collective action organized by women who explicitly put forward demands in the public sphere with their gender identity as women (McBride and Mazur, 2008, p. 226). Thus, there are two important elements in the definition of the women's movement, namely: the collective action by women who are explicitly organized as women and the existence of gender identity claims. McBride and Mazur further argue that the fundamental characteristics of the women's movement are the discourse and the actors. Discourse includes ideas, arguments, goals, and claims, all of which contain the language of women's gender identity. Meanwhile, the actors referred to in the women's movement are collective actors, namely those who work in groups in social and political areas but are outside the government structure (McBride & Mazur 2008, p. 229).

Is the women's movement the same as the feminist movement? Many academics use the terms women's movement and feminist movements simultaneously,

but actually this approach is not effective in comparative research. This is because the discourse in the women's movement is very diverse, so the concept of feminism is a matter of debate between thinkers and female movement actors. In practice, in the field there can be found a number of academics and many people who use the term feminist to label individuals or organizations. However, there are also other academics who distinguish between women's movements and the feminist movement in terms of their goals, namely: the women's movement has the goal of involving women and raising women's issues, while the feminist movement specifically challenges patriarchy and women's subordination (Beckwith 2004, 2005; Ferree and Mueller 2003; Ferree 2006 cited in McBride & Mazur 2008, p. 235). In various women's issues, the differences between the women's movement and the feminist movement are ultimately related to the differences in ideas, aspirations, and identities presented by collective actors.

McBride and Mazur (2008, pp. 235-236) argue that the feminist movement consists of women's movement actors who present the discourse of certain women's movements, feminism, in the social and public arenas. At its base, the feminist movement has the same component as the women's movement in terms of discourse, namely the demands in the public sphere based on gender identity as women. However, at an advanced level, there are additional dimensions of the feminist discourse that distinguish feminist movements as a particular type of women's movement—which Ferree (2006) refers to as a feminist women's movement. The discourse of the feminist movement is marked by the discourse of certain women's movements by adding three components, namely (1) Aiming to change the position of women in society and politics; (2) Analysis that seeks to challenge and change the subordination of women to men through gender equality; (3) Analysis that seeks to challenge and change the structure of gender-based hierarchies.

A more applicable concept was initiated by Srilatha Batliwala of the Association for Women's Rights in Development (AWID), who revealed that the feminist movement had certain feminist characteristics, namely: (1) their agenda was built on gender analysis of the problems or situations they faced or wanted to change. (2) Women form a critical mass of movement constituents, they are subjects, not objects or targets of movement. (3) They support feminist values and ideology. Even if they don't call themselves feminists or articulate these values specifically. (4) They systematically build and focus women's leadership in the movement. (5)

The movement's political objectives are gender. (6) They use gender strategies and methods. (7) They create more feminist organizations. This characteristic is more of an ideal principle that the feminist movement must aspire to.

Encouraging Women's Representation Through Affirmative Action

The 1998 reformation opened up political space and the involvement of civil society to push for a democratic agenda. The women's movement also saw the reformation as a momentum to push the women's agenda. The lack of women in the legislature brought together various women's movements to encourage an increase in the number of women's representation in parliament. This fact is related to the policies of the New Order regime which carried out domestication of women. In addition, in the authoritarian New Order political system, women also faced many critical issues such as maternal mortality, domestic violence, women migrant workers, dropout rates, and other problems. For this reason, women's access to public space must be opened.

The post-1998 women's movement saw a strategic step to make changes by changing public policy. This change in public policy is carried out by increasing women's representation in the DPR, political parties and government, as well as the involvement of women in the decision making process and public policy making. It was hoped that the existence of a significant number of women to play a role in formal political institutions would create a more friendly political arena for women and political products that reflect women's aspirations, interests and perspectives (Soetjipto 2005, p. 64).

The women's group incorporated in the women's movement to encourage women's political representation saw the most strategic entrance to change policy through a revision of the political law covering the Law on Political Parties and Election Laws. The issue of women's representation began to roll when the Political Party Law was under discussion. Women's groups, who were mainly from academic circles, adopted the experience of a number of countries that had implemented the practice of women's representation in politics and arranged it into a position paper on women's representation in parliament.

