

The Feminist Academic Activist: Women's Knowledge for Resistance, Hope and Social Change. *Jurnal Perempuan's* Contribution to Building Feminist Discourse in Indonesia

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Abstract

From 1996 to 2021, *Jurnal Perempuan* has been disseminating feminist knowledge for 25 years. A total of 610 scientific papers have been published in 110 editions under 11 different main topics. In addition to feminist literature, which is published three times a year, *Jurnal Perempuan's* research results also underlie a number of movements and advocacy in fighting for feminism and gender issues. The transformation of feminist theories into real practice is manifested in public discussions, collective actions, video documentaries, to the participation of *Sahabat Jurnal Perempuan*. This qualitative research aims to reflect on the publication of *Jurnal Perempuan* over the last 25 years and how *Jurnal Perempuan* turns academic research into activism against oppression and violence. Using the ethnography or autoethnography method, this paper will describe how *Jurnal Perempuan* implements feminist praxis in building a feminist discourse through feminist literature, education, advocacy, and solidarity.

Keywords: feminist discourse, feminist knowledge, feminist praxis, feminist research

Introduction

Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is the first feminist academic journal in Indonesia published by *Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan* (YJP). JP aims to fulfil the gap of feminism and gender knowledge resources that were scarce at the time. In particular, the founders of YJP, who were affiliated with the University of Indonesia, namely Dr. Gadis Arivia, Prof. Dr. Toeti Heraty Noerhadi, and Asikin Arif, M.Phil., had the desire to help students who had difficulties in obtaining references to feminist studies in bahasa Indonesia, as well as Ida Dhanny. This is in line with the aim of developing feminist literature in the form of academic research as a contribution to the development of feminist discourse at the academic level, the feminist movement and/or gender justice movement, and in the general public (Dalton and McDermott 1995). Feminist resistance to patriarchal cultural and knowledge production comes through the publication of feminist academic journals. Departing from the desire to answer these concerns, YJP published JP for the first time on 10 August 1996. Each edition of JP consists of a collection of academic research papers on various gender issues with a feminist perspective.

For 25 years, YJP has published 110 editions of JP from 1996 to 2021. JP's research does not only focus on the identity of women as research subjects. As a form of feminist research, women's experiences become a prioritised aspect to build feminist discourse through JP's research products. From 110 editions of JP, the author classifies 11 topics that become the main umbrella of ideas in the journals that have been published. The 11 topics include Women and Religion, Girls, Culture and Literature, Economy and Work, Law and Human Rights, Sexual Violence, Environment, Media and Technology, Science and Education, Health and Sexuality, and Women in Society and Politics.

The production of feminist knowledge through academic journals becomes important to understand how academic-based and activism-based advocacies are linked. The research is written as a form of reflection on the feminism discourse that has been JP's agenda since 1996 until now. What has been produced during this period was work that involved many parties, so that the nuances of the storytelling of JP's work could also be part of the effort to share knowledge.

Methodology

JP positions itself as a feminist academic journal that explores how academics and researchers can be grounded in concrete theory and practice. Since its inception, JP has been committed to producing research on social transformation. To examine this, this research uses ethnographic or autoethnographic method that allows the author as part of JP (editorial staff at JP) to conduct a study in which the author is part of what is being researched. This research method provides space for the author to describe the work that JP does. The method allows the author to share her experiences and reflect on what JP has done. Ethnographic or autoethnographic method has been widely written by, among others, Burdell and Swadener (1999), Duncan (2002), Collins (2010), and even Bourdieu (1977), who assert that the method that uses one's own experience can capture the frustration, humour, and humanity that are often absent in conducting distanced research. Managing JP for almost 26 years certainly involves a lot of emotions and sacrifices from every staff involved in maintaining and keeping JP, which until now is the only feminist journal in Indonesia.

The author also uses the theoretical foundation of social justice based on the frames of critical theory, critical pedagogy, and critical race theory (CRT). Critical theory builds on Marx's distinction between material reality and superstructure, favouring the social reality that forms the superstructure. Frankfurt School, especially Horkheimer went beyond the discussion of the distinction between social reality and superstructure and underlined the importance of social change (Horkheimer 1982). Horkheimer believed that theory can liberate the oppressed. Theory and research can build the consciousness of the oppressed so that they can take action. Frankfurt School is comparable to Gramsci (1975), who used the term cultural hegemony or subaltern (marginalised people) who need to be counterhegemonic in order to be liberated from oppression. Paulo Friere's (2005) critical pedagogy is also considered by the author to explain the form of education in JP by emphasising on more advanced feminist approaches, such as bell hooks (1994), Gloria Anzaldua (1987), and Patricia Hill Collins (2009), who link critical theory not only to class, but also to gender, race, and ethnicity. They further argue that education is a critical project.

These three theories support academic-based activism that encourages research products to be alive, active, and able to change society towards a gender-

equitable society. A theoretical framework that can support research to be "active" has been written by Cann and DeMeulenaere (2020). "Active" research is embodied in various forms of dissemination aimed at social change, while "passive" academic research is only useful at the level of advancement of the researcher's rank or class to improve their own career but not to bring research to life so that it is useful for the wider community and can be used for feminist political actions. YJP has proven through its political actions such as Suara Ibu Peduli action that research can ignite the flames of activism.

By using the method and framework above, combined with the literature study method, this research aims to examine the overall work of *Jurnal Perempuan*. JP's process of building feminist discourse in Indonesia through feminist literature, education, advocacy, and solidarity for 25 years is reflected in this paper.

