

Indonesian Feminist Knowledge: Reflection, Action, and Praxis

Editorial

Indonesian Feminist Knowledge: Reflection, Action, and Praxis

Articles

A Philosophical and Feminist Analysis of Decoloniality in Indonesia:
A Critical Study of Toeti Heraty, Kartini, and Siti Roehana
Gadis Arivia

The Feminist Academic Activist: Women's Knowledge for Resistance, Hope and Social Change.
Jurnal Perempuan's Contribution to Building Feminist Discourse in Indonesia
Retno Daru Dewi G.S. Putri, Abby Gina Boang Manalu, & Nur Iman Subono

Social Media Advocacy of Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan: The Dissemination of Feminist Discourse
in the Digital Era
Nada Salsabila & Giovanni Alvita Diera

Feminist Philosophy Revolt: An Application of Feminist Pedagogy in Philosophy Classes
Ikhaputri Widiyanti

Praxis of Feminist Movement in Indonesia: Dynamics of Political Action and Knowledge Production
Ruth Indah Rahayu

Islamic Feminism in Indonesia: Reflection, Action, and Praxis
Musdah Mulia

Feminist Organizational Funding Contributions and Dilemmas for Feminist Knowledge and Practice
Abby Gina Boang Manalu & Iqraa Runi Aprilia

Published by:



Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan
Accreditation Number: 36/E/KPT/2019

Jurnal Perempuan Needs Your Support!

Jurnal Perempuan (The Indonesian Feminist Journal) is published by an independent non-profit women's organization, Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan (The Women's Foundation). Jurnal Perempuan was first published in 1996 and is the first and only feminist peer-review journal to date. Jurnal Perempuan is committed to publishing Indonesian feminist scholars' work and research on gender equity in Indonesia. Jurnal Perempuan supports and empowers women to write, research, voice, and take action against discrimination, exploitation, and violence against women. Jurnal Perempuan advocates gender issues based on research and forms alliances with community and women's groups, universities, media, local and national parliamentarians, public and private sectors to achieve gender justice in Indonesia.



Become a friend of Jurnal Perempuan

Please support us by becoming a member of Sahabat Jurnal Perempuan (Friends of Jurnal Perempuan nationally and internationally) and making a real difference in the lives of Indonesian women and gender minorities.

The membership program will support research, publishing cost, social media content, advocacy, and public education programs. Your membership includes: 3 editions of Jurnal Perempuan (JP) annually (digital and hardcopy versions) bi-weekly newsletter on feminist news and YJP's activities space to voice feminist opinions in YJP's blog invitations to YJP events and public education.

- **Indonesian nationals membership program: 300.000 IDR/year and students Rp. 150.000 IDR/year**
Bank Account: Bank Mandiri Branch Jatipadang, No. Rek: 127-00-2507969-8 Indonesia Women's Journal Foundation (Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan Indonesia). Please fill in the form for administration purposes here
- **International membership program 144US/year via PayPal** Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan Indonesia @IntFriendsJP or paypal.me/IntFriendsJP Please fill in the form for administration purposes here

There are many other ways you can support our work in the field of gender issues in Indonesia. For example, you can volunteer or complete an internship with us. As an organization, you can also sponsor us or collaborate with us on joint projects.

Contact us

Contact Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan for more inquiries:

yjp@jurnalperempuan.com

Website: www.jurnalperempuan.org

We are grateful for your continued support.



Sincerely,

Gadis Arivia

Founder

ISSN 1410-153X

FOUNDERS

Dr. Gadis Arivia
Prof. Dr. Toeti Heraty Noerhadi-Roosseno (Alm.)
Ratna Syafrida Dhanny
Asikin Arif, M.Fil. (Alm.)

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

Prof. Mari Elka Pangestu, Ph.D.
Prof. Dr. Sulistyowati Irianto

DIRECTOR & EDITOR IN CHIEF

Abby Gina Boang Manalu, M.Hum.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Prof. Dr. Sulistyowati Irianto (Antropologi Hukum Feminisme, Universitas Indonesia)
Prof. Sylvia Tiwon (Antropologi Gender, University California at Berkeley)
Prof. Saskia Wieringa (Sejarah Perempuan & Queer, Universitaet van Amsterdam)
Prof. Dr. Musdah Mulia (Pemikiran Politik Islam & Gender, UIN Syarif Hidayatullah)
Dr. Nur Iman Subono (Politik & Gender, FISIP, Universitas Indonesia)
Mariana Amiruddin, M.Hum. (Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan)
Yacinta Kurniasih, M.A. (Sastra dan Perempuan, Faculty of Arts, Monash University)
Soe Tjen Marching, Ph.D. (Sejarah dan Politik Perempuan, SOAS University of London)
Dr. Andi Achdian (Sejarah & Sosiologi, Universitas Nasional)

PEER REVIEWERS

Prof. Mayling Oey-Gardiner, Ph.D. (Universitas Indonesia)
Dr. Pinky Saptandari (Universitas Airlangga)
Prof. Dr. E. Kristi Poerwandari (Universitas Indonesia)
Dr. Ida Ruwaida Noor (Universitas Indonesia)
Katharine McGregor, Ph.D. (University of Melbourne)
Dr. (Iur) Asmin Fransiska, S.H., LL.M. (Universitas Katolik Atma Jaya)
Dr. Irene Hadiprayitno (Leiden University)
Prof. Jeffrey Winters (Northwestern University)
Ro'fah, Ph.D. (UIN Sunan Kalijaga)
Tracy Wright Webster, Ph.D. (University of Western Australia)
Prof. Kim Eun Shil (Korean Ewha Womens University)
Prof. Merlyna Lim (Carleton University)
Prof. Claudia Derichs (Universitaet Marburg)
Sari Andajani, Ph.D. (Auckland University of Technology)
Prof. Dr. Wening Udasmoro (Universitas Gadjah Mada)
Prof. Ayami Nakatani (Okayama University)
Dr. Antarini Pratiwi Arna (Indonesian Scholarship and Research Support Foundation)

Prof. Dr. Widjajanti M. Santoso, M.Litt. (Indonesian Institute of Sciences)
Dr. Lidwina Inge Nurtjahyo (Universitas Indonesia)
Dr. Bagus Takwin (Universitas Indonesia)
Dr. Sri Lestari Wahyuningroem (Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta)
Francisia Saveria Sika Seda, Ph.D. (Universitas Indonesia)
Ruth Indiah Rahayu, M. Fil. (Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Driyarkara)
Mia Siscawati, Ph.D. (Universitas Indonesia)
Dr. L.G. Saraswati Putri (Universitas Indonesia)
Prof. Maria Lichtmann (Appalachian State University, USA)
Assoc. Prof. Muhamad Ali (University California, Riverside)
Assoc. Prof. Mun'im Sirry (University of Notre Dame)
Assoc. Prof. Paul Bijl (Universiteit van Amsterdam)
Assoc. Prof. Patrick Ziegenhain (President University)
Assoc. Prof. Alexander Horstmann (University of Copenhagen)

EDITORIAL STAFF

Retno Daru Dewi G. S. Putri, M.A., M.Hum.
Iqraa Runi Aprilia, S.Hum.
Nada Salsabila, S.Hum.

GUEST EDITORS

Ikhaputri Widiyanti, S.Hum., M.Si.
Andi Misbahul Pratiwi, S.T., M.Si.

SECRETARIAT & FRIENDS OF JURNAL PEREMPUAN

Himah Sholihah
Iqraa Runi Aprilia, S.Hum.

DESIGN & LAYOUT

Dina Yulianti

COSTUMER HOTLINE

Himah Sholihah: 0818 0712 4295 (SMS/WA)

ADDRESS

Alamanda Tower, 25th Floor
Jalan T.B. Simatupang kavling 23-24, Jakarta Selatan
Telepon: (+62) 21 2965 7992
E-mail: yjp@jurnalperempuan.com
redaksi@jurnalperempuan.com
Twitter: @jurnalperempuan
Facebook: Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan

WEBSITE

www.jurnalperempuan.org
www.indonesiafeministjournal.org

First Edition, August 2022

Expression of Gratitude to Reviewers

1. Prof. Dr. Sulistyowati Irianto
2. Mariana Amiruddin, M.Hum.
3. Dr. Ida Ruwaida Noor, M.Si.
4. Dr. Nur Iman Subono
5. Dr. Andi Achdian, M. Si.
6. Ro'fah, Ph.D.

Contents

Editorial

Indonesian Feminist Knowledge: Reflection, Action, and Praxis	v
<i>Abby Gina Boang Manalu</i>	

Articles

• A Philosophical and Feminist Analysis of Decoloniality in Indonesia: A Critical Study of Toeti Heraty, Kartini, and Siti Roehana	93-102
<i>Gadis Arivia</i>	
• The Feminist Academic Activist: Women's Knowledge for Resistance, Hope and Social Change. Jurnal Perempuan's Contribution to Building Feminist Discourse in Indonesia	103-116
<i>Retno Daru Dewi G.S. Putri, Abby Gina Boang Manalu, & Nur Iman Subono</i>	
• Social Media Advocacy of Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan: The Dissemination of Feminist Discourse in the Digital Era	117-128
<i>Nada Salsabila & Giovanni Alvita Diera</i>	
• Feminist Philosophy Revolt: An Application of Feminist Pedagogy in Philosophy Classes	129-138
<i>Ikhaputri Widiyanti</i>	
• Praxis of Feminist Movement in Indonesia: Dynamics of Political Action and Knowledge Production	139-149
<i>Ruth Indiah Rahayu</i>	
• Islamic Feminism in Indonesia: Reflection, Action, and Praxis	151-161
<i>Musdah Mulia</i>	
• Feminist Organizational Funding Contributions and Dilemmas for Feminist Knowledge and Practice	163-173
<i>Abby Gina Boang Manalu & Iqraa Runi Aprilia</i>	

Indonesian Feminist Knowledge: Reflection, Action, and Praxis

Feminist knowledge is the foundation of feminist research that revolves around questions such as: How are women knowledgeable? What is the formulation of feminist knowledge? Is feminist knowledge neutral or grounded in the politics of praxis? These questions have been explored by various feminist philosophers such as Joan Hartman (1991), Helen Longino (1990), and Sandra Harding (1993). Feminist knowledge in the academic world is also referred to as feminist epistemology, which is the study of feminist knowledge that observes how women know and analyse their lives (Duran 1991). Harding further explored the dominance of knowledge that was based on Western, white, and elite class experiences (Harding 1991). She also emphasised on the importance of knowing the social location of the knower because knowledge shapes what is known and not known. Feminism believes that women's experiences and lives are the sites of knowledge that are used as tools to fight for equality.

Feminism is based on the belief that theory and action must go hand in hand. Freire (1972) stated that praxis is reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it. Feminism is also committed to social praxis, however, unlike Freire, feminism uses a gender lens to examine power relations, different types of oppression, and take actions to end them. In short, feminist knowledge always disturbs the establishment and practices of discrimination and exclusion based on gender identity, sexuality, and other categories. Feminist knowledge always criticises the normative, because norms that are considered true and universal are often built on the experiences of certain groups, namely the dominant group by excluding diversity or those who are categorised as the others.

Feminist knowledge was born as a resistance to the illusion that knowledge is neutral and value-free, when in reality, knowledge is often narrated by excluding and silencing women. Not only criticising science, feminism also challenges educational institutions that are considered identical to houses of knowledge. Instead of promoting social transformation towards equality

and respect for diversity, educational institutions often perpetuate inequality by tolerating discriminatory practices of gender, sexuality, racial and other identity diversity (Ahmed 2017). Feminist scholars detect these problems, and take on the role of agents of change. Practising feminist knowledge means that one must take a position of resistance from the normative, so it is not uncommon for anyone labelled feminist to experience stigma, exclusion, fragility - and perhaps a phase of destruction due to the clash of power and dominant groups. However, the strength of feminist knowledge is in its capacity to strategise, negotiate, and resile. Feminist scholars believe that feminism's resilience is based on solidarity as a house of defence (hooks 1986; Allen 1999; Barkty 2002; Ahmed 2017).

Aiming to promote feminist knowledge in reflection, action, and praxis, *Jurnal Perempuan* was born as the first feminist academic journal in Indonesia. Exactly 26 years ago, *Jurnal Perempuan* was first published and until now, *Jurnal Perempuan* has produced more than 500 feminist academic writings, the majority of which were written and narrated by women from various scientific, professional, and regional backgrounds. Promoting feminist knowledge in the work of *Jurnal Perempuan* means ensuring that diversity is always championed and included in the conversation. As a manifestation of this commitment, *Jurnal Perempuan* has raised various themes such as sexual violence, women in law, politics, economy, social, tradition and culture, education, media, religion, environment, gender diversity and LGBTQ sexuality, migrant women, and various other issues with an interdisciplinary approach based on feminism. This long work is not easy and has experienced many ups and downs, but in feminist resilience and solidarity, this work is possible. The 112th edition of *Jurnal Perempuan*, "Indonesian Feminist Knowledge: Reflection, Action, and Praxis", is a reflection on feminist knowledge in Indonesia in general, and specifically reflects on *Jurnal Perempuan*'s involvement in promoting feminist agendas of academic struggle and activism (**Abby Gina Boang Manalu**).

Abstracts

Gadis Arivia
Montgomery College

A Philosophical and Feminist Analysis of Decoloniality in Indonesia: A Critical Study of Toeti Heraty, Kartini, and Siti Roehana

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 2, August 2022, page 93-102, 2 tables, 45 references

This research invites us to rethink the methods used in the feminist philosophy approach. Feminist studies in Indonesia need to use new perspectives to expose epistemic injustice. The decolonial feminism approach can provide new insights and questions about how feminist knowledge is formed in Indonesia. The author centers the writing on epistemic violence due to the hegemony of the feminist discourse carried out by power elites and colonial establishments. This study examines the case studies of Indonesian feminists Toeti Heraty, Kartini, and Siti Roehana to demonstrate how colonial knowledge and apparatus work. This paper's approach to decolonial feminism does not attempt to return to essentialism by glorifying nationalist discourses but instead uses a decoloniality framework to establish epistemic justice.

Keywords: decolonial feminism, epistemic violence, feminist philosophy

Retno Daru Dewi G.S. Putri¹, Abby Gina Boang Manalu², & Nur Iman Subono³

Jurnal Perempuan¹, Universitas Bina Nusantara²,
Universitas Indonesia³

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

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 2, August 2022, page 103-116, 11 tables, 61 references

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

Nada Salsabila¹ & Giovanni Alvita Diera²

Departemen Filsafat, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia¹ dan Departemen Sejarah, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia²

Social Media Advocacy of Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan: The Dissemination of Feminist Discourse in the Digital Era

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 2, August 2022, page 117-128, 2 tables, 26 references

This paper describes the social media works of the Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan (YJP) as a form of feminist advocacy in the digital space. The digital feminist advocacy aims to balance the digital space filled with anti-feminist, misogynist, and sexist discourses. Since 2013, YJP has taken steps to digitize its products. The digitization extends to YJP's social media platforms, such as YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter. This strategy is expected to expand the reach of the spread of feminist discourse carried out by YJP and to seize digital spaces from patriarchy values. This paper uses qualitative research methods by conducting literature studies and interviews with several YJP audiences on social media. This research aims to analyse YJP's adjustment to the digital space, internal and external obstacles, the most widespread form of dissemination, to the analysis of the impact of YJP's social media advocacy on the spread of feminist discourse in the digital space.

Keywords: social media, digital space, networked feminism, feminist discourse, digital advocacy, Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan

Ikhaputri Widiyanti

Departemen Filsafat, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya,
Universitas Indonesia

Feminist Philosophy Revolt: An Application of Feminist Pedagogy in Philosophy Classes

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 2, August 2022, page 129-138, 4 pictures, 12 references

This paper discusses the application of feminist pedagogy in philosophy classrooms. Misogynistic nuances in the development of philosophical thought limit the opportunity for women to be known as philosophers. Let alone known for this thoughts, popular philosophy even has a tendency to marginalize women. Patterns in the general curriculum and pedagogy block opportunities for women to share their experiences. Whereas philosophy should provide space for this diversity. The inclusive nature of feminist philosophy must be presented. I raise this issue through a search for bell hooks' feminist pedagogical theory. The method used in this paper is the narration of the experience of philosophical reflection based on the practices that have been carried out in the classrooms. This paper shows the importance of carrying out revolt in bringing changes through feminist pedagogy.

Keywords: bell hooks; feminist philosophy; philosophy class; feminist pedagogy; revolt

Ruth Indiah Rahayu

Kandidat Doktor Program Studi Filsafat, STF Driyarkara

Praxis of Feminist Movement in Indonesia: Dynamics of Political Action and Knowledge Production

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 2, August 2022, page 139-149, 38 references

Women face barricades at all levels of activity, but not all of them understand that they face problems as women. Feminism contribution throughout the history has been to formulate the "women's question" as political knowledge and action. This feminist knowledge includes the experiences of "women's question" at the personal level, family organizations, community organizations, cultural organizations, production organizations and state organizations. Political action and feminist knowledge are praxis that is also happening all over the world and also in Indonesia. Praxis in Indonesia can be traced since Kartini

raised “women’s question” as a personal experience to the growth of the women’s movement which has experience in emancipating “women’s issues”. The problem is that there is often inter-issue stress and support between political action and production so that “women’s question” seem to be reduced to prominent issues. This paper is self-reflective, that is, dialogically reading the collective history of the feminist movement from the personal side of the activists themselves

Keywords: “woman question”, women’s political action, feminist knowledge production

Musdah Mulia

Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah

**Islamic Feminism in Indonesia:
Reflection, Action, and Praxis**

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 2, August 2022, page 151-161, 29 references

This paper reflects the author’s experience working as both an academic and activist in the Islamic feminism movement. Unlike other feminist movements, Islamic feminism bases its ideas on the humanist, inclusive and egalitarian teachings of Islam. Islamic feminism seeks to empower women spiritually and morally, eliminate injustice, and promote gender equality in all spheres of life. Being an Islamic feminist is synonymous with jihad against a hierarchical gender system that erodes the humanitarian potential of women, and further reformulates Islam as a source of authority that liberates women. Islamic feminists contributed to the production of the idea of egalitarianism and gender activism by putting women centered on their own freedoms. They managed

to rediscover the hidden knowledge of the egalitarian principles of Islam buried in patriarchal culture, which is the main feature of Islamic feminist epistemology. The author further recommends the importance of Islamic feminism being integrated into Islamic studies in universities in Indonesia.