At that time, a debate arose regarding the system of representation of women to be used, namely between the representation options based on the seat allocation and the representation option based on candidacy.

The reserve seat option was seen as undemocratic and would provide more opportunities for women who are close to the political party elite (Wardani 2019, interview 24 January). At that time, the system of representation based on nomination was seen as the most realistic choice when the discourse developed was dominated by large narratives such as regional autonomy, the dual function of ABRI, and the Regional Representative Council. The issue of women's representation was not seen as a priority issue of political parties (Soetjipto 2019, interview 22 January).

The system of representation based on this nomination was carried out by applying special treatment for women, known as the concept of affirmative action. Referring to Soetjipto in her book *Politik Perempuan Bukan Gerhana* (2005, p. 92), affirmative action is a form of positive discrimination that is generally applied to open opportunities and opportunities for minority groups in society, in this case women. One form of affirmative policy is quota policy. Quota is a minimal percentage that aims to ensure a balance between men and women in political positions and can significantly change political policies. Referring to the International Parliamentary Union (IPU) research, the critical number that can affect political policy is 30%.

To encourage affirmative policies related to women's representation in politics, the women's movement at that time had to be able to convince male politicians. The women's movement sought to convince male politicians about the importance of privileging women in their candidacy, the need for political parties to give a 30% quota for women, and the benefits of a woman's nomination quota for political parties. Women's groups also lobbied the factions in the DPR.

In addition, efforts to influence male politicians at that time were carried out by the women's movement outside the party with women inside the party. Women who were in the party also felt that they could benefit from the affirmative policy. The process of convincing various groups of politicians—both men and women—finally succeeded in entering the concept of women's representation into article 65 of Law No. 12 of 2003 concerning Elections. Although the article is still appealing to the need for awareness about women's representation („... with regard to women's representation of at least 30 percent“). Meanwhile, in the Law on Political Parties No. 31 of 2002, provisions regarding affirmative action for women's representation have not been successful. The Law on Political Parties at that time only included attention to gender equality and justice. Political parties

rejected state intervention related to internal affairs of their cadres.

In addition to encouraging change through laws, women's groups also prepared infrastructure to help women who ran for themselves. This was achieved by preparing a list of female candidates who could be submitted, helping with fundraising and providing capacity building training. Affirmative policy regarding women's representation at that time succeeded in increasing the number of women DPR members from 44 people (8.8%) in the 1999 legislative elections to 65 people (11.82%) in 2004.

However, based on the results of the 2004 elections, women's groups considered that article 65 of Law No. 12 of 2003 has not been effective. First, Article 65 of the 2003 Election Law did not impose sanctions on the low commitment of political parties. Secondly, the women's movement involved in the issue of women's representation at the time saw that not all women who had passed to the DPR then fought for the women's political agenda. Only a portion of women DPR members had a gender perspective. By looking at the results of the 2004 Election, the women's movement again devised a strategy to face discussions on revisions to the Law on Political Parties and the Election Law.

The strategy of the women's movement in the next issue of women's representation was arranged more comprehensively and took into account the upstream and downstream aspects (Wardani 2009, p. 52; Soetjipto 2019, interview 22 January; Irlang 2019, interview 21 January). In the upstream part, the women's movement sought to encourage changes in the internal party to adopt a management structure that involved at least 30% of women and made this a requirement for political parties to participate in the election. Meanwhile, in the downstream part, the women's movement encouraged the nomination of at least 30% of women in the legislative candidates list and that their placement would be arranged alternately (called zipper/zebra system). This system's goal was to make women who are nominated, as much as 30% or more, prioritize their placement at the top. The women's movement realized that if the zipper system is combined with a half-open proportional electoral system, the chances of women's electability would be greater. This proposal was made based on an evaluation of the results of the 2004 election, which showed that the candidates who were elected in general were those in the top sequence. The women's movement at that time also pushed for affirmative policies for women who belonged to the marginal or minority category.