The literature study was done by selecting JP's publications and other forms of feminist knowledge dissemination, such as Public Education (Pendidikan Publik/PP) and open discussions, video or documentation of Feminism and Philosophy Study (Kelas Feminisme dan Filsafat/KAFFE), demonstrations/protests, participation of Sahabat Jurnal Perempuan (SJP), and other activities that support JP in building feminist discourse in Indonesia. *Jurnal Perempuan* in its work always endeavours to produce feminist academic writing. According to Letherby (2003), feminist academic writing has three features: the questions asked, the background and location of the researchers in conducting their research, and the purpose of the research and writing. These three features make feminist academic writing different from other academic research and writing. Feminist academic writing always carries an agenda to deconstruct societal perceptions that favour men and discriminate against women. Various research, documentation, and publication done by JP are intended to break down the norms and thoughts of society that are discriminatory in various fields. In addition to feminist research, this paper also elaborates on other practices carried out by JP, namely feminist literature, public education, solidarity, and feminist activism and movement. The question to be answered in this research is how does JP contribute to producing feminist knowledge in Indonesia and transforming it into feminist politics?

Feminist Literatures

According to Dalton and McDermott (1995), the existence of feminist academic journals has significance

in the politics of feminism. JP as the first feminist journal in Indonesia is an important reference for gender studies and feminism in Indonesia. JP was established as an effort to present feminist discourse and bridge the gap between the interests of the grassroots political movement of feminism and the demands of academic institutions for scientific research and writing in the form of research and journal. The research and academic writing conducted by JP carries feminist commitments. This is in line with the situated knowledge approach (Harding 1988) and articulates the experience of the others in a concrete way. Research-based advocacy is also chosen as an effort to build legitimacy that the issues articulated by JP have a scientific basis; a language accepted by various stakeholders, such as bureaucrats, public officials, and others. Over the past 25 years, 610 feminist academic papers have been published by JP.

Jurnal Perempuan – Advocating for A Data and Research-based Feminist Agenda

The selection of *Jurnal Perempuan's* themes is not done arbitrarily, but based on discussions within the editorial team with consideration of the urgency of the issue. In 110 issues of JP, the author tries to classify the major themes in JP research.

Table 1. Women and Religion

Edition	Title
3	<i>Bias Gender dalam Pemahaman Agama</i>
31	<i>Menimbang Poligami</i>
77	<i>Agama dan Seksualitas</i>
82	<i>Pemilu Agama dan Status Perempuan</i>

An article in Issue 31: *Menimbang Poligami* entitled *Kebijakan Poligami: Kekerasan Negara Terhadap Perempuan*, questioned the presence of the State and its laws in preventing rampant violence against women in the form of polygamy (Reyneta 2003). There were feminist principles in the paper that reinforce the assertion that the issue of polygamy is political and requires a response in the form of changes in the practice of family institutions, family law institutions, and state policy. The combination of feminist methodology and primary data processing from women's narratives, collected by the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) Apik, transformed the research into an advocacy tool. In line with Letherby's (2003) concept of feminist research, a question that departed from the background of the polygamy phenomenon was answered by JP with the explanation that clear legal

regulations do not necessarily favour women victims of polygamy (Reyneta 2003).

In addition to the presentation of case data, JP also reflected on and formulated a number of recommendations to promote gender justice for women in relation to the position of women in religion. In topics related to women and religion, there was a prioritisation of feminist research objectivity that combines theory and practice (Stanley 1990). The analysis in this theme also reinforces Harding's (1991) standpoint theory, which is seen in the attempt to show the influence of external factors on the practice of polygamy, resulting in demands for victims-centred laws.

Table 2. Girls

Edition	Title
16	<i>Ibu dan Anak Perempuan</i>
29	<i>Perdagangan Perempuan dan Anak Indonesia</i>
55	<i>Anak Jalanan Perempuan</i>
59	<i>Perempuan dan Anak di Wilayah Tertinggal</i>
88	<i>Pernikahan Anak: Status Anak Perempuan</i>
105	<i>Hak Anak dan Keadilan Gender</i>

JP's issues always present feminist political practices. As in the theme of Girls, which raised the issue of child marriage. Child marriage is a practice that deprives girls of their Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights (SRHR), opportunities for education, participation in the world of work, maternal and infant mortality, stunting, and development failure. Issue 88 specifically criticised the failure to amend the Marriage Law to change the minimum age of marriage from 16 years old to 18 years old for girls. The Constitutional Court Decision No. 18/6/2015 shows several problems, including the disregard of the right to basic education for girls, the potential for maternal mortality rates (MMR), legal inconsistencies that are not in accordance with legal instruments for child protection, the failure of judges to implement the law as they treat legal texts without reason and conscience, and the lack of responsibility of the Constitutional Court (Mahkamah Konstitusional/MK) judges who advised the House of Representatives (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat/DPR) to revise the Marriage Law (Candraningrum 2016).

Efforts to voice the vulnerability of girls are also seen in JP's Issue 105 that uncovered a number of practices that violate the rights of girls due to child marriage in various regions in Indonesia using various interdisciplinary approaches. The research on child

marriage was then used as a social media campaign material in the form of infographics and short videos on the prevention of child marriage. With these campaigns and videos, JP has implemented active research that builds social change (Cann and DeMeulenaere 2020) and an active reflection that educates the general public (Freire 2005).