Keywords: Islamic feminism, Islamic studies, patriarchy, khalifah fil ardh, tawhid, feminist epistemology, CLD KHI, CEDAW, reform of family law

Abby Gina Boang Manalu¹ & Iqraa Runi Aprilia²
Universitas Indonesia¹ & Jurnal Perempuan²

**Feminist Organizational Funding Contributions and
Dilemmas for Feminist Knowledge and Practice**

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 27 No. 2, August 2022, page 163-173, 1 table, 22 references

Donor agencies or development partners have significantly contributed to support the funding of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Indonesia. Feminist fundings are expected to support women grassroots empowerment, gender justice, and the spread of feminist knowledge in Indonesia. This research aims to identify the issues that donor agencies and donor intermediaries deal with and how these issues affect the financing of feminist CSOs. This is a qualitative research, data collecting is done through a Forum Group Discussion (FGD) that includes donor agencies (grant making) and intermediaries. This study shows that funding obstacles are from government constraints on particular feminist concerns. This study is also a reflection for feminist CSOs not to completely depend on donor organizations.

Keywords: Indonesian feminist knowledge, donor agencies, government restrictions, women empowerment, gender justice

A Philosophical and Feminist Analysis of Decoloniality in Indonesia: A Critical Study of Toeti Heraty, Kartini, and Siti Roehana

Gadis Arivia

Montgomery College
Takoma Park Silver Spring, Maryland, USA

Gadis.Effendi@montgomerycollege.edu

Manuscript Chronology: received 18 July 2022, revised 8 August 2022, accepted 11 August 2022

Abstract

This research invites us to rethink the methods used in the feminist philosophy approach. Feminist studies in Indonesia need to use new perspectives to expose epistemic injustice. The decolonial feminism approach can provide new insights and questions about how feminist knowledge is formed in Indonesia. The author centers the writing on epistemic violence due to the hegemony of the feminist discourse carried out by power elites and colonial establishments. This study examines the case studies of Indonesian feminists Toeti Heraty, Kartini, and Siti Roehana to demonstrate how colonial knowledge and apparatus work. This paper's approach to decolonial feminism does not attempt to return to essentialism by glorifying nationalist discourses but instead uses a decoloniality framework to establish epistemic justice.

Keywords: decolonial feminism, epistemic violence, feminist philosophy

Introduction

Jurnal Perempuan (JP) team analyses, nurtures, collects, and shapes feminist knowledge in Indonesia. JP has been fostering experts on feminism for 26 years in Indonesia. JP's knowledge production does not take place at universities, because 26 years ago, no university published a journal specialising in feminist discourse. Back then, universities were allergic to the term feminism, rarely supported feminist research, and only presented the discourse of women in development in accordance with the State Policy Guidelines (*Garis Besar Haluan Negara /GBHN*).¹ The restriction of feminist discourse in Indonesia at that time was due to the strong role of the state in controlling both universities and freedom of speech. In comparison, in the West, feminist journals, which started in 1973, were based at universities. Three leading journals, such as *Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society* (University of Chicago Press), *Feminist Studies* (University of Maryland), and *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* (University of Colorado), are independent but still face obstacles with the university bureaucracy. The managers of these journals told us that they struggled to change the university's "ivory tower" attitude that saw journals as a formality of academic activities. Feminist scholars at universities, through the journals they manage, produce feminist knowledge that becomes part of activism so that the articles produced

are useful and disseminated to foster feminist awareness in society (McDermott 1994).

Jurnal Perempuan, although all of its founders came from universities, decided to establish JP outside the campus because they wanted to have an active and not a passive journal. An active journal aims to foster feminist experts in Indonesia and build feminist knowledge communities at all levels including at the grassroots level. JP readers (members of Sahabat Jurnal Perempuan) are readers who are involved in JP's activities in disseminating JP's knowledge products. Hence, JP decided to establish an organization in order to publish JP. Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan (YJP) was established by four people: Toeti Heraty, Asikin Arif, Ida Dhanny, and myself. All of them were affiliated with the Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Humanities, University of Indonesia.

Philosophy is the heartbeat of *Jurnal Perempuan*. Since its first edition, *Jurnal Perempuan* has always been reviewing the thoughts of women philosophers, such as Simone de Beauvoir, Mary Wollstonecraft, Hannah Arendt, Iris Marion Young, Judith Butler, and so on. Their names appeared in various articles, YJP website, or highlights of feminist figures. Toeti Heraty, one of the founders of Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan, wrote her psychology thesis in 1961 on Simone de Beauvoir's feminine transcendence titled *Transendensi Feminin*,

Kesetaraan Gender menurut Simone de Beauvoir (Feminine Transcendence, Gender Equality According to Simone de Beauvoir), which was published by Gramedia in 2018. I myself wrote a dissertation on *Filsafat Berperspektif Feminis (FBF)* (Feminist Philosophy) in 2002, and was published by YJP in 2003. In the FBF book, the theories reviewed are extended to theories of multiculturalism, globalism, and post-modernism that seek to disrupt the dominant discourse of Western philosophy and to present marginalised narratives. *Jurnal Perempuan*, since its first issue, which was published on 10 August 1996 until now, covers various studies on the issues of Indonesian women who are marginalised on the grounds of class, ethnicity, sexuality, economy, culture, and environment. Therefore, it sees gender not only as a single category of women but also how it intersects with class, race, economy, culture, religion, and so on. Is what *Jurnal Perempuan* has done so far enough? Are there theories of philosophy and feminism that have not been reviewed and included in the rich collection of *Jurnal Perempuan*? Should *Jurnal Perempuan* critically discuss Indonesian feminist philosophers? These questions are important as an effort to reflect on the construction of feminist knowledge carried out by YJP and especially JP in sustaining feminist knowledge.

The discussion of feminist theories in JP is an integral part of JP's existence. In addition to presenting case studies of Indonesian women in every edition, JP is also strong in exploring theories of feminism and philosophy, in accordance with its purpose. I believe that *Jurnal Perempuan*, in its 26th year, needs to add the analytical knife of decolonial feminism to its repertoire of feminist knowledge. Therefore, I would like to discuss Toeti Heraty's thoughts as an Indonesian feminist philosopher and interrogate Kartini and Siti Roehana's thoughts in the frame of decolonial feminism. This research seeks to honestly and clearly understand the strengths and weaknesses of decolonial feminism theory in the Indonesian context by applying it to the thoughts of Indonesian feminist philosophers.

Methodology

For this research, I use decolonial methodology. According to Thambinathan and Kinsella (2021), there is no standard model of decolonial methodology. According to them, decolonial methodology includes: (1) exercising critical reflexivity, (2) reciprocity and respect for self-determination, (3) embracing "other(ed)" ways of knowing, and (4) embodying a transformative praxis.

All of these elements are an effort to practice an equal and just epistemology (Dei 2008) with the understanding that the existing knowledge sets are the result of colonial knowledge that produces unequal power relations. This understanding is close to Audre Lorde's assertion that "the Master's tools will never dismantle the Master's house" (Lorde 1984). A more radical view asserts that in order to be free from the influence of Western knowledge, the academic world must completely reject all Western-derived knowledge tools and practices (McGuire-Adams 2020). This undoubtedly has an impact on the rejection of publications in foreign languages, foreign journals, and knowledge standards formed by the West. A more balanced opinion is from Garroutte (2003), who tries to build indigenous knowledge by communicating with other knowledge and recognising that local knowledge is part of a global community and is very diverse.

My own position refers to Thambinathan and Kinsella and avoids a position of essentialism or glorifying all non-Western sources. To me, the critical reflexivity approach aims to highlight power imbalances produced both by Western and non-Western knowledge, and to build critical communication in philosophy and feminism scholar works. Critical reflection within the framework of a decolonial approach values a knowledgeable community and positions a researcher as "the learner" rather than "the discoverer" of new knowledge. This way of thinking respects differences and at the same time fosters diverse knowledge not only from Western-centric but also local-centric environments. In the end, I believe that the decolonial approach is not an attempt to uphold a sense of nationalism, but to foster love and wisdom in knowledge itself while remaining critical. Through the decolonial approach, it is hoped that a new understanding of oppression, injustice, loss, and power will emerge. This research does not simply want to "present the right story" or simply an "add on" to the list of Indonesian women philosophers and feminists on the world stage, but wants to raise new questions.

Through a decolonial feminist approach, I would like to review the thoughts of Toeti Heraty, Kartini, and Siti Roehana,² and raise new questions. These three Indonesian philosophers and feminists occupy a unique position because analysing them goes beyond an academic activity as they were all activists. This research is not prepared for the sake of an academic activity but more so, to shape the mind of activism. As Fortier (2017) says, the decolonial approach strengthens the scholar-activist, and is thus entirely praxis.

In Search of Southeast Asian Feminist Philosophers³

I will begin the discussion of this research by raising the issue of marginalised Asian women philosophers. In Indonesia, there are only a few women, who have a focus in philosophy professionally and their contributions are rarely recognised. Before addressing Toeti Heraty as a philosopher and feminist, I would like to discuss the position of women philosophers as a whole.

Both Western and Eastern philosophies have a less than harmonious relationship with women. It is often said that the root of Western philosophy's sexism and misogyny lies in the view that the female body is imperfect or "mutilated" compared to the male body. This view concludes that women are morally inferior to men, although this view is false (Mercer 2018). The seeds of sexism in Western philosophy were planted thousands of years ago by prominent Greek philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle. Similarly, Eastern philosophy such as Confucianism is considered the "enemy of feminism" as feminist scholars have produced numerous studies on the role of Confucianism and the subordination of women (Koh 2008).

For centuries, women philosophers were sidelined and ignored although in the 17th century, women philosophers such as Elisabeth of Bohemia, Margaret Cavendish, and Anne Conway had significantly contributed to the European philosophical thoughts. Recognition of their work took a long time, and it was only in the early 1990s there were books that described the contributions of women philosophers such as Mary Ellen Waith's book (1978), *On a History of Women Philosophers*, which was published in three volumes. However, outside of Europe, women philosophers are not valued and their contributions to philosophy are ignored. For women of colour in philosophy, being a woman and a person of colour puts them in a weak position because white women philosophers are more respected. Yoko Arisaka's article, *Asian Women: Invisibility, Locations, and Claims to Philosophy in Women of Colour and Philosophy* (2000) asserts that Asian women philosophers are more invisible and even weaker than black and Latin American women philosophers. Arisaka's research only highlights Asian women philosophers as a whole, but I would like to highlight that Southeast Asian women philosophers are even more underrepresented, let alone Indonesian women philosophers. Filipino women philosophers have realised the importance of building an association of women philosophers, and in 2020 they formed Women Doing Philosophy.⁴ The formation of this group was inspired by an article written by Tracy Llanera (2019),

which was published in the *Hypathia* journal titled *The Brown's Babe's Burden*. In the article, Llanera recounts the twists and turns of the experience of being a woman philosopher.

Asian women philosophers are predominantly from East and South Asia, such as China, Japan, Korea, and India. Nonetheless, it is important to highlight their contributions that have shaped the discourse of classical philosophy. For example, the *Global and Comparative History of Ideas* (SGOKI 2018) includes Gargi Vachaknavi as one of the hidden figures in the *Upanishads*. *The Philosopher Queens* (2020) mentions Ban Zhao as an intellectual woman in the antiquity of Chinese history, who contributed to *The Book of Han*. In the book, several Muslim women philosophers are highlighted such as the 16th-century thinker Ai'ishah al Ba'undiyyah from Damascus, who wrote *The Principles of Sufism*. A unique figure, who is considered to be both a Muslim and Hindu thinker is the 14th-century Lalla from Kashmir. She is referred to as Lalleshwati by Hindus and Lalla Arifa by Muslims.

The decolonial feminist approach argues that it is not enough to name women philosophers and mention their work without highlighting their contributions to dismantling power relations, oppression, and social change. I agree with Alcoff (2017) that decolonialising feminist philosophy must present a different approach to the philosophical practice. Philosophy is not just a love of wisdom, but needs to oppose all forms of oppression. Like Vergès (2019), I aspire for a philosophy that is capable of destroying sexism, racism, capitalism, and imperialism. As I mentioned above, the decolonial approach to me is not to uphold philosophical nationalism or non-relationalism with other forms of philosophy, including Western philosophy. This puritanical stance of philosophy is actually similar to the analytic philosophy of European philosophy. Eastern philosophy adopts a similar position, which is often reactive to Western philosophy and preoccupied with being "anti" the West without advancing more progressive thinking.

In the context of this argument, feminist philosophy is more advanced. Feminist philosophy is built on the foundation of equality and justice for women. Transnational feminism extends the definition of rights to social justice (McLaren 2017). In *Singing in the Fire: Stories of Women in Philosophy*, Alcoff (2003) collects essays by women philosophers about their experiences in philosophy and reveals the discrimination, exploitation, and violence they have experienced. She includes the diverse views of women philosophers, including those

of colour such as Uma Narayan's *What's a Brown Girl like You Doing in the Ivory Tower?*. Narayan describes her journey to becoming a feminist philosopher. Narayan tells the story of her education when she was eight to fourteen years old in Uganda at an all-girls school run by Franciscan nuns. When Idi Amin expelled Asians from Uganda in 1973, Narayan had a difficult time. So, she returned to India and did an undergraduate programme in philosophy in Bombay and read Socrates, Locke, Marx, and Mill. After completing her master's degree in 1979, Narayan became a women's rights activist in various organisations. It was only then that she realised that she had not read the writings of women philosophers at all during her study. She went on to do a doctoral programme in the United States after receiving a scholarship and had to compete with other candidates who all studied engineering and were men.

Why is personal experience important? Personal experience in the feminist methodology is valued and considered important, which is in stark contrast to mainstream philosophical methodology that is based on universalism and ignores particularities. The decolonial approach also considers personal experience. Mohanty (2010) argues that there cannot be a single view based on a single experience, including idealising a single representation without looking at the context. Thus, knowledge is always situated and the personal experiences of feminist philosophers are important to note.

Indonesian Feminist Philosopher

It is undeniable that Toeti Heraty was a leading feminist philosopher in, although when Toeti passed away in 2021, most media outlets remembered her as a poet, cultural activist, businesswoman, and her of philanthropic activities. Very few discussed her work as a philosopher, let alone regarded Toeti Heraty as a feminist philosopher. Some excerpts of comments included in her last book, *Ajaib, Nyata, Kadang Lucu* (2020): "Toeti Heraty was the only woman poet among the leading Indonesian poets" (Prof. Dr. A. Teeuw); "With a distinctive style, Toeti expressed the feelings of women who need to be considered in a world that is too dominated by men" (Balai Pustaka); "Toeti Heraty was able to make her poetry truly her own. As a poet, she was her own person". In his writing, *Sajak-Sajak Toeti Heraty*, Subagio Sastrowardoyo also states that Toeti Heraty was able to stand outside the mainstream, and therefore, was not the same as other poets" (Budi Darma). These comments illustrate that being a philosopher in Indonesia must

be purely philosophical and cannot be combined with other identities, let alone as a feminist or an activist. Toeti Heraty's works are full of philosophical discussions and feminism, for example, *Aku dalam Budaya* (2013), *Berpijak pada Filsafat* (2013), *Tentang Manusia Indonesia* (2015), *Transendensi Feminin* (2018), *Sajak-sajak 33* (1974), *Calon Arang* (2006), and so on.

Toeti in her book, *Ajaib, Nyata, Kadang Lucu* (2020), describes her life journey memories, including her comments on the Covid-19 pandemic that hit Indonesia, and also expresses her disappointment with the university bureaucracy and especially the Philosophy Major. She experienced many obstacles, from her doctoral promotion in 1979, a stalled promotion, an erratic professor appointment that took more than 10 years, barriers to being the Department secretary,⁵ to having to go through the appointment process of becoming a civil servant (*Pegawai Negeri Sipil/PNS*) four times. When she was the Head of the Department, she was asked to retire at the age of 55. Her frustration was evident in her writing and she finally consoled herself by saying that the bureaucracy and politics in Higher Education did not discourage her because in the end she did a lot of work and was recognised outside the University of Indonesia (UI). Toeti Heraty's story reminds me of Alcoff's book (2003), which contains sad stories of feminist philosophers in higher education in various countries. The testimonies of women philosophers, such as Sandra Lee Bartky, Teresa Brennan, Claudia Card, Virginia Held, Alison M Jaggar, Stephanie R Lewis, Uma Narayan, Martha C. Nussbaum, Andrea Nye, Ofelia Schutte, Kristin Shrader-Frechette, and Karen J. Warren corroborate the systematic marginalisation of feminist philosophers in higher education. Several stories describe experiences of neglect, obstruction, gossip, exploitation, and sexual harassment.