After the recommendations for the revision of the Election Law and the Law on Political Parties were formulated, women's groups conducted advocacy. Wardani (2009, p. 54) in his article "The Struggle to Formulate Affirmative Policy for Women in the 2008 Election Law" explained that the lobbying by women's groups targeted two areas. First was the formal lobby area that was directly related to decision making in the special committee, which covers the Election Bill Special Committee, the Special Committee for Political Parties Bill and DPR factions. Second was the lobby area, which could influence the discussion process in the special committee. In this region, the role of women members in the special committee was very strategic, including government representatives, in this case the Ministry of Women's Empowerment. In addition, women's groups at that time also approached the leaders of political parties and other DPR members.

The lobby of the women's group succeeded in passing the zipper system: from the initial alternation, there was now one female candidate in every three candidates. Women DPR members who were included in the General Election Committee Formulation Team had a role in the process. A mature strategy and synergy of various groups of women who were members of the women's movement to encourage women's representation had successfully passed the women's agenda for the revision of the Election Law. Three articles, namely the nomination of 30% of women, placements that provided a guarantee for female candidates to be on top (zipper) and the article on the selection of candidates with 30% Voter Divider Numbers (BPP) and serial numbers (semi-open proportional) had been agreed on.

In addition to lobbying, the women's movement at that time also held a demonstration to push the agenda of women's representation. The action involved various elements of society. The Indonesian Women's Coalition (KPI) and the Civil Society Alliance for Women and Politics (Ansipol) were among the organizations that were leading these actions.

However, a few months before the voting in the 2009 Election, the Constitutional Court issued a decree amending the article on the determination of elected candidates, which initially was based on a minimum vote of 30% BPP, or the serial number was the one with the most votes. This decision had raised concerns among women's groups because there was no protection for women who still needed increased capacity to compete in politics (Irlang 2019, interview, 21 January). However,

the 2009 election results showed an increase in the number of women's representation in the DPR to 100 people (17.82%).

After the 2009 election, the women's movement saw that the regulatory aspect no longer needed to be revised. They actually saw that what needed to be pushed was the Political Party Law and affirmative policies within political parties. Unfortunately, the revision of the 2011 Political Party Law did not target important points that could affect women's representation, such as the mechanism for electing officials.

Meanwhile, in 2013 the General Election Commission (KPU) issued a General Election Commission Regulation (PKPU) No. 7 of 2013 requiring political parties to include at least 30% of women's representation in each electoral district. Political parties that did not meet these requirements would be crossed out as election participants in the concerned electoral district.

The 2014 election results showed a slight decrease in the number of female representation, from 100 people (17.86%) in 2009 to 97 people (17.32%) in 2014. Of these, the majority of women who passed parliament were connected to the political elite (political dynasty), celebrities and entrepreneurs. Only a small percentage of them had activist backgrounds. In addition, the women's caucus in parliament also became ineffective as an arena for women's political struggle because it was fragmented only in the interests of political parties. Women in parliament who did not have a basis for feminist movement and ideology tended to fight for the interests of the party rather than the interests or political agenda of women.

Ahead of the 2019 election in the discussion of Law No. 7 of 2017 concerning Elections, which includes a simultaneous election mechanism, women's groups have a relatively short time to conduct studies (Wardani 2019, interview 24 January). The women's movement did not have enough opportunities to reflect as it did in the 2009 elections. The women's movement towards the 2019 Election also did not have time to think carefully about the impact of the election mechanism simultaneously for women's representation. There are many rules that must be observed by the current women's movement, such as the Election Law, Election Law, Political Party Law, and Corruption Law. On the other hand, there is no room for regulatory intervention that can be done because the problem is with the internal political parties.

The Strategy of the Women's Movement in Advocating the PKDRT Bill

The post-1998 space for democracy also provided an opportunity for the movement to advocate for women's rights. One of the main priorities for the women's movement in the reformation period was a legal reform to criminalize domestic violence. After the election in 1999 the women's movement encouraged the birth of the Draft Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (RUU PKDRT). The women's movement also mobilized, until finally the bill was passed in 2004 to Act No. 23 of 2004 concerning the Elimination of Domestic Violence (PKDRT Law). Women's groups saw the advocacy process of the PKDRT Bill as a monumental process in terms of timeframes, framing, strategies, involvement of various parties, and their effects (Eddyono et al. 2016, p. 35).