Table 3. Culture and Literature

Edition	Title
12	<i>Pria Feminis, Why Not?</i>
13	<i>Perempuan Budaya Pop</i>
20	<i>Perempuan dan Spiritualitas</i>
22	<i>Memikirkan Perkawinan</i>
30	<i>Perempuan dalam Seni Sastra</i>
54	<i>Merayakan Keberagaman</i>
57	<i>Kearifan Lokal</i>
62	<i>Perempuan dan Seni Pertunjukan</i>
64	<i>Saatnya Bicara Soal Laki-laki</i>
84	<i>Budaya Tradisi Adat</i>

JP addresses the theme of Culture and Literature through various documented feminist research as a form of critique against patriarchal culture. Under the pretext of cultural “purity”, a number of discriminatory customary practices and traditions resist criticism and change. JP raises cultural themes to prove that culture (including various gender-biased practices in culture) is a result of social construction so that it is open to criticism, reinterpretation, and change. In JP’s Issue 84: *Budaya Tradisi Adat*, Arivia and Gina’s research (2015), for example, highlighted the concrete experiences of women involved in contract marriages in West Java as victims of social inequality and patriarchal culture. These experiences were narrated through direct quotes from the women victims and reinforced with feminist analysis. Referring to the standpoint of feminism, concrete experiences need to be involved in order for the understanding of the others to be complete (Benhabib 1992). JP uses its research to liberate those who are oppressed (Gramsci 1975) by the patriarchal cultural system. Feminist politics in the theme of women and culture aim to make explicit the veil of gender discrimination based on tradition and religion. A number of other studies have also revealed how local cultures such as Batak and Bali place women as subordinate to men in tradition. Using a liberal feminist approach based on universal rights (Benhabib 1992; Okin 1998), issues on culture and literature believe

that cultural rights, if they conflict with humanity and gender justice, should be revitalised.

Table 4. Economy and Work

Edition	Title
11	<i>Kerja, Krisis, dan PHK: Maknanya untuk Perempuan</i>
42	<i>Mengurai Kemiskinan, Dimana Perempuan?</i>
74	<i>Siapakah Agen Ekonomi?</i>
99	<i>Perempuan dan Ekonomi Perawatan</i>
108	<i>Perempuan Pekerja di Tengah Krisis dan Perubahan Teknologi</i>

Some feminists believe that women’s empowerment needs to be built from an economic approach, as it is only by empowering women economically that their agency and bargaining power in their communities and society can be enhanced (McLaren 2019). A number of JP’s studies highlight various approaches and experiences of women from vulnerable groups in relation to the division of labour by gender; low level of education; lack of opportunities and even marginalisation from high-income jobs; absence of decent and safe work spaces; and calls for the passage of the Domestic Workers Act. JP’s research on work and economy issues believes that women have multiple vulnerabilities within these issues. The theme of women and economy has a feminist political agenda, namely to encourage gender-sensitive policies that provide equal opportunities in the economy for women. This theme also exposes patriarchal cultural practices in unequal work and wage systems. JP’s research also covers the conditions during the Covid-19 pandemic - in line with Harding’s (1991) standpoint theory - that the development of feminist knowledge cannot be separated from external factors surrounding women. This further justifies that JP produces active research that aims to encourage social change (Cann and DeMeulenaere 2020) in the economic field.

Table 5. Law and Human Rights

Edition	Title
9	<i>Pelanggaran HAM Terhadap Perempuan</i>
10	<i>Hukum itu Seksis</i>
47	<i>Mengapa Perempuan Menolak</i>
49	<i>Hukum Kita, Sudahkah Melindungi?</i>
97	<i>Hukum Pidana dan Ketimpangan Gender</i>
110	<i>Perempuan dan Inisiatif Keadilan</i>

On the topic of Law and Human Rights, JP featured various research, such as in Issue 97: *Hukum Pidana dan Ketimpangan Gender*, with an article entitled Formulation of Article 488 of the *Rumusan Pasal 488 RUU KUHP Indonesia: Potret Kegagalan Membaca Persoalan Akses Perempuan Atas Identitas Hukum*. The article stressed that the absence of feminist perspective could bring harm to women. The liberation of those who are oppressed is impossible without the implementation of the right theoretical perspective (Horkheimer 1982). A number of interdisciplinary approaches, especially feminist legal theories, were used to understand the phenomenon of gender-biased law. JP's issue on Law and Human Rights was intended as a feminist critique based on the experiences of victims and activists fighting for the revision of gender-biased laws. The Penal Code (Kitab Undang-undang Hukum Pidana/KUHP), for example, is said to be a law that is written based on men's experiences and reflections. Instead of ensuring the protection of women as citizens, the law often makes women vulnerable to discrimination.

Table 6. Sexual Violence

Edition	Title
26	<i>Hentikan Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan</i>
36	<i>Pendampingan Korban Trafiking</i>
38	<i>Pornografi</i>
51	<i>Mengapa Mereka Diperdagangkan</i>
68	<i>Trafficking dan Kebijakan</i>
71	<i>Perkosaan dan Kekuasaan (Rape)</i>
89	<i>RUU Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual</i>
109	<i>Kekerasan Seksual dan Ketimpangan Gender</i>

The issue of Sexual Violence (SV) is a global feminist agenda because this phenomenon is a threat to women in various parts of the world including Indonesia. JP intentionally chose this background to mobilise various parties to improve the situation and increase feminist knowledge (Harding 1991) of SV issues. A number of studies published by JP were done mostly by academics and activists to push for the ratification of the Sexual Violence Crime Bill (Rancangan Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual/RUU TPKS), which was finally passed into law in April 2022. A number of studies related to rape, incest, corrective rape against Lesbians, Bisexuals, and Transgender (LBT), and sexual violence in the campus environment were discussed with a feminist approach that prioritises concrete experiences and partiality. In addition to being used as a basis for

pressing for the passage of the TPKS Bill, the studies were also used as a basis for movements and dialogues to foster empathy and alignment towards victims. The passage of the TPKS Bill was undoubtedly the result of the movement. Feminist academic research in this regard shows the linkage between feminist academic research-based advocacy and the feminist movement in the form of action. JP's feminist academic research was then disseminated on social media and used as a basis for public dialogue to urge the adoption of policies on the prevention and handling of SV.