Although Toeti Heraty experienced turbulence in her career as a philosophy lecturer at UI, her figure as an Indonesian philosopher cannot be taken lightly. Toeti Heraty's contributions to advancing philosophy in Indonesia were recognised domestically and internationally. One of her most significant contributions in my opinion was her effort to include 15 Indonesian philosophers in the French encyclopedia, *Dictionnaire des Philosophes*, published by Press Universitaire in 1984. She included the following list: Mpu Kanwa (11th century), Empu Tantular (14th century), Yasadipura (1729-1830), Pakubuwana (1768-1820), Ranggawasita (1802-1973), Mangkunegara (1811-1881), Agus Salim (1884-1954), Ki Hajar Dewantara (1889-1958), Soekarno (1901-1971),

Hamka (1908-1981), Notonegoro (1905-1981), M. Natsir (1908-1993), S.T. Alisjahbana (1908-1994), Driyarkara (1913-1967), and Sumantri Hardjoprakoso (1917-1970). It should be noted that of the fifteen names proposed, eleven were predominantly of Javanese ethnicity.

I was heartbroken to read that not a single woman philosopher was on her *Dictionnaire des Philosophes* list. Although in her book, *Tentang Manusia Indonesia* (2015), Toeti regretted it and included Kartini, a Javanese aristocrat, as a woman philosopher. Of course, I am happy with her regret, but my impression is that Kartini was added to the list as an “add on”. Similarly, the list of fifteen Indonesian philosophers above was just an add-on and did not really critically question their thinking. If we are to be optimistic, the inclusion of the names of Indonesian philosophers is an attempt to disrupt Western thoughts. This is certainly in line with post-colonial ideas (Bhaba in Bhambra 2014). The idea of decolonial feminism seeks to expose the power of colonial thinking and re-read colonial consciousness by relating it to race, gender, and sexuality (Lugones 2010). In my opinion, Lugones’ argument extends to debates on class oppression and ethnicity. Lugones builds on Quijano’s theory that it is necessary to understand power structures through relations of domination, exploitation, and conflict. Lugones goes deeper than Quijano to underline the importance of intersections with race, class, gender, and sexuality. Lugones, quoting Oyewumi (1997), states that inferiority works not only at the level of race and ethnicity, but also at the level of inferiority of *anafemales*,

which includes the exclusion of women from leadership, access to education and economy, ownership, existence, and so on.

Case Studies of Kartini and Siti Roehana

The question is why Toeti Heraty included Kartini on the list as an Indonesian philosopher with the fifteen figures above and not Siti Roehana or Dewi Sartika? All three were from the same era and they were all among the first Indonesian feminists. If the argument is that Kartini shared her feminist thoughts through her letters in Dutch to her Dutch friend, Stella Zehandelaar, then Siti Roehana was actually more progressive. Roehana published her thoughts in *Soenting Melajoe*, the first women’s newspaper published on 10 July 1912 for indigenous peoples, which used the Malay language and was anti-colonial in nature. Referring to Lugones and Oyewumi’s framework, it can be concluded that Toeti Heraty’s analyses were influenced by a colonial framework that provides space for the dominant race/ethnicity and elite class. The decolonial feminist approach becomes useful in analysing Kartini. New questions that arise are around the close relationship between colonialism and the elites, and how both reproduce colonial ways of thinking in representing women. It is important to question this because the reproduction of colonial logic continues to be developed to this day. Using the decolonial feminist approach, the differences between Kartini and Siti Roehana are as follows:

Table 1. Critical Analysis of Raden Ajeng Kartini

Raden Ajeng Kartini (21 April 1879 – 17 September 1904)			
Class	Education	Work	Recognition
Javanese aristocrat.	Attended school until the age of 12 due to the aristocrat class.	Wrote letters to her Dutch friend, Estella Zehandelaar.	Raden Ajeng (R.A.) Kartini was declared a national hero on 2 May 1964 by President Soekarno, who issued Presidential Decree of the Republic of Indonesia Number 108 and set out to commemorate the birthday of R.A. Kartini on every 21 April.
Daughter of Raden Mas Adipati Ario Sosroningrat.	Fluent in speaking and writing in Dutch.	Her work was edited, titled, and published by the Dutch in the Netherlands.	In the New Order era, Kartini’s day was symbolised with kebaya clothes by Dharma Wanita and it was mandatory to commemorate Kartini’s day with kebaya.
Became the third wife of an aristocrat husband, Raden Adipati Joyodiningrat.	Got access to readings from Dutch friends.	Submitted an article to the Dutch women’s magazine, <i>De Hollandsche Lelie</i> .	W.R. Supratman composed a special song for Kartini.
Polygamous Marriage.		Kartini School was built in 1912 with the assistance from the Dutch.	Recognised by the Dutch and academic world as a feminist figure.

Table 2. Critical Analysis of Siti Roehana

Siti Roehana (20 December 1884 – 17 August 1972)			
Class	Education	Work	Recognition
An ordinary person. Born in Koto Gadang, Agam Regency, West Sumatra. Active in the community.	Never attended school because she was not of the noble class.	Published the first women's newspaper, <i>Soenting Melajoe (SM)</i> , in 1912 and was the editor of SM for 7 years.	Minister Harmoko's decree, awarded as Indonesia's First Journalist (1974), on the 3 rd National Press Day, 9 February 1987.
Daughter of Mohamad Rasjad Maharadja Soetan, an ordinary employee.	Learned to read and write from her father. Foreign reading materials (newspapers and books) were obtained from Singapore.	Wrote her thoughts in various indigenous newspapers.	Named as a national figure by President Joko Widodo through the Minister of Social Affairs number: 23/MS/A/09/2019 dated 9 September 2019.
Married to Abdoel Koeddoes, an anti-Dutch activist.	Learned to knit and weave.	Built a girls' school, Amai Setia, in 1911 in Koto Gadang. Built Roehana School in 1915 in Bukittinggi.	Recognised by local people as a figure who came up with the idea of smuggling weapons from Koto Gadang to Bukittinggi via Ngarai Sianok.
		Drove local economy for women by teaching them how to weave. Active in the local community.	Not widely recognised as an Indonesian feminist figure in the academic world (very little discussion of Siti Roehana as a feminist figure).

Kartini, as has been written by many researchers such as Pramoedya Ananta Toer, came from a privileged background, who was fascinated by the Western world. She got along closely with European children. In the Western world, she felt freer, fuller, and more at home in the democratic Western atmosphere. Her love for the Western world was obvious and combined with her fondness for all things European, especially science (Toer 2000). Hence, Kartini wanted to master the Dutch language in order to reach European civilisation (Letter dated 18 August 1900 to Mrs Abendanon). In a letter of 25 May 1899, Kartini more explicitly expressed her alignment with the white nation, "my heart is beating; I am excited about the new era, yes, in fact I can say, judging by my thoughts and feelings, I do not fit in this Indian era, but I have lived in the era of my white sisters who are eager for progress, in the far West". Although Kartini was fascinated by the Western science and way of life, she also criticised the West. In a letter of 12 January 1900, she questioned the attitude of the Dutch people, who looked down on the Javanese.⁶ Here, Kartini's concern was limited to the interests of the Javanese and the aristocrats (*priayi*)⁷, and did not see herself as a larger part of the Javanese nation. Perhaps due to her limitations to get out of the confines of her palace environment, she could not understand the people living outside Java or try to understand the lives of women in other regions. Kartini's letters were full of hegemonic discourse from the elites and went hand in

hand with the Dutch discourse that seeks to promote the success of the colonial period (*The Dutch Golden Age*)⁸.

The pride of elitism influenced the discourse of feminism in Indonesia, and made other feminists in the same era as Kartini as "others". The hegemony of this discourse, if examined, continued after the Dutch colonial era⁹. My reading through the methodology of decolonial feminism is that both Kartini and the Dutch's mindset favoured the elite class (both *priayi* and white), thus remaining colonial in mentality. Take the example of Kartini's statement in her letter to Mrs MCE Ovink-Soer in 1900¹⁰, when she had wishful thinking of going to school in the Netherlands and when she returned, she said, "we will return to Java and open a school for girls of aristocratic descent ..." (Symmers 1921).

The comparison between Kartini and Siti Roehana is very contrast. Siti Roehana came from Koto Gadang, West Sumatra, and was an anti-Dutch ordinary person.¹¹ She did not go to school because of her non-aristocratic status. Roehana learned to read and write from her father, and gained knowledge by herself. Siti Roehana's writings were published in various newspapers, but she wrote intensely in *Soenting Melajoe*, the first women's newspaper in Indonesia,¹² published on 10 July 1912. The newspaper was owned by Datuk Soetan Maharadja, who published *Oetoesan Melajoe*. Roehana argued strongly when lobbying Datuk Soetan Maharadja by saying

“my real wish is not just to ask for a space for mothers in the *Oetoesan Melajoe* newspaper that you lead, but to publish a special newspaper for women” (Fitriyanti 2001). Datuk Soetan Maharadja eventually agreed to help Siti Roehana publish *Soenting Melajoe* as long as her daughter Zoebeidah Ratna Djoewita joined her as an editor. Roehana accepted the proposal because she was busy running a girls’ school, Kerajinan Amai Setia (KAS) school in Koto Gadang, which she established in 1911 on the veranda of her house. This school taught women from among the ordinary people to read and write. Roehana later also established Roehana School in 1915 in Bukittinggi.

Soenting Melajoe was published in Padang by the Snelpersdrukkerij printing house with the tagline “*Soerat Chabar Perempoean, Orang Alam Minang Kabau*”. Each edition of this newspaper was four-page thick. At first, *Soenting Melajoe* was published every Saturday and then changed to every Thursday with a one-year subscription fee of f. 0.45 for three months and f. 1.80 for readers in the Dutch East Indies. Roehana thought hard to fund her newspaper so that it could continue to be published, so she looked for adverts¹³. Roehana managed *Soenting Melajoe* for 7 years, and there were more than 360 entries in the form of articles, visit reports, news briefs, and replies to letters to the editor. Roehana wrote extensively on women’s issues in the country. Some of her interesting writings include: “*Perhiasan Pakaian*” (*Soenting Melajoe* No. 10, Year 1, 7 August 1912). She urged women to be economically independent by exploring their skills. Roehana encouraged women in Koto Gadang to learn to weave, and by learning to weave they appreciated the weavings and crafts in Koto Gadang. Roehana was determined to improve the economy of poor women through handicrafts. An article titled *Setia Gerakan Perempuan Zaman Ini* (*Soenting Melajoe*, No. 22, Year 2, 23 May 1913) outlined the importance of women forming associations and not being outdone by the many young men who established associations to achieve independence. In this article, Roehana equated the independence of the nation with the independence of women. Roehana called for “loyalty to the nation, the land, and the village, and to keep moving forward”. Her article titled *Rendah Hati* (*Soenting Melajoe*, No. 9, Year 2, 20 February 1913) expressed her gratitude that young ordinary women could now go to school and her hope that young women would grow to be compassionate, loving, and merciful, especially to the poor. To her, it is very important that young women have a sense of empathy for the poor. Many of Roehana’s writings touched on the

problems of the lower classes and appealed that more must be done for the lower classes. Roehana’s writing mentions all women, including those from Papua. In the article, *Gerakan Kesukaan Perempuan di Zaman Ini* (*Soenting Melajoe*, No. 28, Year 2, 4 July 1913), Roehana reviewed the likes of women from both Europe and non-Europe, including those who were half-Europeans. She looked at the differences between the various women and noted the favourites of Europeans with their clothes, luxury goods, and travelling. She noticed that Malay women were less privileged, and Roehana thought of how to improve the situation of indigenous women.

Roehana’s writings were not limited to talking about women in Indonesia, but also gave a place to discuss women in other countries, including Muslim women in Egypt. What is interesting about *Soenting Melajoe* is that most of the writers were women because Roehana really made sure that women’s voices were heard. She stressed this to Datuk Soetan Maharadja, “I will try to get women writers so that the newspaper will truly be the voice of women” (Fitriyanti 2001). Many women wrote for *Soenting Melajoe* and discussed various issues, such as access to education, constraints of traditions, anti-polygamy, anti-colonialism, and economic access for women. Roehana patiently welcomed visitors, who wanted to meet her and answered all questions about women, including readers who criticised *Soenting Melajoe*’s writings as progressive. However, many from various regions, including from abroad such as Egypt also praised *Soenting Melajoe*. One of the most interesting letters *Soenting Melajoe* received was from a father who said his daughter always could not wait for *Soenting Melajoe* to be published every Thursday and read all the contents.

Soenting Melajoe, which was led by Roehana, presented a dialogue with various women and this, in my opinion, was Roehana’s strength in giving space to all women. The women’s writings she published in *Soenting Melajoe* came from various regions that were sensitive to the conditions of women across the country. Roehana also produced news stories on women’s activities, including the announcement of the opening of a school in Sukabumi in 1912 and the Kartini School in Semarang in 1913.

Besides writing, Roehana also wrote poetry.¹⁴ *Pelita Kapas* was published on the first page of *Soenting Melajoe* No. 4 on 27 July 1912. It encouraged women to take an active role in social life, including politics, and to reject Dutch colonialism.

Pelita Kapas

Pelbagai benih buah pikiran,
percaturan politik yang bertaburan;
perempuan dan laki-laki berhamburan,
peri kemajuan dan kemunduran.

Ikhlas dan tulus segala muda,
elok dan buruk mana yang ada;
hamburkanlah ilmu di dalam dada,
endracht macht maakt
(persatuan membuat kekuatan) maju berenda.

Lalai dan lengah jangan dibuat,
langsung cecahkan pena kedawat,
lajukan pikiran seperti kawat,
laju kemajuan lekaslah jawat.

Ilmu kepandaian mana yang ada,
yang tertoreh di dalam dada;
isilah waktu nyatalah sudah,
iris menerawang atau merenda.

Teluk dan rantau Soenting lajari,
tembus kembali gunung dan duri;
tepek bersorak sambil menari,
tontonan pahlawan dan bidadari.

Allah tiada melarang kita,
ansurlah diri ke tepi kota;
hari kiamat hampirlah nyata,
ampun dan maaf beribu juta.

Kekal dan sakral sumur dunia,
kemajuan dituntut segala manusia;
keraskan hati dengan setia,
kelak berhasil masuk yang mulia.

Ayolah! mari ke taman Soenting,
hamburkan benih yang penting-penting,
halus dan kasar dahan dan ranting,
anyam menganyam gunting-menggunting.

Perempuan harus menggerakkan diri,
patutlah pula mengeluarkan peri;
sejarah nan kasat na' hilang duri,
pelantikan gunjing sehari-hari.

Akan menjadi tiru teladan,
anak padusi na' jan njo edan,
adik ke sekolah maju ke medan,
ajarliah hormat merendahkan badan.

Sungguh seruan tiada sempurna,
seboleh-bolelah harap ta' lena,
sekalian pembaca muda terima,
sambutlah salam hormat,

Roehana
(Redactrice *Soenting Melajoe*)

Closing

The decolonial feminist approach allows us to re-examine the knowledge that has been shaped by the elites and colonial regime that control women's discourse. To me, the purpose of decolonial feminism is not merely to use non-white and indigenous figures as a token, or to counter and to be against everything related to knowledge from foreign countries. The decolonial approach is far from a matter of "revenge", but rather an attempt to show the existence of epistemic violence and how to build a just epistemic and ethics-based dialogue and solidarity. In feminist theory, the seeds of decolonial feminism have been seen through Sandra Harding's feminist standpoint (1987), black feminist thoughts through the intersectionality of Patricia Hill Collins and Kimberlé Crenshaw, as well as multiculturalism, post-colonial, and transnational theories.

Vergès (2020) says that the purpose of the decolonial feminist approach is to give visibility to the struggles of women who have been side-lined by the dominant races/ethnicities and obscured by history for being "others". Visibility (the visible) and non-visibility (the invisible) are strategic calculations made by the dominant group. Narratives and characters that are given visibility are inseparable from the circle of power, while narratives and characters that are made non-visible are those that are oppressed, denied access, ignored, not considered, or pretend not to be seen and heard (Timofei Gerber Interview with Vergès 2020).

I began by discussing the international marginalisation of feminist philosophers in Southeast Asia and highlighted Toeti Heraty as an Indonesian feminist philosopher. However, I also underlined the marginalisation of Toeti, who was ignored in her country as a philosopher, let alone a feminist philosopher. I pointed out the same thing in the case of Kartini and Siti Roehana. Roehana was marginalised as an Indonesian feminist figure (not at the same level as Kartini) and recognised only as the first female journalist. Kartini's letters in Dutch to her Dutch friends were highlighted and given a special place in Dutch museums and applauded at home. Kartini was so important to the colonial regime and the elites that W.R. Supratman (the composer of Indonesia Raya song) composed a special song for her. Meanwhile, *Soenting Melajoe* newspaper, which was initiated, published, and written by Siti Roehana in Malay for indigenous women, was obscured, invisible, and not even discussed as a feminist work. The systematic marginalisation of Siti Roehana is important to me because it has major consequences for other marginalised feminists such as

Dewi Sartika, who was in the same era as Kartini. The decolonial feminism approach is useful to question why other feminist figures from among ordinary people do not appear or should not appear?

The decolonial approach provides a fundamental understanding that colonisation is not only limited to territorial colonisation and economic exploitation but also includes epistemological colonisation. This epistemological colonisation shapes the colonial mindset or frame of thinking. To me, the decolonial feminist approach is not imperative, and there is no need to adopt it. The decolonial feminist approach is a choice. A choice to free oneself from epistemic violence.