Munti (2019, interview 23 January), while advocating for the PKDRT Act worked as a staff for the Changing Law of LBH Apik Jakarta and Coordinator of the Network for Advocating for the Elimination of Domestic Violence (JANGKAR)—which later turned into a National Advocacy Network for the Elimination of Violence Against Women (JANGKA PKTP)—was assigned to analyze cases of violence against women which were considered complicated to deal with.

According to Munti, the cases that entered LBH Apik were mostly domestic violence cases and were very difficult to process legally. One of the cases handled by LBH Apik at that time was the case of Mrs. Neneng that proved to be a momentum for the women's movement to seek the PKDRT Bill. Neneng was harassed by her own husband. In 1997, the criminal court sentenced Neneng's husband to eight months in prison, but only after one year of probation. If he did not abuse Neneng for one year, then he would not be imprisoned.

Munti uses the feminist legal theory approach as an analytical tool to examine domestic violence cases reported to LBH Apik Jakarta. Munti assessed that Indonesian law is still very weak in protecting victims of domestic violence, because the Criminal Code (KUHP) only regulates physical violence. Article 285 of the Criminal Code concerning rape even leaves out a wife as a category of victims. Munti also conducted comparative studies and studied laws from other countries such as Malaysia, the Philippines, Minnesota state in the United States, and New Zealand, which have regulations regarding domestic violence. From the results of the comparative study, Munti realized that the advocacy of the PKDRT Bill could not be carried out by LBH Apik itself, but the strategy of networking between women's

movements had to be used to encourage advocacy for the PKDRT Bill.

In a workshop held by LBH Apik Jakarta in November 1997, which was attended by religious leaders, community leaders, law enforcers, women activists especially from NGOs assisting victims and academics, it was agreed to form a bill on Anti-Domestic Violence. After the workshop, the study division of LBH Apik Jakarta conducted a series of study activities to prepare legal drafting of the PKDRT Bill (Munti 2008, p. 54). Previously, LBH Apik had conducted a study through case studies and comparative literature reviews of anti-violence laws and policies in households in other countries. In 1998, LBH Apik Jakarta held a second workshop, which invited participants from previous workshops to be expanded as well as new participants. This second workshop agreed to establish an Advocacy Network to Eradicate Domestic Violence (Network for advocating security in the household, JANGKAR). The network coordinated by LBH Apik Jakarta consisted of 15 organizations, such as the former women's police organization, Women's Crisis Center, religious women's organizations, and also other organizations providing assistance to victims.

In its advocacy, LBH Apik Jakarta received funding from international donors such as the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID), Oxfam, and NOVIB. From 1998 to 2002, LBH Apik Jakarta and the JANGKAR Network consulted with various civil society organizations such as professional associations, student groups, labor organizations and state institutions throughout the country to get input into the draft law and also to garner support for bill advocacy PKDRT. As a result of this process, a number of organizations agreed to establish a National Advocacy Network for the Elimination of Violence against Women (JANGKA PKTP) replacing the JANGKAR Network (Eddyono et al. 2016, pp. 36-37).

The strategy used in the advocacy process of the PKDRT Bill at that time was a network advocacy strategy. The women's group at that time built networks with women's organizations, not only in Jakarta but also in the regions. These networks joined forces to campaign for the PKDRT Bill to encourage the DPR to discuss and ratify the PKDRT Bill. A personal approach to members of the DPR was also carried out.

According to Munti (2019) the Parliament Forum, which is a forum that is independent of the structure of the House of Representatives (DPR), has an important role in advocating the PKDRT Bill. The forum facilitated women's groups to discuss cases of violence against

women, especially cases of domestic violence, with members of the DPR. The Parliament Forum also helped the women's group at that time to meet with Commission VII in charge of women's issues. Through a parliamentary forum, members of the DPR could be invited to discuss and understand the PKDRT Bill and the need for a more comprehensive PKDRT Bill. The DPR members then became spokespersons and campaigners for the women's movement regarding the PKDRT Bill to the regions. The support of members of the DPR, especially Commission VII in some regions, is considered very strategic to encourage positive responses from the people in the region. The PKDRT Bill was recorded as the DPR Initiative Bill at the DPR Plenary Meeting on May 13, 2003. All factions at that time agreed to make the PKDRT Bill a DPR Initiative Bill, although there were a number of records from the faction of the Islamic parties at that time (Munti 2008, p. 75).