Table 7. Environment

Edition	Title
21	<i>Perempuan dan Ekologi</i>
27	<i>Perempuan di Pertambangan</i>
40	<i>Perempuan dalam Bencana</i>
80	<i>Tubuh Perempuan dalam Ekologi</i>
95	<i>Perempuan Nelayan</i>
103	<i>Agensi Perempuan Pedesaan</i>
104	<i>Perempuan dan Lahan Gambut</i>

JP also uses the lens of ecofeminism in raising environmental issues. Women and nature experience similar pressure and exploitation from a patriarchal society (Tong 2009). Even when women participate in cultivating natural resources for the benefits of their family's life and consumption, the benefits they receive are not always directly proportional to the time and energy they have spent. In the article, *Perjuangan Rekognisi Identitas Hukum Perempuan Nelayan Ujung Pangkah, Gresik: Analisis Feminis terhadap Kebijakan Kartu dan Asuransi Nelayan* (Ismail 2017), published in JP's Issue 95: *Perempuan Nelayan*, the interpretation of patriarchal culture is closely related to women's access to natural resources and professional recognition. JP's editorial team conducted three studies using participatory research. They were involved in fishing communities, observing and being part of their daily lives. In-depth interviews were conducted to show the challenges, agency, and collective actions that are crucial to the gender justice movement for fisherwomen.

JP's research finds that in the midst of environmental destruction, poverty, and patriarchal culture, fisherwomen experience multiple vulnerabilities. Instead of providing protection, the State contributes to the exclusion of fisherwomen from access to fair social security in the form of professional recognition and

fisherman’s cards. The research was a tangible form of feminist politics. Research, community assistance, and documentary films as feminist knowledge products made by JP were used by Kiara and the Indonesian Fisherwomen Union (Persaudaraan Perempuan Nelayan Indonesia/PPNI) Puspita Bahari to strengthen the demand for recognition of fisherwomen carried out.

Table 8. Media and Technology

Edition	Title
18	<i>Perempuan & Teknologi: Pembebasan?</i>
28	<i>Perempuan dan Media</i>
37	<i>Remaja Melek Media</i>
61	<i>Pendidikan, Media dan Gender</i>
67	<i>Apa Kabar Media Kita?</i>
78	<i>Gender dan Teknologi</i>

On the theme of Media and Technology, JP highlighted the lack of representation of women in both areas. The number of women who use media does not negate the facts that it is male-dominated (Mukherjee, Ratho & Jain 2021). In Issue 67: *Apa Kabar Media Kita?*, JP’s active feminist research (Cann and DeMeulenaere 2020) was intended to support feminist politics in responding to concerns about the lack of representation of women in the media, the curb of expression, and the restrictions on those who participate in broadcasting including women after the 1998 reform.

In JP’s Issue 68, the sexualisation of women’s appearance in the media was also discussed as a key issue. In line with feminist thinking on the body, such as Young in *On Female Body Experience* (2005) and many other feminist thinkers on the meaning of the body, JP’s research on Media and Technology illustrates a strong critique of how women’s bodies are narrated and commercialised. The beauty standards owned and socialised by the media do not represent women in general (Amiruddin 2010). Structurally, research related to this theme is intended to re-read beauty myths from a feminist perspective.

Table 9. Science and Education

Edition	Title
23	<i>Perspektif Gender dalam Pendidikan</i>
32	<i>Perempuan dan Fundamentalisme</i>
44	<i>Pendidikan Alternatif untuk Perempuan</i>
45	<i>Sejauh Mana Komitmen Negara?</i>

Edition	Title
48	<i>Pengetahuan Perempuan</i>
52	<i>Kami Punya Sejarah</i>
66	<i>Pendidikan untuk Semua</i>
70	<i>Sekolah Mahal</i>
85	<i>Instrumen Gender Internasional</i>
90	<i>Pedagogi Feminis</i>
91	<i>Status Perempuan dalam STEM (Sains, Teknologi, Engineering, Matematika)</i>
96	<i>Feminisme dan Cinta</i>

JP’s feminist research on the topic of Science and Education criticises women’s equality and opportunities in obtaining education. JP’s Issue 90 on *Pedagogi Feminis*, for example, was intended to document the knowledge and classroom activism of feminist academics to promote curriculum, teaching, learning, and scholarly publications on women’s and queer knowledge as the others. It demonstrated the importance of recognising diversity in developing research (hooks 1994). This research highlighted the experiences of feminist pedagogy in Java and Eastern Indonesia to show the different experiences of grounding feminist knowledge in Indonesia.

JP’s Issue 91 on the *Status Perempuan dalam STEM (Sains, Teknologi, Engineering, Matematika)* made it explicit that the gendered division of labour and knowledge affects women’s participation in STEM. JP’s Issue 91 carried a political agenda to encourage women’s participation in STEM by improving the curriculum, changing the comprehension and practice of educational institutions and families in understanding educational investment for women, and promoting that STEM is open to all and provides good earning opportunities for women. If inequalities in STEM are not taken seriously by the State and other stakeholders, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are in danger of failing.

Table 10. Health and Sexuality

Edition	Title
2	<i>Prostitusi Berkah atau Kutukan?</i>
4	<i>Rahim ini Milik Siapa?</i>
15	<i>Wacana Tubuh Perempuan</i>
25	<i>Perempuan Lansia</i>
41	<i>Seksualitas</i>
43	<i>Melindungi Perempuan dari HIV AIDS</i>

Edition	Title
53	<i>Kesehatan Reproduksi: Andai Perempuan Bisa Memilih</i>
58	<i>Seksualitas Lesbian</i>
86	<i>SRHR (Sexual & Reproductive Health & Rights) & Perubahan Iklim</i>
87	<i>Keragaman Gender & Seksualitas</i>
93	<i>HKSR dan Kebijakan Pembangunan</i>
102	<i>Perempuan dan Kesehatan</i>
107	<i>Perempuan & Pandemi Covid-19</i>

Health and Sexuality topics such as discussed in JP Issues 58 and 87 are feminist politics that raise issues that are considered taboo and silenced. Themes related to sexual desire, gender diversity, and sexuality are issues that exist in society but rarely receive attention both at the academic level and other research institutions. When

we talk about the constitutional rights of citizens related to social justice issues, marginalised groups such as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ) should be articulated in balanced social research. Existing research on LGBTQ is often built on antipathy or religious narratives. JP uses the standpoint of feminism to voice and recognise marginalised identities. Issue 87, *Keragaman Gender & Seksualitas*, highlighted the issues of LGBT marginalised groups in the article, *Hak Asasi Manusia LGBT dalam Kebijakan Dalam Negeri Indonesia*. LGBTQ people often face multiple forms of violence from their families, communities, and the State. They are often excluded from the social justice discourse. Feminist academic research and writing on LGBTQ themes, as Cann and DeMulenaere (2020) said, are intended to build empathy, solidarity, and advocacy for the fulfilment of human rights of LGBTQ in Indonesia.