Endnotes

- 1 See, State Policy Guidelines (GBHN) in 1993 and T. Ihromi's book, *Women's Studies in Development* (1995).
- 2 I use Siti Roehana instead of Rohana Koeddoes because Siti Roehana wrote her name as Siti Roehana in every publication of *Soenting Melajoe*. Sometimes, she wrote her name Siti Rohana without the *oe* spelling. Koeddoes was her husband's name, but she did not use her husband's name but her own.
- 3 Parts of this paper have been written for the EuroSEAS Conference in Paris, EHESS, 28 June-1 July 2022.
- 4 See more on <https://blog.apaonline.org/2021/03/02/the-women-doing-philosophy-group-in-the-philippines/>.
- 5 The name of UI Philosophy Major was used from 1974 to the 1980s, and changed to the Department of Philosophy in the 1990s.
- 6 Kartini's ambivalence between defending the Netherlands and Java is well explained by Grace VS Chin in her article, *Ambivalent Narration: Kartini's Silence and the Other Woman*. She uses the concept of "Janus-Faced" from Homi K. Bhabha. I simply interpret "Janus-Faced" as two-faced. This ambivalence can also be seen in Kartini's attitude, which initially considered polygamy a sin (Letter 6 November 1899).
- 7 Kartini's letters to Zeehandelaar showed how she was very proud of her aristocrat descent and did not say anything about her mother, who was actually a concubine named Ngasirah. Kartini deliberately hid her mother's identity. She spoke of Raden Ayu Moerjam as her mother, who was actually her stepmother. See, Chin (2020), *Ambivalent Narration: Kartini's Silence and the Other Woman*.
- 8 Remember that the selection and publication of Kartini's letters were completely controlled and released by the Dutch.
- 9 Raden Ajeng (R.A.) Kartini was declared a national hero on 2 May 1964 by President Soekarno, who issued Presidential Decree of the Republic of Indonesia Number 108 and set out to commemorate the birthday of R.A. Kartini on every 21 April. In the New Order era, Kartini's day was symbolised by the wearing of kebaya clothes by Dharma Wanita and it was compulsory to commemorate Kartini's day in kebaya. In the Reformation era, especially under President Joko Widodo's leadership, Kartini was proclaimed as the Nation's Feminist by her supporters. Although Joko Widodo, through the decision of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia Number 23/MS/A/09/2019 dated 9 September 2019, named Siti Roehana as a national figure, her image remained in the corridor of the press (as in Minister Harmoko's decree awarding her as Indonesia's First Journalist (1974), on the 3rd National Press Day, 9 February 1987), and not as a female or feminist figure equal to Kartini. This note is important to show the appropriation and politicisation of Kartini throughout history and the silencing of other female figures who have fought for women's rights more tangibly.
- 10 Kartini's interesting relationship with Mrs Ovink (who was still Kartini's relative) illustrates Mrs Ovink's role in advertising Kartini's desire to correspond with the Dutch. The advertisement was submitted to *De Hollandsche Lelie*, *De Echo*, and *Nederlandsche Taal*, Dutch feminist journals. Read, Joost Coté's writing in *Introduction, On Feminism and Nationalism*, and in *Kukathas, The Dilemma of a Dutiful Daughter* (2009).
- 11 During the colonial era, Roehana pioneered the establishment of soup kitchens and social agencies for the fighters. Roehana was credited with coming up with the brilliant idea of smuggling weapons from Koto Gadang to Bukittinggi via Ngarai Sianok. See, Nusrat Uyun, *Modern Women's Education and the Pioneer Journalist (Roehana Koeddoes, Education, and Indonesian Female Journalist)*, Universitas Muhammadiyah, Ponorogo.
- 12 The women's newspaper *Poetri Hindia* was published in Batavia in 1908. This newspaper, however, was founded by Javanese men and aristocrats, Raden Mas Tirta Adhi Soerjo and R.T.A. Tirtokoesoemo. They acted as editors.
- 13 It is interesting to see the advertisements published in *Soenting Melajoe*. There were various advertisements of businesses managed by women. Siti Roehana paid great attention to advancing women's businesses.
- 14 Roehana's artwork was not limited to writing poetry. She was also known for producing theatre performance *Tonel Bundo Kandang*. This performance was shown in Koto Gadang and received an overwhelming response from the local community. Roehana's obsession with the struggle for women's rights was reflected not only through her writings, but also her arts.

References

- Alcoff, L.M. 2017 "Decolonizing Feminist Philosophy" dalam *Decolonizing Feminism, Transnational Feminism and Globalization*. Rowman & Littlefield: London-New York.
- Alcoff, L.M. 2003. *Singing in the Fire, Stories of Women in Philosophy*. Romanlittlefield: Maryland.
- Arisaka, Y. 2000. "Asian Women: Invisibility, Locations, and Claims to Philosophy" dalam Naomi Zack (editor) *Women of Color and Philosophy*. Blackwell: Massachusetts.
- Arivia, G. 2003. *Filsafat Berperspektif Feminis*. YJP Press: Jakarta.

- Bhambra, G.K. 2014. "Postcolonial and Decolonial Dialog" dalam *Postcolonial Studies Culture Politics Economy*. DOI: 10.1080/13688790.2014.966414.
- Buxton, R. & Whiting, L. 2020. *The Philosophers Queens*. Unbound. Slovenia.
- Chin, G.V.S. 2020. "Ambivalent Narration: Kartini's Silence and the Other Woman" dalam *Appropriating Kartini, Colonial, National and Transnational Memories of the Indonesian Icon*. ISEAS. Singapura.
- Coté, J. 1995. *On Feminism and Nationalism: Kartini's Letters to Stella Zeehandelaar 1899--1903*. Monash Asia Institute.
- Dei, G. J. 2008. "Indigenous knowledge studies and the next generation: Pedagogical possibilities for anti-colonial education" dalam *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 37(Supplementary), hlm. 5-13.
- Fitriyanti. 2001. *Roehana Koedoes, Perempuan Sumatera Barat*. YJP. Jakarta.
- Fortier, C. 2017. "Unsettling Methodologies/Decolonizing Movements" dalam *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, 6(1). hlm. 20-36.
- Gerber, T. 2020. "A Decolonial Feminism in Conversation with Françoise Vergès" dalam *Epoché, Philosophy Monthly*. Issue #28. January.
- Garrouette, E.M. 2003. *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America*. University of California Press: Los Angeles.
- Harding, S. 1987. "The Method Question". *Hypatia*, 2(3), 19-35. Diakses pada 1 Juli 2022, di: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3810120>.
- Heraty, T. 2013. *Aku Dalam Budaya*. Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Heraty, T. 2013. *Berpijak pada filsafat: Kumpulan Sinopsis Disertasi Program Pascasarjana Filsafat Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya Universitas Indonesia Buku 1 dan Buku 2*. Komunitas Bambu.
- Heraty, T. 2015. *Tentang Manusia Indonesia, Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia: Jakarta*.
- Heraty, T. 2006. *Calon Arang*. Obor: Jakarta.
- Heraty, T. 1974. *Sajak-sajak* 33. Budaya Jaya: Jakarta.
- Heraty, T. 2018. *Transendensi Feminis, Kesetaraan Gender Menurut Simone de Beauvoir*. PT Gramedia: Jakarta.
- Heraty, T. 2020. *Ajaib, Nyata, Terkadang Lucu, Fragmen Autobiografi*. Penerbit Kompas. Jakarta.
- Ihromi, T.O. 1995. *Kajian Wanita dalam Pembangunan. Penyunting T.O. Ihromi*. Yayasan Obor Indonesia: Jakarta.
- Koh, E. 2008. "Gender Issues and Confucian Scriptures: Is Confucianism Incompatible with Gender Equality in South Korea?" dalam *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies-University of London*, 71, hlm. 345-362.
- Koh, E. 2008. "Gender Issues and Confucian Scriptures: Is Confucianism Incompatible with Gender Equality in South Korea?" dalam *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 71, No. 2. London: University of London. *Scripture and Modernity: A Tribute to Professor John Wansbrough*. hlm. 345-362.
- Kulkathas, C. 2009. "The Dilemma of a Dutiful Daughter: Love and Freedom in the Thought of Kartini" dalam *Toward a Humanist Justice, The Political Philosophy of Susan Moller Okin*. New York: Oxford.
- Llanera, T. 2019. "The Brown's Babe Burden" dalam *Hypatia*. Vol. 34 Number 2, Spring.
- Lorde, A. 1984. "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House" dalam *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches 1*. hlm. 10-14. Crossing Press: Canada.
- Lugones, M. 2010. "Toward a Decolonial Feminism" dalam *Hypatia*. Fall 2010, Vol. 25, No. 4. hlm. 742-759.
- Waithe, Mary Ellen. 1987. *A History of Women Philosophers*. Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer Academic Pub.
- Mercer, C. 2018. "The Philosophical Roots of Western Misogyny" dalam *Philosophical Topics*. Vol. 46, No. 2. hlm. 183-208.
- McDermott, P. 1994. *Politics and Scholarship*. University of Illinois Press. Chicago.
- McGuire-Adams, T.D. 2020. "Paradigm shifting: Centering Indigenous research methodologies, an Anishinaabe perspective. Qualitative Research" dalam *Sport, Exercise and Health*, 12(1). Hlm. 34-47. Diakses pada 1 Juli 2022, di: <https://doi.org/10.1080/2159676X.2019.1662474>.
- McLaren, Margaret A. (ed.) 2017. *Decolonizing Feminism: Transnational Feminism and Globalization*. Rowman & Littlefield International.
- Mohanty & Alexander. 2010. "Cartographies of Knowledge and Power: Transnational Feminism as Racial Praxis" dalam *Critical Transnational Feminism Praxis*. SUNY Press: Albany.
- Oyewumi, O. 1997. "The Invention of Women" dalam *Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourses*. University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis.
- Pane, A. 2009. *Habis Gelap Terbitlah Terang*. Balai Pustaka: Jakarta.
- Roehana, S. 1912. "Pelita Kapas" dalam *Soenting Melajoe*, No. 4, 27 Juli.
- Roehana, S. 1912. "Perhiasan Pakaian" dalam *Soenting Melajoe*, No. 10 Tahun 1, 7 Agustus.
- Roehana, S. 1913. "Rendah Hati" dalam *Soenting Melajoe*, No. 9 Tahun 2, 20 Februari.
- Roehana, S. 1913. *Soenting Melajoe*, No. 28, tahun kedua, 4 Juli.
- SGOKI. 2018. *Women Philosophers from Asia, Africa, and Meso America*. Diakses pada <http://www.sgoki.org/no/2018/11/25/women-philosophers-from-asia-africa-and-meso-america/>
- Symmers, A.L. 1921. *Letters of a Javanese Princess*. Duckworth & Co. London.
- Toer, P.A. 2000. *Panggil Aku Kartini Saja*. Hasta Mitra: Jakarta.
- Thaminathan & Kinsella. 2021. "Decolonizing Methodologies in Qualitative Research: Creating Spaces for Transformative Praxis" dalam *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, Volume 20. hlm. 1-9.
- Vergès, F. 2019. *A Decolonial Feminism*. Pluto Press: London.

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

Retno Daru Dewi G.S. Putri¹, Abby Gina Boang Manalu², & Nur Iman Subono³

Jurnal Perempuan¹, Universitas Bina Nusantara², Universitas Indonesia³
Alamanda Tower 25th Floor, Jalan T.B. Simatupang kavling 23-24 Jakarta 12430¹, Jalan Raya Kebon Jeruk No. 27, RW 9, Kebon Jeruk, Kecamatan Kebon Jeruk, Kota Jakarta Barat, Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 11530², Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik Universitas Indonesia Kampus UI Depok, Jawa Barat 16424³

daru@jurnalperempuan.com, abby.gina@binus.ac.id, boni.subono@gmail.com

Manuscript Chronology: received 15 July 2022, revised 8 August 2022, accepted 11 August 2022

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	Edition	Title
1	<i>Mengapa Perempuan Disiksa?</i>	60	<i>Awat! Perda Diskriminatif</i>
5	<i>Dampak Pembangunan Terhadap Perempuan</i>	63	<i>Catatan Perjuangan Politik Perempuan</i>
6	<i>Siapa Bercermin ke Siapa?</i>	65	<i>Mencari Ruang untuk Difabel</i>
7	<i>Politik Bergejolak Perempuan di Mana?</i>	69	<i>Seberapa Jauh Tanggung Jawab Negara?</i>
8	<i>Pemerintah yang Berdiri di Atas Darah Perempuan</i>	72	<i>Berantas Korupsi</i>
14	<i>Gerakan Perempuan Sedunia</i>	73	<i>Perkawinan dan Keluarga</i>
17	<i>Perempuan Lokal Bicara</i>	75	<i>Perempuan Pejabat Publik</i>
19	<i>Perempuan dalam Kewarganegaraan, Di Mana?</i>	76	<i>Karier dan Rumah Tangga</i>
24	<i>Perempuan di Wilayah Konflik</i>	79	<i>Pemilu dan Keterwakilan</i>
33	<i>Perempuan dan Pemulihan Konflik</i>	81	<i>Perempuan Politisi</i>
34	<i>Politik dan Keterwakilan Perempuan</i>	83	<i>Perempuan dalam Kabinet</i>
35	<i>Halo, Senayan!</i>	92	<i>Perempuan dan Kebijakan publik</i>
39	<i>Pekerja Domestik</i>	94	<i>Pekerja Rumah Tangga Domestik dan Migran</i>
46	<i>Sudahkah Anggaran Kita Sensitif Gender?</i>	98	<i>Perempuan dan Kebangsaan</i>
50	<i>Pengarusutamaan Gender</i>	100	<i>Pemikiran dan Gerakan Perempuan di Indonesia</i>
56	<i>Menyoal Buruh Mengapa Mereka Dieksploitasi?</i>	101	<i>Perempuan dan Demokrasi</i>
56	<i>Menyoal Buruh Mengapa Mereka Dieksploitasi?</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.

References

- Allen, Amy. 1999. *The Power of Feminist Theory: Domination, Resistance, Solidarity*. Routledge: New York.
- Amiruddin, Mariana. 2008. *Jurnal Perempuan* 60. YJP Press: Jakarta.
- Amiruddin, Mariana. 2010. "Mitosis Kecantikan di Media (Sebuah Kritik Feminis)." *Jurnal Perempuan* (67): hlm. 23.
- Amiruddin, Mariana. 2011. "Perkosaan Bukan Soal Seks, Tapi Kekuasaan." *Jurnal Perempuan* (71): hlm. 101.
- Amirudin, Mariana. 2004. *Suara Hak-hak Perempuan di Radio Jurnal Perempuan*. YJP Press: Jakarta.
- Anzaldua, Gloria. 1987. *Borderlands/La frontera: The New Mestiza*. Aunt Lute Books: San Fransisco.
- Arivia, Gadis. 2006. *Feminisme Sebuah Kata Hati*. Jakarta: Penerbit Buku Kompas.
- . 2006. *Feminisme: Sebuah Kata Hati*. Penerbit Buku Kompas: Jakarta.
- Arivia, Gadis, and Abby Gina. 2015. "Budaya, Seks dan Agama: Kajian Kawin Kontrak di Cisarua & Jakarta." *Jurnal Perempuan* 20 (1): hlm. 120--136.
- Assembly, United Nations General. 1979. "Human Right Instruments." *United Nations*. Desember 18. Accessed Juni 21, 2022. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/convention-elimination-all-forms-discrimination-against-women>.
- Bartky, Sandra Lee. 2002. *Sympathy and Solidarity and Other Essays*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc: Maryland.
- Benhabib, Seyla. 1992. *Situating the Self: Gender, Community, and Postmodernism in Contemporary Ethics*. Routledge: New York.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of A Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Burdell, Patricia, and Beth Blue Swadener. 1999. "Critical Personal Narrative and Autoethnography in Education: Reflections on a Genre." *Educational Researcher* (American Educational Research Association) 28 (6): hlm. 21--26.
- Candraningrum, Dewi. 2016. "Pernikahan Anak: Status Anak Perempuan?" *Jurnal Perempuan* 21 (1): hlm. 5--6.
- Candraningrum, Dewi, and Anita Dhewy. 2016. "Rasa Takut, Bullying & Tekad Pelajar Perempuan dalam STEM: Kajian SMK di Jakarta." *Jurnal Perempuan* 21 (91): hlm. 431--441.
- Cann, Colette, & Eric DeMeulenaere. 2020. *The Activist Academic: Engaged Scholarship for Resistance, Hope and Social Change*. Myers Education Press: Gorham.
- Collins, Patricia Hill. 2009. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. Routledge: New York.
- Collins, Peter. 2010. *The Ethnographic Self as Resource: Writing Memory and Experience into Ethnography*. Berghahn: Oxford & New York.
- Dalton, M.S., and Patrice McDermott. 1995. *Politics and Scholarship: Feminist Academic Journals and the Production of Knowledge*. University of Illinois Press: Urbana.
- Darmawati, Intan. 2001. "Perempuan-perempuan di Kalimantan Barat: Sebuah Catatan Perjalanan." *Jurnal Perempuan* (17): hlm. 59.
- Dhewy, Anita. 2017. "Analisis Wacana Kritis terhadap Pasal Aborsi dalam UU Kesehatan dan PP Kesehatan Reproduksi." *Jurnal Perempuan* 22 (93): hlm. 147--153.
- Duncan, Garrett Albert. 2002. "Critical Race Theory and Method: Rendering Race in Urban Ethnographic Research." *Qualitative Inquiry* 8 (1): hlm. 85--104.
- Freire, Paulo. 2005. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed 30th Anniversary Edition*. New York & Continuum: London.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1975. *Quaderni del Carcere*. Torino: G. Einaudi.
- Harding, Sandra. 1988. "The Science Question in Feminism." *Hypatia* 3 (1): hlm. 157--168.
- . 1991. *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge?* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- hooks, bell. 1986. "Sisterhood: Political Solidarity between Women." *Feminist Review* (Sage Publications, Inc.) (23): hlm. 125--138.
- . 1994. *Teaching to Transgress*. New York: Routledge.
- Horkheimer, Max. 1982. *Critical Theory: Selected Essays*. New York.
- Indonesia, Amnesty International. 2020. *Amnesty International*. Juli 14. Accessed Juni 18, 2022. <https://www.amnesty.id/susahnyamenjadi-korban-kekerasan-seksual-di-indonesia/>.