The discussion on the PKDRT Bill could only take place one year after it was declared as the DPR Initiative Bill. According to Munti, when the DPR at that time was ready to discuss the PKDRT Draft Bill, the government was not ready yet (Munti 2019, interview 23 January). To encourage the government to discuss the PKDRT Bill, the women's movement then held the "one thousand umbrella" action in front of the State Palace on May 31, 2004. During this action, the women's movement representatives had the opportunity to meet President Megawati Soekarnoputri. The results of the meeting between the representatives of the women's movement and the president at the time resulted in the Presidential Mandate (Ampres) to designate the leading sector of the ministry, which would discuss with the DPR and also prepare a list of inventory problems.

The strategy for networking in the advocacy of the PKDRT Bill was also supported by other speakers, Chandrakirana, Kolibonso, and Eddyono, all of whom were—during the process of advocating for the PKDRT Bill—working at the National Commission on Violence Against Women at the time. Chandrakirana (2019, interview 25 January) explained that Komnas Perempuan in its capacity as a national human rights institution acts as a liaison for the women's movement network with the DPR and the government and builds consolidation of movements at the national and regional levels. At that time, the PKDRT Bill was agreed to be a single issue and the main priority of Komnas Perempuan. Komnas Perempuan also expanded the area of support for the PKDRT Bill to law enforcement actors such as lawyers, judges and police.

During the advocacy for the PKDRT Bill, Kolibonso, an activist from Mitra Perempuan (2019, interview 1 February), was a member of the National Commission on Violence Against Women. Kolibonso was also a representative of the National Commission on Violence Against Women appointed to provide input to the government and the DPR in the forum for Public Hearings (RDPU) in the DPR. Meanwhile, Mitra Perempuan was also involved in a public campaign to encourage the adoption of the PKDRT Bill. The campaign that was carried out at that time was the making of pictorial postcards messages of anti violence against women. The postcards were signed by the public, including the women's movement, the labor movement, and the general public. The postcards were shown to the House of Representatives to prove the amount of support for ratification of the PKDRT Bill.

Before becoming Komnas Perempuan's Coordinator of Legal Reform, Eddyono (2019, interview 6 February), had been involved in advocating for the PKDRT Bill since 1998 when she was still joining LBH Apik Jakarta. According to Eddyono, the women's movement to push for the PKDRT Bill also used the strategy of involving men. The involvement of men and religious leaders used by the women's movement at that time was a layered and inclusive strategy, so the PKDRT Bill became an issue that was fought together, not only by the women's movement.

Advocacy for the PKDRT Bill also faced challenges and obstacles both from outside and within the women's movement network itself. From within the network, there were differences of opinion and tensions arising from a sense of ownership of the advocacy process of the PKDRT Bill. Meanwhile, external challenges emerged from conservative groups who tried to reject the ratification of the PKDRT Bill. Conservatives at that time campaigned that the PKDRT bill would damage household harmony. From the interviews, it was known that the ratification of the PKDRT Bill in 2004 was seen as an achievement of the women's movement.

Learning from the Women's Movement for Political Representation and the Elimination of Violence

What novelty has been created by the women's movement through policy advocacy on women's representation in politics and the elimination of domestic violence? The following section will describe the novelty and main message of the women's movement through policy advocacy on the Election Law, the Political Party Law, and the PKDRT Law.

How they begin. The women's movement saw the 1998 Reformation as a momentum to incorporate women's political agenda into the public policy-making process. The open political space was used by various women's groups to consolidate, formulate a common agenda, develop strategies and mobilize women's political power. The movement to strengthen women's politics was carried out by increasing the amount of women's representation in the DPR.

The women's movement for advocacy for the PKDRT Act actually began in 1997—before the reformation. This initiative was driven by the conditions of cases of violence against women handled by LBH Apik Jakarta and victim assistance institutions. In other words, this movement was born because of the crisis faced by women who were victims of violence. The PKDRT Law also gained momentum in the 1998 Reformation when civil society urged the government to resolve cases of violence against women, especially in the context of sexual violence experienced by Chinese women in the mass riots in May 1998. After the May 1998 riots the women's movement was able to raise the issue of violence women to become public conversations and give public awareness that rape is a serious crime (Muchtar 2016, pp. 153-154).