Table 11. Women in Society and Politics

Edition	Title
1	<i>Mengapa Perempuan Disiksa?</i>
5	<i>Dampak Pembangunan Terhadap Perempuan</i>
6	<i>Siapa Bercermin ke Siapa?</i>
7	<i>Politik Bergejolak Perempuan di Mana?</i>
8	<i>Pemerintah yang Berdiri di Atas Darah Perempuan</i>
14	<i>Gerakan Perempuan Sedunia</i>
17	<i>Perempuan Lokal Bicara</i>
19	<i>Perempuan dalam Kewarganegaraan, Di Mana?</i>
24	<i>Perempuan di Wilayah Konflik</i>
33	<i>Perempuan dan Pemulihan Konflik</i>
34	<i>Politik dan Keterwakilan Perempuan</i>
35	<i>Halo, Senayan!</i>
39	<i>Pekerja Domestik</i>
46	<i>Sudahkah Anggaran Kita Sensitif Gender?</i>
50	<i>Pengarusutamaan Gender</i>
56	<i>Menyoal Buruh Mengapa Mereka Dieksploitasi?</i>
56	<i>Menyoal Buruh Mengapa Mereka Dieksploitasi?</i>

Edition	Title
60	<i>Awat! Perda Diskriminatif</i>
63	<i>Catatan Perjuangan Politik Perempuan</i>
65	<i>Mencari Ruang untuk Difabel</i>
69	<i>Seberapa Jauh Tanggung Jawab Negara?</i>
72	<i>Berantas Korupsi</i>
73	<i>Perkawinan dan Keluarga</i>
75	<i>Perempuan Pejabat Publik</i>
76	<i>Karier dan Rumah Tangga</i>
79	<i>Pemilu dan Keterwakilan</i>
81	<i>Perempuan Politisi</i>
83	<i>Perempuan dalam Kabinet</i>
92	<i>Perempuan dan Kebijakan publik</i>
94	<i>Pekerja Rumah Tangga Domestik dan Migran</i>
98	<i>Perempuan dan Kebangsaan</i>
100	<i>Pemikiran dan Gerakan Perempuan di Indonesia</i>
101	<i>Perempuan dan Demokrasi</i>
106	<i>Perempuan Pekerja Migran</i>

Feminist academic research and writing under the theme of Women in Social and Politics was the largest umbrella of ideas published by JP. A number of studies under the umbrella theme of Women in Social and Politics showed the importance of women's involvement in public life. A number of active studies suggested that women's involvement in social and political life is imperative so that their interests can be advocated and fought for in realising social transformation. A number of studies often highlighted women's participation, especially as promoted in the language of Gender Mainstreaming (GM). Directly, this research presented the achievements of GM, but also criticised the term "women's participation", which is often interpreted as nominal participation rather than transformative participation.

From the overall theme and writing of feminist research conducted by JP, feminist research is intended as knowledge-based advocacy to encourage social transformation at the micro scale, namely individual awareness in interpersonal relations, at the meso scale, namely as a tool to drive changes in cultural practices and institutions, and push for changes in the macro aspect by influencing policy direction. Some JP's studies intentionally and actively are intended to push for gender-sensitive policies (Cann and DeMeulenaere 2020). Some related research themes include human trafficking, child marriage, pornography, the passage of the Domestic Workers Protection (Perlindungan Pekerja Rumah Tangga/PPRT) Bill, the passage of the TPKS Bill, the fulfilment of human rights of LGBTQ people, and the recognition of fisherwomen. The entire feminist political agenda in JP's experiential-based research is used to highlight gender inequality and hold the State and society accountable.

Feminist Literacy in Culture Rubrics, Short Stories, Poetry, and YJP Press Publications

Short stories and poetry are media that are often used as an expression of a movement (Martin 2016) including feminism. Just as feminist research answers questions about issues surrounding women (Letherby 2003), poetry has a similar contribution to feminist knowledge. JP's short story and poetry section conveys the authors and poets' concerns about the conditions around them that discriminate against women. In each issue of JP, in addition to research that becomes the main topic, there is a short story and poetry section.

Unlike feminist academic research, literature aims to change moral consciousness at the individual level.

Richard Rorty (2007) states that literature assumes a greater responsibility and capacity than mainstream moral theories to touch human consciousness. This can be seen in feminist poetry and short stories published in JP. The themes of rape, women's poverty, domestic violence, and women's detachment from nature, for example, provide a very clear picture of forms of gender injustice. The paper that highlights the perspective of the others is a method of feminism through feminist aesthetic politics.

YJP also produces feminist knowledge through the publication of YJP Press, other feminist literacies aside from JP's publications that contain research and cultural sections. Since 2003, YJP Press has published 12 publications. Six of them are a book entitled *Filsafat Berperspektif Feminis, Modul Panduan Media Meliput LGBT, Kumpulan Puisi Jurnal Perempuan: Perempuan dan Pertarungannya*, short stories collection entitled *Menulis Tubuh*, interview scripts collection entitled *Mereka yang Di Atas Persoalan*, and a book on the history of Jurnal Perempuan entitled *Kami, Jurnal Perempuan*.