- Ismail, Naufaludin. 2017. "Perjuangan Rekognisi Identitas Hukum Perempuan Nelayan Ujung Pangkah, Gresik: Analisis Feminis terhadap Kebijakan Kartu dan Asuransi Nelayan." *Jurnal Perempuan* 22 (95): hlm. 311--321.
- Khusnaeny, Asma'ul. 2016. "Rancangan Undang-undang Tentang Penghapusan Kekerasan Seksual: Akses Keadilan, Kebenaran dan Pemulihan bagi Korban." *Jurnal Perempuan* 21 (89): hlm. 191--200.
- Letherby, Gayle. 2003. *Feminist Research in Theory and Practice*. Open University Press: Buckingham.
- Martin, Sylvia. 2016. "Aileen Palmer: Political Activist and 'poet of conscience'" *Southerly* 75 (3): hlm. 185--205.
- Masduki. n.d. "Radio Siaran, Teknolodi dan Laki-laki." *Jurnal Perempuan* (67): hlm. 85.
- McLaren, Margaret S. 2019. *Women's Activism, Feminism, and Social Justice*. Oxford University Press: New York.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade. 2003. *Feminism Without Border: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*. Duke University Press: London.
- Morgan, Mary S. 2019. "Recovering Tinbergen." *De Economist* hlm. 283--295.
- Mukherjee, Mitali, Aditi Ratho, and Shruti Jain. 2021. "Unsocial Media: Inclusion, Representation, and Safety for Women on Social Networking Platforms." *Observer Research Foundation Occasional Paper*, May.
- Muthmainnah, Yulianti. 2015. "Hak Asasi Manusia LGBT dalam Kebijakan Dalam Negeri Indonesia." *Jurnal Perempuan* 20 (87): hlm. 339--355.
- Nadia, Nike. 2018. "Atas Nama Cinta: Relasi Kuasa dan Reviktimisasi pada Kasus Kekerasan Seksual dalam Pacaran (Studi Kasus Putusan Pengadilan)." *Jurnal Perempuan* 23 (96): hlm. 33--39.
- Nordahl, Jesper. 2019. *Anticapitalist Feminist Struggle and Transnational Solidarity: Chandra Talpade Mohanty*. Jesper Nordahl: Stockholm.
- Nurtjahyo, Lidwina Inge. 2018. "Rumusan Pasal 488 RUU KUHP Indonesia." *Jurnal Perempuan* 23 (97): hlm. 77--85.
- Okin, Susan Moller. 1998. "Feminism and Multiculturalism: Some Tensions." *Ethics* 108 (4): hlm. 661--684.
- Perempuan, Komnas. 2022. "Bayang-bayang Stagnansi: Daya Pencegahan dan Penanganan Berbanding Peningkatan Jumlah, Ragam dan Kompleksitas Kekerasan Berbasis Gender Terhadap Perempuan." *Catatan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan Tahun 2021*, Maret 7: hlm. 89.
- Perempuan, Yayasan Jurnal. 2016. *Kami, Jurnal Perempuan (Setelah 20 Tahun)*. YJP Press: Jakarta.
- Permatasari, Indiani Eka. 2016. "An Analysis if Feminism in Maya Angelou's Poems by Using Historical and Biographical Approaches." *Jurnal Ilmiah Bahasa dan Sastra* 3 (2).
- Rachman, Deva. 2013. "Women and the Web: Bagaimana Meningkatkan Akses, Kompetensi, dan Keterampilan Perempuan Melalui Internet." *Jurnal Perempuan* 18 (78): hlm. 25.
- Reyneta, Vony. 2003. "Kebijakan Poligami: Kekerasan Negara Terhadap Perempuan." *Jurnal Perempuan*: hlm. 7--17.
- Rorty, Richard. 2007. *Philosophy as Cultural Politics: Volume 4: Philosophical Papers*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Sa'an, Masthuriyah. 2015. "Tradisi Nikah-Paksa di Madura: Perspektif Sosio-legal Feminisme." *Jurnal Perempuan* 20 (84): hlm. 67--80.
- Sadikin, Usep Hasan. 2011. "Membebaskan Pendidikan dari Kuasa Penyeragaman." *Jurnal Perempuan* (70): hlm. 79.
- Savitri, Dewayani D., and Atnike Nova Sigiro. 2021. "Menilai 'Bekerja dari Rumah' Sebagai 'Kenormalan Baru' bagi Perempuan Pekerja Melalui Perspektif Feminisme." *Jurnal Perempuan* 26 (108): hlm. 39--84.
- Sigiro, Atnike Nova. 2021. *Jurnal Perempuan 109*. YJP Press: Jakarta.
- Stanley, Liz. 1990. *Feminist Praxis*. Routledge: New York.
- Subono, Nur Iman. 1999. *Catatan Perjalanan Suara Ibu Peduli*. YJP Press: Jakarta.
- . 1999. *Catatan Perjalanan Suara Ibu Peduli*. Jakarta: Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan.
- Sulaiman, Wan Idros Wan, Maizatul Haizan Mahbob, and Arina Anis Azlan. 2011. "Learning Outside The Classroom: Effects on Student Concentration." *Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences*: hlm. 12--17.
- Tong, Rosemary. 2009. *Feminist Thought*. Westview Press: Philadelphia.
- Venny, Adriana. 2006. *Jurnal Perempuan 47*. YJP Press: Jakarta.
- Young, Iris Marion. 2005. *ON Female Body Experience: "Throwing Like a Girl and Other Essays"*. Oxford University Press: New York.

Social Media Advocacy of Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan: The Dissemination of Feminist Discourse in the Digital Era

Nada Salsabila¹ & Giovanni Alvita Diera²

Departemen Filsafat, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia¹ dan Departemen Sejarah,
Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia²
Jalan Prof. Dr. Selo Soemardjan, Kampus UI Depok, Jawa Barat 16424

nada.salsabila@jurnalperempuan.com¹; alvitadiera@gmail.com²

Manuscript Chronology: received 14 July 2022, revised 8 August 2022, accepted 11 August 2022

Abstract

This paper describes the social media works of the Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan (YJP) as a form of feminist advocacy in the digital space. The digital feminist advocacy aims to balance the digital space filled with anti-feminist, misogynist, and sexist discourses. Since 2013, YJP has taken steps to digitize its products. The digitization extends to YJP's social media platforms, such as YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter. This strategy is expected to expand the reach of the spread of feminist discourse carried out by YJP and to seize digital spaces from patriarchy values. This paper uses qualitative research methods by conducting literature studies and interviews with several YJP audiences on social media. This research aims to analyse YJP's adjustment to the digital space, internal and external obstacles, the most widespread form of dissemination, to the analysis of the impact of YJP's social media advocacy on the spread of feminist discourse in the digital space.

Keywords: social media, digital space, networked feminism, feminist discourse, digital advocacy, Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan

Introduction

Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan (YJP) is a non-profit organisation established in 1995 with a vision to empower and uphold women's rights, focusing on research-based education, research, publishing, and advocacy for gender equality and justice. YJP has been part of the women's movement in Indonesia (Arivia & Subono 2017). As a research institute, YJP consistently produces and documents the knowledge of women and other groups through the publication of a scientific journal entitled *Jurnal Perempuan* (JP), which was first published in 1996. In 2013, YJP created the Indonesian Feminist Journal (IFJ)¹, an online open journal system that hosts digital issues of JP (Ruzuar 2016). IFJ hosts both English and Indonesian digital versions of JP to elevate women writers and researchers to the international level (Ruzuar 2016). After that, YJP gradually began to digitalise and disseminate issues through digital media, such as electronic mail, websites, and social media.

Social media is a space that allows humans to access various information and knowledge and form networks. Manuel Castells (2010) states that the technological revolution that took place in the 1970s resulted in major changes in the realm of technology, from how the global community forms social networks, the distribution of

information and knowledge, to how information and knowledge are controlled. The technological revolution then produced a network society. In the era of network society - especially after open access to the internet - the digital space becomes a space that accommodates various opinions, viewpoints, ideologies, and other things (Nikolay et al. 2018).

The development of feminist ideas is also inseparable from the technological revolution. The study of feminism and technology began to emerge in the 1970s, initiated by Evelyn Fox Keller, Donna Haraway, and Sandra Harding (Pratiwi 2021). Feminism and technology respond to the demands of the movement's paradigm shift with a discourse of the struggle for knowledge and technology that was originally filled with masculine ideas as emphasised by Harding (1996) with feminist epistemology. Feminist epistemology highlights the existence of gender bias in science and technology so that a new starting point that can prioritise women's perspectives is needed (Harding 2004). This can be seen as the need to involve women in various knowledge discourses. Women's perspectives must be highlighted to accommodate women's position in knowledge development. Likewise, in the digital realm, women's agency is often excluded from the construction of

digital discourse (Vitello 2017). Feminist activism on social media may seize digital spaces filled with sexist, misogynistic, and patriarchal discourses and bring new viewpoints that are inclusive and gender-perspective.

Feminist activism on social media at least started after the Reformation, to be precise in the 1990s, when the internet became accessible to the public in a limited way (Parahita 2019). Social media is one of the products of technology that enables the struggle for discourse and knowledge. In social movements, social media plays the same role as printed media: to capture public power. Moreover, the feminist movement can use social media as a campaign space (Kasana 2014). Social media can also be a stage, a street where people protest and fight against injustice, arbitrariness, and authoritarianism (Candraningrum 2014). Therefore, social media can be one of the spaces for the feminist movement to carry out its activism.

The development of digital space in Indonesia is in line with the development of internet users. Indonesia is ranked sixth as the country with the highest social media users. There are 204.7 million internet users in Indonesia as of January 2022. The trend of the number of internet users has continued to increase in the last five years. When compared to 2018, the current number of national internet users has jumped by 54.25% (We Are Social Indonesia 2022). Along with the increase in internet users, patriarchal ideology manifested in the form of Online Gender-Based Violence (OGBV) and anti-feminist speech on social media has also increased. SAFEnet's 2021 Press Release stated that during the Covid-19 pandemic, the number of OGBVs has tripled (LM Psychology UGM 2021). Data from Komnas Perempuan's Annual Report (CATAHU) found that in 2020, the number of OGBV cases increased to 940 cases, whereas in 2019, there were only 241 cases. Furthermore, in 2021, the number of cases of OGBV in the personal sphere was recorded at 855 cases. The most common perpetrators of OGBV in the public sphere were social media friends with 389 cases and unknown people with 324 cases, the rest were ex-boyfriends/girlfriends with 617 cases and boyfriends/girlfriends with 218 cases (Komnas Perempuan 2022). This shows that the digital space has been filled with various discourses, including anti-feminist, misogynistic narratives, and objectification of women's bodies.

Other discourses that discredit the women's movement in the digital space are quite complex.

Counter-narratives to the passage of the Sexual Violence Crime Bill (Rancangan Undang-Undang Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual/RUU TPKS) and various deliberations in building discourses that are not in favour of women and marginalised groups have also filled social media (Parahita 2019; We Are Social 2022). In fact, now, there are people calling for gender equality and social justice on social media. For example, various social media accounts have emerged with feminist discourse. Unfortunately, people who voice these justice issues are often stigmatised as Social Justice Warrior (SJW). One of gender equality activists, Hannah Al Rasyid, said that the feminist term of SJW has developed into a negative stigma that has the potential to inhibit women who want to speak in public (including on social media). SJW is now used as a term to ridicule someone who is perceived to have a more progressive perspective than their circles. This kind of culture – stigmatising people who think progressively - is certainly one of the obstacles that prevent feminist discourse and gender equality from being widely disseminated in cyberspace (Magdalene 2020).

From various discourse battles on social media, YJP also began to involve itself in activism work in the digital space. Since 2013, YJP has built various social media channels to disseminate knowledge and ideas through its various products - especially scientific journals that discuss gender and feminist issues. YJP has social media accounts on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and YouTube. Therefore, the author believes that it is important to see how YJP conducts its activism on social media; what are the impacts and challenges of presenting feminist discourse in the digital space in Indonesia? YJP's activism on social media is important to be captured and reflected upon as an effort to strengthen institutions and movements. The position of the researcher, who is also the manager of YJP's social media for one year and also as a reader of JP for many years, becomes a strength and a limitation of this study.

This paper is not only reflective, but also explores the struggles for digital spaces that YJP have carried out. A descriptive qualitative approach is the main method in this paper. Data was collected through a literature review and interviews with YJP's social media audience. The intended audience is those who follow and listen to YJP's content on its social media accounts, namely YouTube, Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter. A literature study was then conducted on the discourse of networked feminism and feminist digital activism.

Women's Activism and the Feminist Movement: From Offline to Online

The changing paradigm of the world is closely tied to the changing paradigm of work. Manuel Castell (2010) stresses the increasing dependence on access to manipulate information in the network. Work that was originally direct must adapt to the digital dissemination of information and knowledge. This new paradigm changes various vital aspects of information and knowledge dissemination, including the activism. Feminist activism has a distinctive style, namely being carried out directly through the movement to empower women in terms of education and economy (Arivia & Subono 2017; Parahita 2019). With the development of technology and information at the end of the New Order era, feminist activism began to explore the internet as a medium for building movement networks (Parahita 2019).

The women's network movement in Indonesia during the New Order era was characterised by the emergence of various Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) working on women's issues. NGOs such as Yayasan Anisa Swasti (Yasanti) (1883), Kalyanamitra (1985), Legal Aid Institute for Women's Association for Justice (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Asosiasi Perempuan untuk Keadilan/LBH APIK) (1995), Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan (1995), Institut Kapal Perempuan (2000), and Women's Research Institute (2002) (Arivia & Subono 2017). Feminist activities at that time still relied on offline activities, including educational activities for women, dissemination of feminist writings, strengthening of women's economy, and demonstrations (Arivia & Subono 2017). In that year, YJP's activism still relied on offline activities. The publication of JP was still entirely print-based, holding offline discussions at various universities and organising 'Suara Ibu Peduli' demonstrations (Arivia 2016; Arivia & Subono 2017). The change in world paradigm due to the technological revolution has also influenced the feminist movement in Indonesia, which was originally centred on offline spaces and began to enter online spaces. For example,

there was the emergence of various new feminist communities based on social media (Parahita 2019). The use of the digital space was also done by YJP with the digitalisation of JP (Arivia 2016).

The contemporary feminist movement in Indonesia was developed within the framework of networked feminism, utilising the internet to connect women's communities and marginalised gender communities (Vitello 2017). Networked feminism emerged as a form of resistance as well as dissemination of feminism issues in the digital space. The term networked feminism also implies online mobilisation and coordination of feminist activists in responding to sexism, misogyny, racism, and other discriminatory treatments of minority groups in the digital space (Vitello 2017). The work of networked feminism is present in various feminist accounts of ordinary people that are informative and light. On Instagram, for example, accounts such as @*jakartafeminist*, @*lawanpatriarki*, @*indonesiafeminis*, and @*lingkarstudifeminis_* have emerged. Such accounts generally have many branches in other social media channels, such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube and TikTok, with thousands of followers who actively like, comment, or share their posts.

The rise of digital movements on social media shows that social media has become the most important activism tool in the 21st century (Candraningrum 2014). The networked feminism framework allows social media to become an arena for feminist campaign and advocacy. Social media enables feminists to express ideas in writing, reflect, and also exchange information with feminist activists from around the world. Within the framework of networked feminism, feminists produce various contents as campaign materials or public education. These contents can include rhetoric, humour, and sarcasm that can highlight injustices more sharply (Vitello 2017).

To tackle these new challenges, YJP conducts feminist digital activism and has several digital products. In general, *Jurnal Perempuan's* social media works are outlined in the following table.

Table 1. Summary of information on Jurnal Perempuan’s Social Media Contents

Social Media Platform	Contents	Description
YouTube	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Feminist lectures ● Interviews with feminist leaders ● Webinar broadcasts/re-broadcasts 	Present information in the form of videos. Uploaded videos contain information and learning on feminism.
Instagram	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Summary of <i>Jurnal Perempuan</i> ● Re-post of feminist news ● Announcement of feminist activities ● Update on policies related to women and minority groups ● Announcement of national and international days 	Present information in visual form accompanied by explanatory captions. Information uploaded on Instagram emphasises on audio visual over text.
Facebook	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Summary of <i>Jurnal Perempuan</i> ● Re-post of feminist news ● Announcement of feminist activities ● Announcement of national and international days ● Update on policies related to women and minority groups 	Present information in visual form accompanied by explanatory captions. Information uploaded on Facebook is balanced between the use of audio visual and text. Facebook allows users to post information in long texts.
Twitter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Twitter lectures (<i>Kultwit</i>), which are threads whose source comes from YJP activities ● Re-post of feminist news ● Announcement of feminist activities ● Announcement of national and international days ● Update on policies related to women and minority groups 	Present information in visual form accompanied by explanatory captions. Some information posted on Twitter uses text over audio or visual, such as <i>kultwit</i> . Information presented on Twitter is limited to 240 characters per post, making it very reductive and concise.