Character and Strength of the Women's Movement. Women's movements for women's political representation and the elimination of domestic violence do not only carry women's identities, but also bring women's identity as gender identity with certain categories and situations. This movement brings a message to the position of women who face political marginalization and women who experience violence. The women's movement in advocating the Election Law, the Political Party Law, and the PKDRT Act seeks to encourage and strengthen women's position in politics and formulate women's political agendas that dismantle private and public separations such as domestic violence. For this reason, it can be said that the women's movement advocating this policy has adopted feminist ideology in line with the explanation of McBride and Mazur (2008) that the feminist movement aims to change the position of women in society and politics, and develop critical thinking against subordination to women issues such as domestic violence, which is closely related to gender based violence.

The post-1998 policy advocacy movement has also encouraged gender strategic needs with the intention to renew unequal power relations between men and women. The increasing number of women entering formal political institutions (at least 30%) aims to open up

space to incorporate women's agendas into the national political agenda and thus produce more gender-fair political policies. Meanwhile, the recognition of domestic violence as a public issue is a form of guarantee of state legal protection against violence experienced by many women. The existence of the PKDRT Law confirms that the issue of violence occurring in the domestic area is a public problem.

Stages of Movement Growth and Maturity. The women's movement for women's political representation and the women's movement for advocacy for the PKDRT Act shows the growth process of the women's movement in Indonesia. Both policy advocacies use critical analysis of the situation of injustice experienced by women, the agenda being championed and the strategies used. This critical thinking helps the two advocates in articulating the political agenda to the public.

Both policy advocacies were supported by an organized mass base of various community groups, such as NGOs or women's organizations, both based in Jakarta and in the regions, party women, parliamentary women, as well as professional groups and academics. This women's movement has succeeded in maximizing the diversity of actors and organizations involved in advocacy based on the potential and strength of each group. For example, in the women's movement to encourage political representation of women, academic groups take on the role of drafting a conceptual framework, while the lobbying process is carried out by various organizations, and for demonstrations each organization or group encourages mass mobilization.

Networking strategies helped form the unity of language and understanding related to the substance of advocacy. Although both movements used a networking strategy as the basis of their work, each organization still has autonomy within its internal organization. Decision making within the network was based on mutual agreement.

Strategy. The women's movement in this study shows the importance of building women's awareness about inequality faced by women but at the same time building awareness about the potential of women to make changes. In the women's movement for women's representation, awareness building is carried out by paving the way to understanding and strengthening capacity for women in political parties. In advocating for the PKDRT Bill, public awareness of the concept of domestic violence and the importance of the Domestic Violence Law are used to support advocacy for the PKDRT Bill, such as the support of a number of DPR members in

advocating to various regions.

The network strategy was used by these two advocates to expand support from civil society organizations. However, the women's movement not only synergizes with civil society organizations, but also academics, professionals, state institutions, as well as parties and parliament.

The organization and lobbying carried out by the women's movement can be formal and informal. This choice is determined by the social and political context at hand. Women's movements for representation, for example, used formal and informal lobbying. The formal lobbying was carried out to the factions in the DPR and the Special Committee on Election Bill and the Political Party Bill, while the informal approach was carried out to the special committee members of women by supplying the material they needed in the discussion at the special committee. This effort was successfully carried out when discussing the zipper article.

The development and refinement of analysis and the political agenda are the main strategic components in the movement. The women's movement for women's political representation shows the evolution of gender ideologies that underlie the agenda they fight for. This process strengthens the analysis and sharpens their political agenda. Women's movements for women's political representation face different contexts at each election moment that lasts five years. The different political context influences the approach used and the strategy implemented. In the 2004 elections, the women's movement used the women in politics approach (Soetjipto 2019, interview 21 January). This approach considered women to be homogeneous entities, because they view their bodies as women, so they have the same experience. This approach assumes that women will support fellow women. Therefore in 2004 a women's group campaigned for *women vote for women*. But these efforts did not bring the expected results. The number of women who were elected in the 2004 elections was 65 (11.82%), which was an increase, but only a small one. Women did not choose women. The women who passed the DPR did not all carry the women's agenda.