A number of non-research literatures published by *Jurnal Perempuan* discover that feminist knowledge is produced and disseminated through various methods and is not limited to academic research. What each feminist literature has in common is its feminist political agenda to promote the equality of women and other vulnerable groups.

Public Education

The issue of feminist knowledge distribution following the publication of the research is also seriously considered by JP. This is because research is just a document if it does not reach the intended target. Some of the activities carried out by JP include Public Education and Feminism and Philosophy Study (KAFFE) class, documentary videos on *Jurnal Perempuan's* YouTube video channel, and Radio Jurnal Perempuan.

Public Education and Feminism and Philosophy Study (KAFFE)

Public Education (PE) is a launching event for newly published JP edition and also a form of dissemination of feminist knowledge produced by JP's feminist research. In the form of a seminar, PE invites selected authors from each edition published by JP to present their research in front of the participants of the event. Reflection in the form of an event (Freire 2005) like PE not only

disseminates the content of the research presented, but also provides an opportunity for the audience to ask questions and directly confirm the insights they gain.

The principle of PE is the social praxis of feminist dialogue. Feminism believes that the basis of solidarity, activism, and constructive public participation is engagement in equal and inclusive dialogue. JP's PE is intended as a space for such a dialogue. Other narratives in the form of research are presented and intended for the university community. Before the Covid-19 pandemic, the majority of JP's PEs were held at various universities in Indonesia. Even though PEs were held in other places, the target audience was always academics, students, researchers, activists, and the general public. PE systematically explains some of the research in JP's publications presented by their authors. In addition to introducing feminist knowledge to the wider public, PE is also intended to open a solidarity network for feminist issues. Through PE, JP and those involved can identify parties or individuals who might want to collaborate in building feminist research. PE also involves public officials and bureaucrats. The aim is that the messages from the research can be used to consider making gender-sensitive policies and social change.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, PE was held online using Zoom. The experience of the Covid-19 pandemic has made JP continue to strategise and utilise online applications to strengthen feminist advocacy. Online PE, on the one hand, reduces the intimate physical dialogue between JP staff, researchers, and readers, but on the other hand, online PE allows for wider dialogue engagement without any territorial limitations. Of course, technological limitations or barriers in some parts of Indonesia are still an obstacle, but in general online PE enables more inclusive engagement in PE programmes.

PE facilitates a two-way dialogue, which cannot be achieved through written research as in JP. Dialogue allows for the expansion of understanding and the development of empathy (Benhabib 1992). In the PE process, not only the audience is informed, but the JP team and researchers often gain enrichment of issues and knowledge from the audience. It is not uncommon for PE participants to describe issues relevant to JP's publications in their areas and actions they have taken to respond to issues raised by JP. PE often involves policy makers as part of active research and feminist politics. Through public dialogues, which are based on feminist research and academic writing, participants, especially

bureaucrats, understand the situation of the advocated group so as to build empathy and commitment to produce responsive policies. Research on Assistance for Trafficking Victims, for example, was directly discussed by JP researchers with the Parliament to push for the passage of the TPPO Law. Similarly, research on Sexual Violence and Gender Inequality was distributed directly to the Women's Parliamentary Caucus.

In addition to PE, YJP also presents Feminism and Philosophy Study (KAFFE), which aims to disseminate feminist knowledge to participants, namely academics, activists, professionals, and the general public. Unlike PE, which targets the general public on a large scale, KAFFE is intended as a feminism course that focuses on dialogues in small groups of 20-30 people per class. Since 2016, there have been 18 classes of KAFFE organised by JP. Taught by academics, activists, and experts, KAFFE materials include Poststructuralism, Islam and Feminism, Ethics, Philosophy of Justice, Public Policy, Death Penalty, Religious Radicalism, Gender Violence, and Ecofeminism.

To ensure inclusive and participatory engagement, KAFFE is not only held offline, but also online-even before the Covid-19 pandemic. This strategy is also an attempt to respond to the gap in feminist discourse in some parts of Indonesia. YJP, with its feminist principles, has the responsibility to grow and nurture feminist knowledge inclusively (hooks 1994). Of course, organising online KAFFE is not without its challenges. Technology gaps outside Java often interrupt the learning process or dismiss participants from the online discussions. To respond to these challenges, KAFFE also produces lecture videos and upload them to YouTube channel that can be freely accessed by the general public.

Documentary Videos

JP's documentary videos are JP's advocacy strategy for feminist praxis. Documentary videos uploaded on JP's YouTube channel are also a means of sharing knowledge through the development of technology and media. A documentary produced in 2002 entitled *Perempuan di Wilayah Konflik* highlighted the losses and experiences of women victims of conflict in Aceh, Poso, and Papua. The prioritisation of women's experiences and better social changes is the main purpose of active feminist research (Cann and DeMeulenaere 2020). JP documents various issues through video documentaries to mobilise the public and help women in conflict areas through writing, activism, donation, and other types of support they can provide.

The second documentary video published by JP through its YouTube channel was about Fisherwomen. JP team's 2017 trip to Morodemak Village, Central Java uncovered the discrimination experienced by fisherwomen in the area. Interviews of fisherwomen were featured to prioritise the experiences of women who experienced gender discrimination. The opportunity given to each woman to share her opinions and challenges was one of the main characteristics of feminist research (Letherby 2003).

Both JP's documentaries transformed into narratives that were published through JP's Issue 24 (based on the results of the visits to Aceh, Poso, and Papua) on the topic of Women in Conflict Areas and JP's Issue 95 (based on the research on fisherwomen) on the topic of Fisherwomen. This shows that contribution to developing feminist knowledge and discourse can be done through different media.