Source: *Jurnal Perempuan’s* social media processed by the author

In YJP, social media content created is mostly used to disseminate feminist information, reiterate information from other feminist networks, and disseminate information about YJP activities. This can be seen from YJP’s digital campaign forms as outlined in the table above. YJP disseminates feminist information with contents targeting ordinary readers. Information provided on YJP’s social media is largely derived from scientific articles from journals, such as summary content of journal articles. The social media content summarises the content of scientific articles, simplifying academic terms, making it easier for social media audiences to understand the substance of the scientific article. Other forms of dissemination of information include update on policies related to the issues of women and minority groups, commemoration of important days in the feminist movement, and informative content resulting from collaborations with other non-profit organisations. For this reason, YJP’s social media audience can reach a wider segment, not just those who are used to reading scientific articles in YJP.

In addition to producing its own content, YJP also regularly re-posts feminist information or campaigns from various non-profit organisations in the field of feminism and gender. The internet has become a medium for feminist activism that has a relatively wider global reach. For this reason, there is no doubt that the internet has become an important part of the feminist movement in the current era. The feminist movement travelled to the internet and quickly gained popularity. Feminist activism has also grown into cyberfeminism, click-activism, and hashtag activism. The networked feminism framework itself allows various feminist communities to build global digital networks. Networked feminism strengthens the foundation of digital activism by connecting various communities and allowing activism to be carried out simultaneously (Fotoupoulou 2016). Although digital activism still has many shortcomings and threats in terms of content², it has played an important role in mainstreaming women’s knowledge and experiences to the public. Indonesian feminist activism on social media can be seen as an effort to ground public awareness of gender difference and recognition. This effort can slowly

reclaim digital spaces from patriarchal and misogynistic discourses, albeit to a limited extent - young urban groups (Parahita 2019).

Networked feminism can support the dissemination of digital activism content and can provide support to related issues and institutions. Networked feminism aims to decentralise structures, allowing women's groups to be optimally connected, present, and inclusive. This framework makes the feminist community part of a 'network', expanding the scale of the movement without barriers (Fotopoulou 2016). In this case, YJP's dissemination of information from other organisations is also a form of networked feminism. Through social media, YJP and other partner organisations form a network to strengthen feminist campaigns. Furthermore, as an NGO, YJP has programmes, such as seminars, discussions, and journal launches. YJP's social media is also used to disseminate this information, as part of public education on feminism issues.

The internet - as part of technology - is already associated with men so that women seem to have no place in it. This bias also occurs because technology, in the first place, was shaped and dominated by men. Harding highlights how this conceptual framework and gender bias are perpetuated in educational institutions (Harding 2016). The construction of biased and discriminatory concepts of knowledge will result in discriminatory actions (Arivia 2013). It is not surprising to see how crowded digital spaces are with patriarchal and misogynistic discourses on the internet. For this reason, feminist campaigns should seize discriminatory discourses and replace them with feminist discourses.

Seeing this, it is important to seize digital spaces with feminist discourses. This can be done by reconstituting gender discourses with a feminist perspective. Problems related to technology - including the creation of digital spaces - require the dismantling of discourses and critique of science that has shaped society's mind frame (Arivia 2013). The existence of feminist digital activism slowly connects women's networks to build a new paradigm in the digital space. One way is by disseminating feminist information through light contents on social media. Hence, women's networks can build cross-generational connections between various women's groups in spreading informal feminist education (Parahita 2019).

Digital Activism of Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan: A Manager's Perspective

Globalisation demands a restructuring of the world's information paradigm. This was also shared by YJP. The

digitalisation of YJP's products in 2013 became YJP's first step in developing activism in the digital space. In addition, the digitalisation of JP's products also allows for the creation of the English version of JP as a form of globalisation (Ruzuar 2016). This is accompanied by the number of followers across YJP's channels that continues to grow organically.

Activism in the digital space has impacts and barriers that come from within the organisation, as well as external barriers. Based on an interview with Abby Gina Boang Manalu as the Executive Director of Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan, YJP's digital advocacy that has been going on since 2013 has had an impact on the efficiency of the time and costs of advocacy. Digital advocacy has the capacity to spread feminist knowledge more massively and without regional barriers. In addition, digital activism through YJP's social media is also an effort to destigmatise YJP as an NGO that focuses on producing knowledge through journal publications that tend to be exclusive to academic groups. For this reason, strategy and programme strengthening is needed so that feminist activism carried out by YJP through social media can be done properly.

Deepening or strengthening of the capacity of social media staff is not only in the form of quantity such as the number of staff who manage social media. But also the capacity to understand the substance of the feminist issues that we deliver, as well as the ability to read the needs of the audience, so that YJP's social media team can build a better strategy. This relates to human resources and funding to strengthen programme development. In conducting digital activism, JP team seeks to maintain feminist solidarity. Therefore, it is important to ensure collaborative work and support between organisations and individuals to promote a common feminist agenda (Abby Gina Boang Manalu 2022, interview 25 July).

The strategy of strengthening YJP's digital advocacy basis can be done by increasing capacity from within the organisation and enhancing collaborative activities with other individuals and organisations. This also emphasises the importance of the networked feminism framework in building feminist networks as well as seizing digital discourse in a massive and structured manner. Collaboration with other audiences and organisations can also offer new perspectives that allow for intersections. For this reason, YJP's digital activism can grow in a healthy and inclusive manner in the ideals of spreading down-to-earth feminist knowledge.

Like any other activism, feminist activism carried out by YJP departs from the awareness and initiative of individuals and/or communities. But to amplify or

strengthen all of that work, a number of strengthening strategies need to be implemented.

YJP continues to adapt to technological advances by utilising various applications to maintain existing data and knowledge. Currently, YJP has updated the access system to JP Online and opened free access to all digitalised JP editions. YJP's social media team also seeks to increase engagement by collaborating with IGLive, interacting on social media, and providing regular updates for *Sahabat Jurnal Perempuan* through e-newsletters distributed three times a month (Abby Gina Boang Manalu 2022, interview 25 July).

Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan's Digital Activism: Readers' Perspective

This sub-chapter will discuss how readers respond to YJP's content in the digital space. As one of feminist NGOs, YJP also enlivens the digital space with informative content. This is evident from the qualitative research that has been conducted through interviews. The audience considers YJP as a platform for spreading feminist content in the digital space. All six interviewees stated that they were able to keep up with feminist issues through YJP's digital activism. For example, one of the interviewees stated that by following YJP's social media, she was able to stay abreast with feminist issues in Indonesia. Not only that, YJP also plays a role in bridging women's issues and other social issues, such as environmental destruction or social forestry.

YJP also discusses women and social forestry. I think these issues need to be addressed because women and the environment are closely related. Feminism and the environment cannot be separated because they influence one another. (Faizah Dena 2022, interview 15 June)

While addressing substantive and heavy issues³, such as the issue of environmental destruction, TPKS Law, and so on, YJP is considered capable of penetrating the digital space with its various contents so that they can be digested, accepted, and able to provide knowledge in the digital space that is very unacquainted with feminism issues. For example, shortening sentences so that they are easier and faster to be understood by the audience is one of the steps taken to make YJP's content more widely accepted.

YJP's social media content is helpful for people who cannot easily comprehend long words or do not have time to digest long publications. For example, in the context of people's behaviour on the internet, we observe that people want to be fed with quick sentences; sentences that can be read immediately (Faiz Abimanyu 2022, interview 15 June).

YJP's contents become easier to contextualise through the launching of feminist academic writing or journal alongside visual products⁴, such as Instagram reels, Infographics, or YouTube videos.

Aside from features previously described, YJP can also utilise the live streaming feature on Instagram. For example, YJP can invite speakers who are experts in the field of feminism, then the live audience can freely ask questions or discuss in the comment section and the speakers can directly answer questions from the audience. Moreover, to enhance the two-way discussion, YJP can also create variations of the discussion platform, for example, utilising Twitter Space⁵ on Twitter. Ausserhofer and Maireder (2013) stated that the use of features on Twitter shows a great tendency to interact and engage with other users. On Twitter, users have access to a range of sources. They are also free to choose which groups to interact with.

Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, Facebook and various other social media platforms basically have an impact on content dissemination because each social media platform also has its own fans. Of the six interviewees, four stated that the most effective form of content dissemination to spread feminism issues is audio-visual.

Nowadays, many people prefer videos to infographics. In the past, we could see many campaigns through infographics and pictures. However, now people are more interested in seeing videos (Amira Hasna Ruzuar 2022, interview 17 June).

If possible, visual presentation should not be limited to infographics, but also includes videos because they are easier for people to understand. Instagram and YouTube now have an algorithm feature. So, there is no need to search as similar videos will appear (Irma Sari 2022, interview 18 June).

Meanwhile, other interviewees believed that the form of content dissemination needs to be adjusted to the target audience of the platform. For example, for content dissemination through Facebook, content in the form of writing or long statuses is usually preferred. On Instagram, most people spend time scrolling down visuals, so to deliver campaigns through Instagram, content in the form of videos or live broadcasts is needed.

On Facebook, words matter a lot more because people spend time on Facebook reading, whereas on Instagram people spend time scrolling down visuals... Twitter's focus is more like Facebook, but it has more index words, but people are getting tired of long threads, so try to keep the language short, concise, and consistent (Perdana Putri 2022, interview 17 June).

From various interviews with resource persons, the audience's consumption of content on social media basically varies. This is due to the constantly evolving nature of social media content (following trends), ranging from words only, illustrative images, infographics, to short videos. These various forms of content consumption are what JP tries to present so as to give JP's audience many choices, which content is easy for them to digest. In addition, in processing various feminist discourses into social media content, it is necessary to be sensitive to the different social media platforms that have shaped the taste and format of information of their users.

Barriers and Challenges of Jurnal Perempuan's Digital Activism

Nowadays, feminism issues and movements on social media have gained space and attention from the public. For example, with the existence of feminist accounts on Instagram, from the number of followers and the level of account activity, it can be seen that feminist accounts currently have a large number of followers. Some accounts such as *@indonesiafeminis* with 113,000 followers, *@lawanpatriarki* with 199,000 followers, and *@Indonesiabutuhfeminis* with 13,400 followers. YJP's Instagram (*@jurnal_perempuan*), which has 17,500 followers, also exists as a space-filler in the feminism discourse, representing an academic institution. The high level of activity in women's movement accounts on Instagram, including YJP, does not always translate into a positive response from netizens. Debates often flood the accounts of the proponents of feminism. Just hearing the word feminist often brings a negative stigma to the minds of internet users. Often, this also makes people who are actually concerned about women and gender issues reluctant to label themselves as feminists (Tirto 2021).

The reluctance of people to label themselves as feminists is also discussed on Stanford University's online philosophy encyclopedia page. Feminism can be seen as containing both normative elements (concepts of how women should be seen and treated) and descriptions (what actually happens in the real world, and what does not match the value of the normative elements). Hence, a phenomenon occurs where one might want to acknowledge that there are cases where women are treated unfairly, but one does not adopt a broader moral theory for the issue. One could also generally believe that equality is important for women, but without interpreting that there are everyday

situations that are considered unfair to women (Tirto 2021).

Netizens' dislike of feminism is motivated by various reasons. According to Arivia and Subono (2017), while feminism in Indonesia has made significant progress, there is still strong resistance, especially from religious fundamentalist, conservative, and right-wing populist groups. The reasons for such rejection vary, for example, feminism is often accused of being a Western ideology or adopted from Western culture. An opinion piece by Dyah Ayu Kartika, a researcher at the Centre for the Study of Religion and Democracy (PUSAD) Paramadina, also states that feminist movement has an elitist tendency, with a lot of jargons and privileges. In addition, there are many misconceptions spread on social media regarding feminism, ranging from being labelled an "anti-male" movement to an "angry" movement (Tirto 2021). Therefore, it is common that social media accounts with "feminism" title face various obstacles, both internally and externally. For example, netizens make fun of accounts with "feminism" title by creating counter-accounts, such as *Indonesia without Feminists* account with the slogan #UninstallFeminism, reflecting conservative movement.

Such a phenomenon is certainly an obstacle for the feminist movement in Indonesia, and YJP is no exception. In general, feminist campaigns on social media are often hindered by various challenges. Apart from discourse battles such as in the case of #MeToo, feminist digital activism also poses risks of threatening feminist activists with various difficult situations, such as sexualisation, digital attacks, as well as social stigma and discrimination (Pratiwi 2021). Some hashtag activism movements to fight for justice for victims of sexual violence ended up in revictimisation. One of its forms is the criminalisation of victims using defamation articles. Audience who disagrees with the content containing feminist discourse often attacks the content creators. Not to mention the threat of content removal by state authorities, such as the Ministry of Communication and Information of the Republic of Indonesia (Kemkominfo RI). Kemkominfo RI even openly gives the opportunity to forcibly take down LGBT content that is deemed not in accordance with Indonesian moral standards (CNN.com 2022).

For this reason, YJP's digital campaign has experienced the same thing. In 2019, YJP's Twitter account was filled with hate speech from anonymous accounts. The digital attack affected individuals who worked or did not work at YJP. Based on an interview with

Andi Misbahul Pratiwi, editor of JP in 2014-2020, this was triggered by the presence of a feminist academic who has been a long supporter of JP in YJP's video content. The academic often criticised the government in the mass media. As a result, the supporters of the group that she often criticised attacked YJP's social media because of the presence of this figure.

Andi also explained that the Philosophy and Feminism Study (KAFFE) organised by YJP had also been the target of bullying from various anonymous accounts on the internet. In fact, the video uploaded to YouTube was an effort to democratise knowledge. Unfortunately, there were those who edited the video, then changed the narrative and directed it into hate speech and misleading. According to Andi, this incident harmed YJP, YJP staff, KAFFE teachers, and KAFFE participants, who had to experience digital attacks. To overcome this, YJP staff at that time mitigated the attack by reporting the accounts.

The impact of the attack was not only on the YJP organisation itself, but also on individuals and KAFFE teachers. At that time, our mitigation was to report the accounts that re-uploaded the videos and close the comments section because there was a lot of hate speech against the substance that contained feminist values, especially those that intersect or discuss topics around religion, sexual violence, and LGBTIQ (Andi Misbahul Pratiwi 2022, interview 10 July).

The same phenomenon was also described by Abby Gina Boang Manalu, Executive Director of *Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan*. Based on her experience, there were threats of attacks on YJP and related individuals when YJP advocated for sensitive issues that are considered offensive to certain groups. This often happened on issues such as LGBT and religion. One of the resource persons featured by YJP once experienced digital violence when presenting materials on the rejection of polygamy. The resource person was terrorised on her personal account and contact, so at the request of the resource person and for security reasons, YJP had to take down the content related to the resource person.

Attacks on YJP are often wrapped in the narrative that YJP (or feminism in general) is incompatible with "Indonesian" values and culture. YJP's work is often accused of spreading liberal values that are negatively connoted by the public, labelled as a Western agent, and contrary to morality, tradition, and sometimes deemed deviant (Abby Gina Boang Manalu 2022, interview 25 July 2022).

With JP's experience of bullying, similar threats could happen to JP again. However, over the past year

since the author has been managing JP's social media accounts, such attacks have not occurred. Throughout the author's experience managing social media from 2021 to 2022, content with "taboo" themes often receive criticism, such as LGBT content. However, the criticism is something that endangers YJP or LGBT group, but rather expressions of disagreement in a non-threatening tone.

Another obstacle is related to YJP's work capacity. Based on an interview with YJP's current social media management staff, Retno Daru Dewi G.S.P., the main obstacle in managing YJP's social media is the lack of resources. Changes in the cooperation with and support from foreign donors for the issues affect advocacy programmes in an organisation. In the context of YJP's social media advocacy, there are actually two staff members responsible for developing and managing feminist content. However, the lack of staff in the organisation often makes the work process less than ideal. There is sometimes overlap of work due to limited programme staff, limited funding sources develop training capacity, and enrichment of relevant applications to support advocacy work.

According to Daru, social media advocacy can be done by improving the quality and quantity of human resources in the organisation. The method of providing training to staff, for example, is intended to improve YJP's social media performance. This can increase the individual capabilities of relevant staff as well as improve the quality of feminist digital activism in YJP's social media.

Actually, the social media management staff is sufficient. However, the workload of managing social media is overwhelming if you have to do editorial duties as well, so it would be good if there are additional staff members and training to improve the development of YJP's social media (Retno Daru Dewi G.S. Putri 2022, interview on 3 July).

The activism carried out at YJP strives for professional work, but without forgetting the principle of volunteerism. This means that despite a number of limitations, the social media team continues to maximise its advocacy work. Social media activism like any other activism stems from concerns and initiatives to push for change; however, supports are needed to ensure that advocacy can be maximised along with the development of advocacy innovation. One of them is related to the specialised division of labour.

External challenges perceived by some interviewees to understand YJP's content are that the content tends to be normative, descriptive, and the labelling that YJP is

“serious writing”, making some people already reluctant to access information. This is because most of YJP’s social media content comes from JP. Because of this, the ideas in it are often difficult to consume lightly. There are many phrases and terms that are unfamiliar and difficult to translate into popular terms. Testimonials from some interviewees confirm this.

The delivery of the content is very normative in the sense that it goes straight to the point and is very serious. In my opinion, it needs to be simplified so that the issue is also distributed to non-academic circles. Hence, YJP’s writing is not always seen as serious writing; it can be consumed by all (Sopian Thamrin 2022, interview 17 June).

In addition to being normative, some interviewees also felt that YJP did not have a specific campaign. Most of the content largely follows issues that are being campaigned by other feminist accounts. This seems to obscure YJP’s main purpose in social media work. In addition, some interviewees also felt that YJP’s social media content should be contextualised with the situation in Indonesia. By doing this, YJP can keep an eye on relevant issues so that its digital activism can further impact a wider audience.