This situation led the women's movement to make an evaluation and correction. Various women's groups saw their advocacy as an effort to mainstream gender issues. Women's groups then looked at the issues and debates that took place, such as the current political system, the electoral district that was put in place, and the vote counting system used. From these observations, the women's group then determined which interventions

could be carried out so that women would get a lot of votes and qualify for parliament. This approach is a gender and politics approach (Soetjipto 2019, interview 21 January). In terms of feminist ideology, there has been a shift from women in politics to gender and politics. The women's groups involved in advocacy then realized that women's identities varied. Thus the strategy of strengthening women's representation was no longer placed in the strategy of women choosing women, but also looking at the women's background, the parties that supported them, and the interests they fought for.

Achievements and Influence. The women's movement for advocacy for the PKDRT Bill showed success in fighting for the political agenda that it promoted. The PKDRT Law was enacted in 2004. Meanwhile, the women's movement for women's political representation has so far succeeded in including the rules for determining women's quota in the Election Law and the Law on Political Parties. Unfortunately, until now the electability rate has never reached 30%, it even slightly decreased from the 2009 Election to the 2014 Election. Although the Election Law has regulated women's quota in nomination, the Political Party Law has not regulated the obligations of political parties to guarantee women's representation in the party. In other words, there is no affirmative policy within the party.

Conclusion

The experience of the women's movement to encourage women's political representation and the abolition of domestic violence above shows the importance of collective action in the women's movement. Collective action is a method that strengthens the political agenda of women in unequal relationships within society. The joint movement of women not only carries the message of women's identity, but also the unequal power relations in society. The politics of women in this study is the involvement of women in politics with the aim of including women's political agenda.

The two post-1998 women's movements discussed in this paper showed a novelty in Indonesian politics and law that couldn't have been imagined during the New Order. The women's movement for women's political representation was a sign of women entering the political agenda, while the women's movement for advocacy for the PKDRT Bill dismantled the private and public dichotomies that harm women in the context of violence against women in the domestic sphere.

The women's movement needs strong concepts

or ideas, mature strategies and synergies with various community groups. However, evaluation and correction of concepts, strategies and working mechanisms also need to be carried out to support the achievement of the agenda of change. This can be done by developing, strengthening and improving the analysis and political agenda of women. Feminism is a perspective and analytical tool that is constantly being used in the development of ideas and also an evaluation of the achievements of the women's movement in this study.

The two women's movements in this paper show that the initial period of reform (1999-2004) was the golden year of the women's movement in encouraging change through policy. Without ignoring the effectiveness of the implementation of the Election Law, Political Party Law and PKDRT Law, the space for openness to the idea of change at the beginning of the reform has been used by the women's movement to encourage women's political agendas and bring new politics and law unimaginable in the New Order .

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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.

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

JP welcomes contributions from researchers, academia, activists, and practitioners involved in gender advocacy in any of the areas mentioned above. Manuscripts should be written so that they are comprehensible to an intelligent reader, avoiding jargon, formulas and extensive methodological treatises wherever possible. They should use examples and illustrations to highlight the ideas, concepts and practical implications of the ideas being presented. Feminist theory is important and necessary; but theory — with the empirical research and conceptual work that supports theory — needs to be balanced by integration into practices to stand the tests of time and usefulness. We want the journal to be read as much by stakeholders as by academics seeking sound research and scholarship in women's study.

JP appears annually and the contents of each issue include: editorials, peer-reviewed papers by leading writers; reviews, short stories, and poetry. A key feature of the journal is appreciation of the value of literature, fiction, and the visual narrative (works of art, such as paintings and drawings) in the study of women's issues

Submissions

To discuss ideas for contributions, please contact the Chief Editor: Anita Dhewy via anitadhewy@jurnalperempuan.com. Research papers should be between 5000-10000 words. Please make sure to include in your submission pack an **abstract outlining the title, purpose, methodology and main findings**. It is worth considering that, as your paper will be located and read online, the quality of your abstract will determine whether readers go on to access your full paper. We recommend you place particular focus on the impact of your research on further research, practice or society. What does your paper contribute? In addition, please provide up to **six descriptive keywords**.

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