Radio Jurnal Perempuan

Besides being active in various actions related to women's issues, YJP also developed Radio Jurnal Perempuan (RJP). The RJP programme is a media-based advocacy strategy carried out by JP. From 1998-2010, *Jurnal Perempuan* used radio as an educational tool for the wider public on issues of gender equality and feminism. Initially, RJP was only broadcast on four radio stations in Jakarta, but in 2000, RJP began to collaborate with various parties that enabled it to reach 160 partner radio stations across Indonesia. RJP programmes are broadcast in 25 provinces, from West to East parts of Indonesia.

There have been around 600 RJP programmes produced by JP. Unlike JP's printed media that targets middle-class, educated, inter-professional, and urban women, radio is more directed towards a wider target audience, especially women.

RJP programmes generally take the form of interviews on women's issues. For example, RJP 249¹ focused on the issue of Harassment against Women. RJP interviewed several women on sexual harassment cases that occurred in public spaces such as on public transport and in the office. RJP 249 also offered education on sexual harassment through interviews with resource persons. The delivery of RJP prioritises first-hand storytelling of women's experiences which are then reflected upon with a feminist perspective but with a simple delivery. This makes it easier for RJP

to reach diverse listeners in the regions through local radios. The storytelling and care used through RJP has strengthened the development of feminist knowledge - experience-based knowledge.

RJP's commitment to building women's knowledge is proven through the involvement of more than 300 women who have been interviewed by RJP. These women came from a diverse background of age, class, economy, education, region, sexuality. RJP programme also involved more than 70 women representatives of NGOs and 30 academics, who have routinely provided their views and reflections on women's issues (Amirudin 2004).

Cultivating and Nurturing Feminist Solidarity Through SJP and THS Programmes

Solidarity is an important concept of feminism. bell hooks (1986) states that solidarity between women is an acknowledgement of the differences between women in terms of race, class, and sexuality, but these differences also unite women in their struggle and learning. We are actively engaged in changing various misconceptions and wrong perspectives towards certain groups and making these understandings the basis of solidarity politics (hooks 1986). Feminist solidarity theory and praxis are, in short, tools to facilitate feminist agenda on recognising differences. Efforts to empathise with the others (Bartky 2002), initiate collective actions (Allen 1999), and recognise common interests (Mohanty 2003) encourage us to promote solidarity. The process of dialogue in recognising differences will enable us to struggle together. Specifically, feminist solidarity points to the intersection of intersectional issues and the idea of a gender-just society. Feminist solidarity always involves reflection that includes specific social and historical contexts. In the context of JP's work, knowledge and practice of feminist solidarity are manifested in the programmes developed by YJP, among others through Sahabat Jurnal Perempuan (SJP) and Toeti Heraty Scholarship (THS).

Solidarity in Sahabat Jurnal Perempuan

Sahabat Jurnal Perempuan (SJP) is JP's membership programme. SJP programme itself has been running since 2011 or more than a decade. Previously, this programme was known as Jurnal Perempuan Subscription. The basis of solidarity from SJP is a commitment to invest and support JP's publications regularly.

SJP is a feminist practice carried out by YJP to mobilise feminist solidarity among its readers. Since its establishment, YJP has been supported by various donors and partner organisations with visions of gender justice and feminist agendas. In its journey, YJP reflected that it needed organisational independence to be able to develop advocacy programmes according to the needs of the community and to raise important themes related to gender justice that were not the main issues of YJP's donors or partners. Hence, SJP is the main stakeholder of YJP.

In the work of feminist organisations supported by donors or partner institutions, there needs to be an assessment of the framework and objective of the struggle, and SJP plays this oversight role. It is possible that there are imbalances in power relations that have an impact on the work, programmes, and advocacy agenda carried out by JP. JP's commitment to SJP becomes a reference for JP's work to fully advocate for the interests of its constituents at the grassroots level, which has implications on the engagement of contextualised knowledge, perspectives, and resources (Nordahl 2019).

SJP's support in the form of donation aims to ensure JP's accountability by bringing issues to the attention of women in Indonesia that may not be prioritised by donors or partners. The investment from SJPs supports YJP to continue its work. The accountability of JP's feminist work to SJP is justified through various knowledge products produced by YJP. To date, there are 590 active SJP memberships spread across 31 provinces. In addition to regional diversity, JP's constituents include academics, activists, students, housewives, professionals, public officials, and bureaucrats.

SJP's donation is a form of commitment and mutualism. SJP is not just a passive reader who enjoys YJP products, but also an agency that is actively involved in disseminating and criticising JP. The SJP programme is intended to build solidarity and become a critical and reflective dialogical space. For this reason, SJP holds an SJP gathering every year to maintain this solidarity relationship. SJP Gathering is a discussion between all YJP staff and SJPs in a non-formal format, such as Public Education or KAFFE. SJP Gathering is a dialogue between JP and SJP to get feedback on JP's work and understand the situation of SJP and issues of gender inequality in the area of SJP. This gathering programme is also intended to strengthen the basis of feminist solidarity and encourage collective action initiatives in each community - by making JP's educational resources

as the main reference. This programme makes SJPs continue to share knowledge from JP and invite others to join.

Through SJP programme, YJP practices feminist communicative ethics of inclusive engagement that allow everyone to share their concrete experiences in a safe space. According to Benhabib (1992), in dialogue everyone can articulate their concrete experiences and be heard by others. Speaking, listening, and reflecting, as well as responding to the interests of others is how solidarity is practised. Many feminist dialogues conducted in SJP programme are intended to expand the capacity for empathy, perspective, and solidarity among SJP community. SJPs are important because they are agents of change, who ground feminist knowledge in their communities and neighbourhoods - a form of YJP's social praxis.

Solidarity in Toeti Heraty Scholarship

Another form of feminist solidarity is scholarship that is orientated towards investing in women's education. The scholarship programme for women has actually been carried out by JP since 2001. The women's scholarship programme was initially intended to support outstanding JP staff and/or female students who were concerned with women's issues or engaged in activism. This scholarship programme is intended to empower women, who are considered as agents of change, to have more capacity in fighting for the feminist agenda. The scholarships awarded by JP to its staff and/or student activists come from SJP funds - in addition to supporting JP's publications, SJP has also invested in women's education. However, this funding is still very limited.