The existence of various new feminist discourses should also be responded to more quickly by YJP’s social media. YJP’s social media content, which mainly refers to JP’s academic writing, feels less responsive. For example, as stated by one of the following interviewees.

For example, when there is a new procedure or rule from the UN Women, YJP can help make it more relevant to the context in Indonesia... Then, for example, if there is a commemoration of certain days about gender, the implications of these events for women in Indonesia can be explained (Perdana Putri 2022, interview 17 June).

The above quote implies that YJP’s social media content, which is not up-to-date with international issues, such as new outputs from international feminist organisations, is one of the challenges of YJP’s digital activism. Efforts to translate and mainstream international feminist issues can make YJP’s digital activism relevant in Indonesia. In addition, efforts to translate and mainstream feminist issues can also increase the reach of these issues.

The Impact of Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan’s Social Media Advocacy

Feminist advocacy on social media is essentially designed to push for change or have an impact on

the public. This was evident when YJP started using social media as a medium for disseminating feminist information and discourse. According to Retno Daru Dewi G.S.P., YJP’s increasingly active social media has strengthened the network of the digital feminist movement in Indonesia. This has brought many invitations to collaborate to disseminate common issues, thus expanding the reach of the feminist movement. During the one-year period of managing YJP’s social media, there has been a great interest from the followers or audiences in informative content, such as YJP’s summaries.

Basically, the impact felt by the followers of YJP’s social media accounts also varies. Firstly, the community becomes more educated. Educating the public has been YJP’s goal since its inception in 1995. This is included in its vision and mission as a non-profit organisation engaged in the empowerment and enforcement of women’s rights, focusing itself on educational activities, research, publishing, and advocacy for research-based gender equality and justice (Ruzuar 2016). So far, YJP has been realising its vision and mission by disseminating feminist issues through research, mostly in the form of books and scientific articles. However, nowadays, after socially experiencing rapid development, YJP also took the opportunity to expand the dissemination of their issues. Through social media, the education delivered by YJP can reach more people because the access is very easy and also free. YJP’s social media accounts include Instagram with 17,500 followers, Twitter with 34,400 followers, and YouTube with 37,900 subscribers, while the number of people who subscribe to YJP’s paid journal is only 588 in 2021 (Jurnal Perempuan 2021). From this, it can be seen that social media accounts with free content are able to do more education to many people because not all YJP followers have paid subscriptions.

The impact I feel from YJP’s digital campaign is that I feel more educated. There is information that I did not know, but after reading YJP’s campaigns or contents from YJP, there is a new understanding that I can pass on to other people (Faizah Dena Hanifah 2022, interview 15 June).

I see that they (YJP) remain consistent in reporting and informing about feminism. Its website and social media are constantly updated; new information is immediately uploaded - I think this is extraordinary. This is very good for people who want to get more information about gender equality and justice (Sopian Thamrin 2022, interview 17 June).

Moreover, one of the interviewees also described how YJP has become a feminist knowledge provider on a national scale. YJP not only cares about women’s

issues, but it has been vocal about indigenous women's issues and women's issues in remote areas. This helps the audience to understand these issues. In addition, raising the issues of these groups also helps them claim their existence in public.

We really need ammunition of knowledge related to that (issues of indigenous women and women in remote areas), sometimes we in Aceh have our own issues and have to be able to highlight other issues at the national level (Irma Sari 2022, interview 18 June).

Secondly, YJP is seen as a pioneer for others who are also campaigning for feminism. YJP does not only focus on academic studies, but also pioneers feminism issues for ordinary people in Indonesia. As one of the NGOs

born during the New Order era, YJP has been consistently producing JP and other writing products that discuss feminism issues. By becoming the first feminist journal in Indonesia, YJP has also pioneered the dissemination of feminist knowledge and education within an academic framework (Arivia & Subono 2017). Thus, YJP publications have gained public trust and a segment of readers who are interested in exploring feminism.

In my opinion, YJP is one of the authorities on feminist knowledge in Indonesia... This illustrates that an organisation that has been around that long still wants to try to be relevant, still wants to stand up for something that is being discussed on social media. On the other hand, there is an expectation that the things that YJP campaigns become knowledge for academic strengthening (Amira Hasna Ruzuar 2022, interview 17 June).

Table 2. Impacts, Barriers, and Challenges of YJP's Social Media Advocacy

Impacts	Barriers	Challenges
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Strengthen digital feminist activism networks in Indonesia ● Increase public awareness of women and gender issues among internet users ● Disseminate feminism education simply, reductively, and for free ● Become a pioneer in feminism campaigns in Indonesia 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Lack of human resources to manage and develop social media ● Overlapping workload of YJP's social media management staff ● Limited funding, donors, and staff capacity building to maximise YJP's digital advocacy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reluctance of the society in understanding feminist issues that are seen as Western thinking and not in line with social norms ● Threats of digital attacks on YJP and individuals associated with it out of a motive of hatred for a political group or movement ● YJP's social media content is considered too normative, descriptive, and serious by some audiences

Source: research data processed by the author

Based on the table, it is found that YJP's digital activism has many progressive impacts on YJP's advocacy and network movement. These progressive impacts have the potential to expand the dimension of YJP's activism to broader achievements, both in terms of audience reach and disseminating feminist knowledge. Another progressive impact is to strengthen YJP's position as an organisation that consistently implements feminist praxis in Indonesia, not only among academics, but also among the general public. However, YJP's digital activism faces internal barriers and external challenges. One of the barriers comes from YJP's limited human resources and funding. The work of feminism is collective in the spirit of activism and solidarity. The consistent efforts of YJP and the network of other feminist organisations can be strengthened by the support of and cooperation with government agencies, funding from donors and partners, as well as civil society activism, donation support, and SJP

membership. Meanwhile, YJP's external challenges come from prejudice against feminist issues that are based on political conditions and difficulties in absorbing content that tends to be academically based.

Closing

Essentially, YJP's social media content exists as feminist academic advocacy that adapts and strategises to nurture and disseminate feminist knowledge through social media. The presence of YJP in the digital space is a counterweight to the digital space that is filled with anti-feminist discourses. In addition, YJP's discourse is also actively involved in the digital feminism movement and forms networks with other institutions and movements, both nationally and globally. In carrying out its role, JP tries to utilise social media from various platforms, ranging from Instagram, Twitter, YouTube, and Facebook as a medium for advocating for women's issues.

The dissemination of feminist discourse through social media is recognised to have reached a wider audience. This means that digitalisation and the dissemination of information in virtual networks make it easier for the movement to reach a wider audience. Moreover, the content that is disseminated in visual form can increase interaction and the number of visitors to YJP's own social media accounts. YJP's social media content makes the distribution of feminist discourse widespread.

When YJP finally ventured into digital content, YJP's reach as an institution in the fields of publishing, research, and education became wider. This is because its audience is not limited to academics and activists. The typology of social media users, which is dominated by the younger generation, allows YJP's digital feminist movement to build new narratives about feminism and gender equality issues. This can also build a new mindset in the younger generation as a form of transformation through digital space.

From its social media work, internally, YJP has gained several positive impacts, such as the expansion of information shared, the expansion of cooperation networks with other community partners, and increasing awareness of YJP's existence as a feminist research organisation in Indonesia. As for the external impact, YJP can develop feminism education more broadly at once, make it easier for audiences to understand feminist texts, campaign for policies related to women, and increase its followers' awareness of feminism issues. These impacts are tangible evidence of the good work based on a digital feminist approach that facilitates the production and dissemination of feminist campaigns.

Moreover, through the framework of networked feminism, YJP's social media work can be seen as a network of feminist groups to mainstream feminist thoughts, ideas, and discourses. The internet becomes a tool that can be utilised by feminists to conduct activism at the local, national, and global levels. YJP not only produces content, but also helps to amplify the campaigns from other community partners. With this, the feminist movement can expand to more distant networks. The internet allows the work of networked feminism to reach areas that were previously unreachable. However, it needs to be recognised that YJP's social media work is still segmented to groups with internet access, namely urban communities, well-educated groups, and the younger generation.

YJP's social media work produces a new feminist discourse on social media that is based on academic

standard writings. This can present a representation that feminism is not just a women's activity or a Western movement. The public's misconception of feminism generally arises because feminism is perceived as Western thinking, incompatible with Eastern norms, incompatible with religion, and threatening the political position of the conservatives. YJP's social media work becomes one of the movements that can shift this assumption from the digital spaces.

In response, continuity is needed from various parties as an effort to increase the sustainability of YJP's digital activism. Assistance from external parties, such as cooperation with the government, partnership with other civil society organisation, individual philanthropic support (in the form of Sahabat Jurnal Perempuan), and donations can maximise the quality of digital activism content, improve the ability of YJP's social media staff in managing social media, and strengthen networks with other NGOs. With the support of the general public by disseminating and protecting YJP's social media from the threat of digital violence, YJP's digital activism can further strengthen YJP's digital activism and the mainstreaming of feminist discourse in the digital space.

References

- Agustini, P. 2021. "Warganet Meningkatkan, Indonesia Perlu Tingkatkan Nilai Budaya di Internet". *Kominfo*, 12 Desember. diakses pada 26 Juni 2022, <https://aptika.kominfo.go.id/2021/09/warganet-meningkat-indonesia-perlu-tingkatkan-nilai-budaya-di-internet/>.
- Arivia, G. 2016. "Kisah Awal Tinta Feminis" dalam Ruzuar, A.H. (ed). *Kami, Jurnal Perempuan: Setelah 20 Tahun*. Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan: Jakarta.
- Arivia, G. 2013. "Politik Seksual Ilmu Pengetahuan & Kultur Teknologi yang Maskulin". *Jurnal Perempuan* 78, Vol. 18, No. 3, hlm. 43--58.
- Arivia, G., & Subono, N.I. 2017, *Seratus Tahun Feminisme di Indonesia Analisis terhadap Para Aktor, Debat, dan Strategi*, diakses 26 Juni 2022, <https://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/indonesien/15114.pdf>.
- Ausserhofer, J. 2013. "National Politics on Twitter: Structures and Topics of a Networked Public Sphere", *Communication & Society*, Vol. 16, No. 3, hlm. 291--314.
- Candraningrum, Dewi. 2014. "Industrialisasi dan Seksualisasi Perempuan dalam Media." *Jurnal Perempuan*, diakses pada 3 Agustus 2022, Dewi Candraningrum: Industrialisasi dan Seksualisasi Perempuan dalam Media (jurnalperempuan.org).
- Castells, M. 2010, *The Rise of the Network Society*, Wiley: New York.
- CNN Indonesia. 2022. "Kominfo Buka Suara soal Peluang Take Down Konten LGBT". Diakses pada 2 Juli 2022, <https://www.cnnindonesia.com/teknologi/20220513173651-192-796532/kominfo-buka-suara-soal-peluang-take-down-konten-lgbt>.

Fotopoulou, A. 2016. "Digital and networked by default? Women's organisations and the social imaginary of networked feminism". *New Media & Society*, Vol. 18, No. 6, hlm. 989--1005.

Harding, S. (ed.) 2004. *The Feminist Standpoint Theory Reader: Intellectual and Political Controversies*. Routledge: New York.

Harding, S. 2016. *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives*. Cornell University Press: New York.

Jurnal Perempuan 2021, "Daftar Nama Sahabat Jurnal Perempuan", diakses pada 21 Juni 2022, <https://www.jurnalperempuan.org/daftar-nama-sjp.html>.

Kasana, M. 2014. "Feminisms and the Social Media Sphere". *Women's Studies Quarterly*, hlm. 236--249.

Komnas Perempuan 2021. *CATAHU 2021: Perempuan dalam Himpitan Pandemi: Lonjakan Kekerasan Seksual, Kekerasan Siber, Perkawinan Anak dan Keterbatasan Penanganan Di Tengah Covid-19*, Komnas Perempuan: Jakarta.

Komnas Perempuan 2022. *CATAHU 2022: Bayang-bayang Stagnansi: Daya Pencegahan dan Penanganan Berbanding Peningkatan Jumlah, Ragam dan Kompleksitas Kekerasan Berbasis Gender terhadap Perempuan*, Komnas Perempuan: Jakarta.

LM Psikologi UGM. 2021. "Satu Tahun Pandemi: Meningkatkan Kekerasan Basis Gender Online", *LM Psikologi UGM*, 29 Maret, diakses pada 22 Juni 2022, <https://lm.psikologi.ugm.ac.id/2021/03/satu-tahun-pandemi-meningkatnya-kekerasan-basis-gender-online/>.

Magdalene. 2022. "Habis Feminis SJW, Terbitlah 'Faffu Wasweswos'", 10 September, diakses 23 Juni 2022, <https://magdalene.co/story/habis-feminis-sjw-terbitlah-faffu-wasweswos>

Maireder, A. & Schwarzenegger, C. 2012. "A movement of connected individuals: social media in the Austrian Student Protests 2009". *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(2): hlm. 171--195. <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/1369118X.2011.589908>.

Nikolay, V. et al. 2018. "Political discourse in the Internet space: subjects, forms, risks", *Atlantis Press*, diakses pada 24 Juni 2022, <https://www.atlantis-press.com/proceedings/ictppfms-18/25902999>.

Parahita, G.D. 2019. "The Rise of Indonesian Feminist Activism on Social Media". *Jurnal Komunikasi Ikatan Sarjana Komunikasi Indonesia*, Vol. 4, No. 2, hlm. 104--115.

Pratiwi, A.M. 2021. "Mengupayakan Keadilan bagi Korban Kekerasan Seksual Melalui Aktivisme Tagar: Kesempatan dan Kerentanan di Indonesia". *Jurnal Perempuan*, Vol. 26, No. 3, hlm. 207--217.

Ruzuar, A.H. (ed.) 2016. *Kami, Jurnal Perempuan: Setelah 20 Tahun*. Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan: Jakarta.

The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. 2018. "Feminist Philosophy", 28 Juni, diakses 2 Juli 2022, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/feminist-philosophy/>.

Tirto.id 2021, "Survei Feminisme: Tolak Label Feminis, tapi Mendukung Isu Perempuan", 16 Juni, diakses 25 Juni 2022, <https://tirto.id/survei-feminisme-tolak-label-feminis-tapi-mendukung-isu-perempuan-ggLF>.

Vitello, L. 2017. "Toward a Networked Feminist Pedagogy for Composition". *Scholar Commons*, diakses pada 22 Juni. <https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/etd/4147/>.

We Are Social Indonesia. 2022. "Digital 2022: Another Year of Bumper Growth". 26 Januari, diakses pada 21 Juni 2022. <https://wearesocial.com/uk/blog/2022/01/digital-2022-another-year-of-bumper-growth-2/>.

Endnotes

1. Indonesianfeministjournal.org is the website of *Jurnal Perempuan Online (JPO)*. Each issue of JP is produced in both printed and online versions and in Indonesian and English. As of 2022, access to JPO is public and free. The purpose of opening the access to JPO is to spread feminist knowledge more massively and inclusively.
2. Challenges and threats to feminist digital activism, especially to the safety of activists, legal advocates, victims (in the case, victims of violence who "speak up"), relatives of victims (who amplify the voices of the victims), and witnesses, with threats such as violence, bullying, and criminalisation. For more details, see Pratiwi (2021).
3. The contents of JP's discussion itself are basically based on scientific and academic research. On its website, JP calls itself a non-profit organisation engaged in education, research, publishing, and advocacy on women's issues based on gender research in Indonesia. One of its goals is to become a feminist journal in Indonesia that is used for academic reference and policy making.
4. All interviewees stated that the visual products in JP's content really help them to understand the meaning that was being conveyed. This is reinforced by the testimony of one of the interviewees, "Information from social media is not enough from photos, but also videos; short educational videos like that are much more interesting and actually increase the number of social media visits" (Faizah Diena Hanifah).
5. Twitter Space is a feature that connects users through a dedicated channel with a voice output. To utilise this feature, users must meet certain requirements. Organisers or hosts of Twitter Spaces must have a minimum of 600 followers.

Feminist Philosophy Revolt: An Application of Feminist Pedagogy in Philosophy Classes

Ikhaputri Widiyantini

Departemen Filsafat, Fakultas Ilmu Pengetahuan Budaya, Universitas Indonesia
Jalan Prof. Dr. Selo Soemardjan, Kampus UI Depok, Jawa Barat 16424

ikhaputri.w@gmail.com

Manuscript Chronology: received 22 July 2022, received 8 August 2022, accepted 11 August 2022

Abstract

This paper discusses the application of feminist pedagogy in philosophy classrooms. Misogynistic nuances in the development of philosophical thought limit the opportunity for women to be known as philosophers. Let alone known for this thoughts, popular philosophy even has a tendency to marginalize women. Patterns in the general curriculum and pedagogy block opportunities for women to share their experiences. Whereas philosophy should provide space for this diversity. The inclusive nature of feminist philosophy must be presented. I raise this issue through a search for bell hooks' feminist pedagogical theory. The method used in this paper is the narration of the experience of philosophical reflection based on the practices that have been carried out in the classrooms. This paper shows the importance of carrying out revolt in bringing changes through feminist pedagogy.

Keywords: bell hooks; feminist philosophy; philosophy class; feminist pedagogy; revolt

Introduction

In early 2022, during an academic supervision meeting, I was struck by a question. The question asked by one of the female students was pessimistic and doubtful as it came from a woman who enters the academic environment of philosophy. She asked why most discussions, especially from male philosophers, assume that women will not be able to think like men. As a result of this misogynistic thinking, she felt "unable" (as a woman) to study philosophy. This question made her anxious and she even asked at the end if it was wrong to think and feel this way? I was silent for quite a while after being asked while thinking about what the right answer was so as not to make her desperate - especially because this question was asked by a student who had only attended the lectures for one semester.