Since 2022, with the support of Toeti Heraty's family, JP has resumed its scholarship programme for women. Toeti Heraty Scholarship (THS) is intended to support education in exceptional fields in Indonesia, namely gender studies and philosophy. Currently, ten scholarship recipients have been selected, namely women with good academic achievements and a strong record of activism. THS fellows are expected to be the engine of change to promote gender justice. They not only receive funding, but are also involved in JP's work.

THS fellows undertake internships to share their own strengths and capacities to support YJP's feminist work as intended by Amy Allen (1999). This means that THS fellows practise feminist solidarity through direct involvement in advocacy and concrete actions. Solidarity is a collective power generated through struggles intended to achieve

a specific political goal - namely gender justice. Allen (1999) states that solidarity is a collective force that grows out of a collective action; it binds members of the feminist movement together. In the context of THS fellows, all members are bound by a certain affiliation -- having a sense of belonging to a community and doing work together for a particular political agenda. They are involved in writing, social media advocacy, spreading JP to their communities, and being YJP representatives.

Activism and Feminist Movement

Gadis Arivia, the creator and founder of YJP, reminded us of the need to fuse and synergise between theoretical skills and praxis capacity. Seen from her activities as an academic and feminist activist, Gadis Arivia says that feminist thought has the responsibility to bring about change through discourse and action. JP is a confluence of feminist discourse and action. YJP has contributed to the Indonesian women's movement. One of the major moments of YJP's involvement was in 1998.

On 28 February 1998, a number of "mothers", under the name Suara Ibu Peduli (SIP), decided to rally at Bundaran Hotel Indonesia. This rally, coordinated by YJP activists and a number of individual women activists, urged the government to address the shortage of formula milk - the primary need of mothers with babies. The day before the rally was held, the government declared "red alert" ahead of the General Assembly of the People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia/MPR RI). Security forces at that time were authorised to use live ammunitions in the event of activities deemed likely to cause disruption to order and political stability - including rally/demonstration. SIP action resulted in the arrest of 3 protesters at the time, Karlina Supelli, Gadis Arivia, and Wilarsih. The incident made news headlines and was talked about everywhere. Newsweek magazine and Dutch newspaper *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* (NRC) even had an intensive coverage of the incident.

Suara Ibu Peduli rally, which was initiated by the founders of YJP, has been widely misunderstood. "Formula milk", which was the focus of the rally, should not be seen as a stereotype of mothers' rally. Mass media, the public, and even academics have misunderstood the phenomenon of the rally (Arivia 2006; Subono 1999). SIP's action was a form of third-world feminist political movement, which displayed tactics and strategies that were very highly sophisticated and different from typical masculine politics. Feminist actions will always take symbolic narratives that have a major impact on

women's lives. This is the form of feminist actions that YJP interprets.

The development of activism within YJP continues. YJP actively encourages each staff to be involved in various actions, discussions, and petitions raised from the women's movement and vulnerable communities. For example, the rejection of Anti-Pornography and Pornoaction Bill (Rancangan Undang-undang Anti Pornografi dan Pornoaksi/RUU APP) in 2006. In addition to holding rallies, YJP also comprehensively addressed the issue "Why Women Resist" in its publication (2006). Every issue raised in JP does not exclusively target women. In its development, YJP also highlighted the involvement of men in the feminist movement - by prioritising women's experiences. It can be seen from every activity, whether through printed media, videos, radio, or street actions, YJP continues to voice various issues, especially related to women's issues both in Indonesia and the world. Critical values, empathy, and solidarity are the cornerstones of YJP's work on issues of gender justice and equality.

Closing

Jurnal Perempuan is the first feminist academic journal in Indonesia that has produced 110 issues on various themes that foster feminist discourse over the past 25 years. The author, as part of JP, uses ethnographic research methods to research as well as being directly involved in JP's advocacy work. The feminist knowledge constructed by JP is a confluence of struggles based on feminist academic writing and social movements. One of the important issues about the history of feminist knowledge built by JP as an independent journal that is not bound to patriarchal institutions is to ensure that there is a means to produce knowledge that refers to feminist values, agendas, commitments, and methodologies.

Based on JP's feminist literacy, there is a manifestation of feminist knowledge. JP's feminist literacy displays the characteristics of its partiality. The feminist knowledge produced by JP stems from the belief that knowledge production is actually a political process (Haraway 1987). The author believes that feminist researchers and intellectuals are also activists. Analysis of gender-based power relations is used and formulated through a number of ideas and suggestions to achieve more just and humane social conditions. This is in line with the social change expected from the theoretical exposure as presented by Horkheimer (1982).

The heart of feminist political activism is in the communities and social movements. Therefore, with

the publication of feminist academic literacy, JP has actively challenged the traditional dichotomy between the academic community, which is seen as value-free and impartial, and the non-academic community or social movement, which is oriented towards concrete experiences and demands for change. Through feminist scientific journals, feminist academics or scholars carry out social praxis to encourage the political interests of women's groups and engage in political actions.

JP, through data and research-based advocacy, seeks to build a broader feminist knowledge and community that accommodates the academic community and other gender identity movement communities and is cross-identity. Feminist knowledge is also aimed at activists and non-activist groups, academics and non-academics, and in various cross-issue movements, such as SRHR, women workers, culture, and religion. The production of feminist knowledge carried out by JP operates within a vast and complex network that connects feminist researchers, academics, and activists. JP's work for 25 years has been a bridge between political advocacy and academic advocacy in constructing feminist knowledge in Indonesia.

Endnotes

- 1 See, Jurnal Perempuan's website at www.jurnalperempuan.org/radio-jp.html.

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