The issue of women's loss of confidence in "philosophising" is not a surprising one. This also happens in various other fields of knowledge. Cordelia Fine (1975), a Canadian-born British philosopher currently teaching at the University of Melbourne, even points out in her book *Delusions of Gender* (2010) the impact of biologically-based stereotypes on thinking and science. Fine uses neuroscientific critique to analyse "our understanding of the world" that is influenced by social construction. Biological factors are used to justify

sexism through various scientific studies, especially in neuroscience research - Fine even calls it "neurosexism" (2010). Popular science reproduces "scientific" narratives of sexism, convincing us that it is "true" that biological differences impact the "inbuilt" differences (thinking and behaviour) of women and men (Fine, 2010). What Fine had said became the source that I used as a foundation to answer the student's question about her concern. However, at the end of the discussion, we silently agreed that this issue was not over.

I recalled the time when I started my journey, 20 years ago, as a philosophy student. I was fortunate to be introduced to Gadis Arivia, who was my academic supervisor at the time. My acquaintance with Gadis has led me, to this day, to my current involvement in feminist philosophy circles. I learned more female philosophers, feminist philosophers, and feminist research methodologies, which ultimately influenced the writing of my thesis and dissertation - even for this I had the opportunity to be mentored directly by Gadis. Beyond these lucky opportunities, I still remembered various discussions I had with several female friends in class - when I was still in college. Questions like why in every philosophy class I attended, especially in classes with male lecturers, more names of male philosophers

were mentioned. There were even classes that never mentioned the names of female philosophers. I then asked why of many male philosophers whose thinking was discussed, misogynistic tendencies were so prevalent? For example, the thinking that assumed women are half human, or that women because of their "emotions" are unable to think rationally. In that nostalgic moment, I felt the same bitterness as my student, "Does this mean that as a woman, studying philosophy is a waste?"

I do not want to justify that bitter question because of the concern of being a woman in philosophy. But I need to make the question a sarcastic symbol that motivates a revolutionary change - in philosophy. Julia Kristeva (1941) argues that change comes from our ability to achieve freedom through revolution. In her book *Revolt, She Said* (2002), Kristeva does discuss the events of May '68 in France, but I draw on her understanding of revolutionary change: it starts with the question within.

Kristeva asserts that the target of revolt is not success or visible change, but our ability to achieve freedom to question things (2002). Generally, the success of a movement is seen from the visible change. However, the issue that arises is whether the "freedom" that comes from this change is really owned by the subject involved (or in this context we question: involved or being involved)? When the subject is not directly involved in the revolution process, the intended value of the change is never really present in the process. The subject only (re)follows what already exists. It is Kristeva's message of permanent transformative endeavour (2002) that has guided me in this sarcastic symbol that I believe is perpetuated by misogynistic patriarchal thinking.

I embarked on a personal project of customising the philosophy curriculum where I teach based on these nuances of "revolution". This started from incorporating class activities to engage in real activism related to social issues in society; changes in teaching methods that include transformative learning methods in the syllabus; end-of-semester assignments in the form of art exhibitions or class video projects; logbooks as a medium of communication with students; to introducing the names of female philosophers as an assignment and a class exam material. These activities are what I would like to share in this paper so that they can be shared as first-hand knowledge; knowledge that comes from my experience as a woman - in the classroom, as a lecturer, and as an observer of philosophy. In addition, my acquaintance with *Jurnal Perempuan* since 2002 has

also convinced me that the invitation to be involved in practical areas will strengthen the structure of philosophical theory. I distinctly remember what Gadis Arivia said in her various classes that feminism is not just a theory, but also a practice in everyday life. That is why I involve activities as a form of praxis in the learning process in the classroom.

Theoretical Framework and Writing Methodology

The idea of this paper borrows the writing methodology used in the anthology of *Philosophy by Women, 22 Philosophers Reflect on Philosophy and Its Value* (2021), edited by Elly Vintiadis. Vintiadis, in her introduction, explains that the writing of this anthology aims to provide an implicit picture that philosophers are not only built from the thinking of white men because there are also many diverse female thinkers that we need to know and learn from (2021). Furthermore, the authors in this collection of writings are not based on the thinking of female philosophers in the past but contemporary female philosophers.

This experiential method is the breath of feminist philosophy that prioritises experience as knowledge (Haraway 1998). Adopting the writing methodology in the book *Philosophy by Women, 22 Philosophers Reflect on Philosophy and Its Value* (2021) is how I present this paper: the story and the line of thought come together in the delivery of the analysis. I put the framework of feminist pedagogy as a proposition that I also implement in my daily academic activities. Feminist pedagogy is a pedagogical framework based on feminist theory. The theory in feminist pedagogy discusses the classroom learning process that offers specific criteria for evaluating educational strategies and techniques to achieve the desired goal - feminist goal (Shrewsbury 1987). These evaluations and educational techniques include the understanding of feminist epistemology, teaching strategies, approaches to issues, classroom practices, and changes in teacher-student relations. hooks calls it feminist education in the classroom (2015).

The storytelling in this paper is also one of the methods in hooks' feminist pedagogy. Sharing stories becomes a political act over bodies and experiences that are silenced by social space (hooks 2010, p. 55). The jargon "the personal is political" in the second wave of feminism movement (Tong & Botts 2018) is a valuable experience that we can learn from as factual information (hooks 2010). Often, the form of storytelling based on experience is not considered academic in scientific work. However, hooks disputes this because, in fact, the form of

storytelling - whether in anecdote, illustration, or humour - is often used to facilitate abstract understanding of a theory (hooks 2010, p. 56). Personal stories are as powerful as abstract illustrations in a theory. Personal stories build a more diverse discussion space because they allow every subject involved in the class to share their stories. Knowledge is no longer controlled by one party because we learn from each other's stories (hooks 2010). That is why I adopt this methodology in this paper, to open a story in the process of undergoing feminist pedagogy.

Feminist pedagogy is a place of struggle that seeks to bring theory and practice together (hooks 2015). Feminist pedagogy must involve those in the classroom (teachers and students) in the learning process - making us look closely at reality (hooks 1994). Through this paper, I share a method of teaching feminist philosophy that comes from my experience in the academic world. I believe that the academic world should not lock itself in its ivory tower, but also network with its surroundings in order to produce knowledge discoveries that are in line with everyday life. This is one of the manifestations of my belief: sharing through writing.

Eliminating Alienation in the Classroom

Norms in the education curriculum generally tend to alienate the relationship between teachers and students, as well as theories and issues. We are made "distant" from what we teach and learn. bell hooks (1952-2021) highlighted the issue of estrangement and alienation as an obstacle to knowledge that liberates the subject (2015). In her article *Toward a Revolutionary Pedagogy* (2015), hooks shared her experiences as a school student, who was influenced by her teacher. hooks' teacher Miss Moore progressively taught how the class recognises a world different from textbooks - full of oppression and exploitation. The purpose of this teaching was understood by hooks as a form of comprehensive self-knowledge - heart, mind, body, and soul (hooks 2015, p. 91). In the course of her studies, hooks then discovered the difference between teaching with passion and "distant" teaching.

In the classical education system, the first distance is built on issues. The attempt to appear neutral does not erase the tendency to take sides politically, which tends to close access to diverse issues. There is a crisis of knowledge in the university that makes knowledge a commodity. Some programmes that offer contemporary issues have faced challenges in their development. Those in these programmes will find it difficult to move

freely in their research because they have to "sell the programmes". hooks gave an example of where she taught in the Women's Studies programme that great care must be taken to be successful institutionally (hooks 2015). Many university programmes are in a similar situation. They often exist without the intention of preserving the knowledge. The nuances of "exotic", "of the moment", or "viral", are often the reason programmes are created. Educational institutions perpetuate the status quo through the validation of institutional rules. Oppressive educational institutions will not be able to relate closely to the history and development of knowledge (hooks 2015, p. 94). Even courses that offer critical freedom will be bureaucratically and institutionally constrained if they do not apply a system of critical pedagogy.

bell hooks based her pedagogical understanding on the thought of Paulo Freire (1921-1997), a Brazilian philosopher of critical pedagogy. Freire spoke of education as the embodiment of the practice of freedom (Freire 1970) and criticised oppressive education systems. Freire's critical pedagogy rejects power and inequality. He emphasised on educational efforts to make the subject as a human, including changing oppressive structures. The concept of oppressive education criticised by Freire perpetuates a sense of alienation in the system. Students are made to have no awareness of actively participating in the learning process. Such an education system accustoms students to receiving, memorising, and repeating information provided by the teacher (Freire 1970). This "obedient" character of students eliminates the ability to interact and solve problems. This is another form of alienation, namely the alienation of teacher-student relations.

Based on Freire's understanding, I then remembered a student's complaint in the Feminist Paradigm class about a lecturer who rejected her paper that used references from many contemporary female philosophers on the ground of being "less philosophical". The student then edited her paper by simply replacing - or even removing - the references to female philosophers with popular male philosophers (known to the lecturer). The paper was accepted and received a good grade. Another student shared a story about how her idea to write about the work of a female artist was rejected on the ground that it was "not important", but it was not an issue with a male artist. There were many similar stories shared by students in the class - about unjustified rejections because of "sentiment towards women". This misogynistic and oppressive nuance is an example of how some philosophy classes with certain lecturers block access to freedom in critical

education - I do not share all because efforts to present and appreciate the work of female thinkers are also done by many other philosophy lecturers.

Due to the oppressive misogynistic system in some philosophy classes, students slowly lose the courage to protest. The final grade-based education curriculum also reinforces the suppression of students' critical thinking. Gradually, concern for the diversity of ideas disappears. Not only that, solidarity could not be presented because individually each student was made subject to institutional rules. They will be faced with a choice: keep quiet and pass; or protest and (most likely) not pass. At one point, this system will eliminate the "humanity" of students. Students have a tendency to "pass" a course, instead of being part of the learning process. Freire sees this scenario as part of pedagogical oppression that makes the teacher the master of the classroom (Freire 1970). Students are not considered to have the ability to process knowledge, making it prone to abuse of power. Knowledge is no longer offered as an open process but as an end result.

The "critical" thinking that is offered in student-centred learning systems is ultimately based on the subjective judgement of the teacher, rather than the student being actively involved in the learning process. When success is judged by a good end result, alienation arises, both from within and without. Teachers will actually experience alienation because they no longer unite theoretical areas with what is practised. Placing power in the hands of teachers in the education system will stop their "willingness" to continue learning. The knowledge they have is considered to be maximal, so it will be difficult to adapt to the acceleration of knowledge. It is not uncommon to hear senior teachers saying, "I'm old, I'm slow at learning new things". This statement shows the alienation of teachers as a subject to recognise their ability to receive new knowledge. Freire's oppressive education is also seen by hooks as a practice of domination that separates us from the reality around us (hooks 2015).

Attempts to dismiss alienation of self and environment appear in critical pedagogy. Both Freire and hooks offer revolutionary approaches in their pedagogical thinking. Freire offers a critical pedagogy with the values of love, care, and solidarity (Freire 1970); while hooks stays with the offer of empathy that recognises the whole self in the learning process (hooks 2015). hooks' pedagogical thinking specifically incorporates the value of feminism in it (hooks 1994). hooks wants a continuous process of authentic learning. To her, students' desire to learn will

continue to exist. When we try to stop it, intellectual violence occurs. For this reason, feminist pedagogy offers a foundation for critical pedagogy that always challenges the cognition and intellect of students - and teachers. Both teachers and students will go through a process of doubting the meaning of life so that the search for value in life will strengthen the focus of the search for knowledge. This doubt and desire for the meaning of life builds a dialectical context that allows for critical exchange of ideas (hooks 2015). This moment is what is desired in feminist pedagogy because it brings together theoretical conditions and practices in everyday life.

Going back to hooks' basic understanding of feminist pedagogy, the classroom should be a place that presents the struggle and diversity of life issues. Classes grounded in feminist pedagogy should recognise the different experiences that are shared. The intersection of theory and practice in feminist pedagogy classrooms requires the cooperation between teachers and students - as partners, not dominant relations - to overcome alienation in understanding knowledge (hooks 2015). The different nuances of relationships in critical pedagogy, including feminist pedagogy, lies in the full participation of students in the learning process. Students' experiences are no longer considered unscientific because in feminist pedagogy, sharing experiences is one of the methods of feminist intervention in an effort to stop domination and oppression in the classroom.

Feminist Transformative Pedagogy in the Philosophy Classroom

In the introduction, I noted how revolution is needed to achieve change. Kristeva's thinking played with the meaning of "revolt", not as a form of rejection and destruction, but as a form of renewal and regeneration (Kristeva 2002). Revolution in Kristeva's thinking led me to creative thinking to make changes, especially in every philosophy class I teach. Kristeva's philosophy is my philosophical guide in understanding life - including how I react to the concern of being in a philosophy circle that is full of misogynistic thinking. Popular Western philosophical thinking usually marginalises women. Gadis Arivia in her book entitled *Filsafat Berperspektif Feminis* (2003) shows how mainstream philosophy does not provide space for women's thinking. Some Western philosophical thinking even considers women not as full human beings - for example, in the thinking of Aristotle or J.J. Rousseau (Arivia 2003).

Misogynistic thinking is not only found in philosophical texts. We will also find misogynistic behaviour and thinking of philosophy practitioners, including in Indonesia. In some philosophy discussions, I have encountered different treatment of female philosophers from many (mostly men) participants. For example, when mentioning Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986), a French existentialist philosopher, there would be the appendage “her lover Sartre”. On another occasion, I came across the comment “philosopher x is a beautiful (woman)”. This kind of comment is not just reserved for “past philosophers”. In some discussion meetings, when the speaker was “interesting”, there would be more comments on the speaker’s appearance rather than his or her thinking. Not to mention when having to deal with male discussion participants who felt more knowledgeable and patronising - mansplaining.

I realised that these misogynistic thinking and behaviour come from being “habituated” in a patriarchal culture. Repetition of thinking and behaviour is also influenced by mentors/ teachers who play a role in the development of the individual. When repeated examples demean the thinking and presence of women, the likelihood of it being replicated is greater. This does not mean we lose hope for change. Transformative endeavours require revolution (Kristeva 2002). No matter how small the form, but when the revolution is consistently carried out, significant changes can be seen. hooks in her feminist pedagogy describes the role of mentors who provide revolutionary spirit. Teachers who become mentors do not authoritatively force students to accept their knowledge, but rather build students’ imagination to think about the issues (hooks 1994). Students who are cognitively stimulated will feel involved in the discussion so that the process of understanding can occur. Knowledge comes from the process of students understanding, not just memorising.

Departing from the understanding of feminist pedagogy that prioritises active participation of learners, empathy, care, and solidarity, I then made some changes in the learning methods in my classes. I was inspired by many mentors I have met on my journey of learning and pursued a class with a feminist pedagogy in mind.

Offers in the Philosophy Curriculum: A Feminist Syllabus

Philosophically, the curriculum has the role of guiding the material in a lesson with the aim of promoting social change in a more progressive direction (Arivia 2006). In

the feminist pedagogy approach, the curriculum also needs special attention so that it does not just become a repetition of material without any significant changes. The strong influence of patriarchal ideology in the development of knowledge and culture has contributed to the formation of misogynistic roots - including in the development of philosophical thinking. Philosophy cannot work exclusively because every philosophical thinking comes from an understanding of the reality of the world. It is the inclusiveness of philosophy that encourages us to recognise the diversity of experiential realities of both women and men (Arivia 2003). The encounter between philosophy and feminism will offer a new way of philosophical enquiry - closer to everyday issues.

Efforts to make changes in the curriculum and syllabus of philosophy have been made by several of my mentors in the programme where I teach. I learned from Gadis and Embun Kenyowati in preparing materials and developing the syllabus, especially how to introduce more names of female philosophers and feminist philosophical thinking in each class material. In addition to introducing names and thinking, I use empathy in class so that there is a sense of closeness between teachers and students who learn from each other in class. I continued to develop this method when I had the opportunity to run the class independently.

On one occasion in 2016, I attended a training on how to develop classroom learning guides and syllabus. In this training, I was challenged to incorporate transformative learning methods in the Feminist Paradigm class. This method comes from the understanding of bell hooks’ feminist pedagogy and also Kristeva’s revolt theory. I proposed the use of these methods with the aim of encouraging a change in the overall attitude of the students who attended the class. Currently, there are only two classes where I have applied the transformative learning methods, namely the Feminism and the Philosophy and Human Rights classes. The reason for using the transformative learning methods in these two classes is because both require real benchmarks in evaluating the area of praxis.

At first, I was worried about whether these methods would work or not. However, as the class progressed, I felt a real change in the attitude and thinking of the students who had attended the lecture. At the beginning of the lecture, students were asked to complete a pre-test related to their initial understanding and examples of issues. I noted the results of the initial test and the data would then be used as an initial guide for affective

evaluation (not included in the assessment of cognition specifically because cognitive evaluation has its own assessment system). students would then be asked to make a logbook and/or an assignment related to activism. At the end of the lecture, students would be asked to choose the topic they are most interested in and prepare a final paper with an explanation.

The learning design in the curriculum and syllabus that uses a feminist pedagogy approach specifically places the use of issue-sensitive language as part of the evaluation process. The observations I have made since the beginning of the semester included the choice of phrases and the concept of delivery in every assignment or weekly discussion in class. One example of the success I have encountered with transformative learning methods was the sense of care, especially from students who initially only attended lectures to fulfil SCU (Semester Credit Units). For those who chose purposely because they were interested in the issue, the issue of care was not a problem. However, for those who simply chose classes to merely fulfil SCU requirement to pass, the change would be felt significantly. Interestingly, I even found some students who later chose specific topics related to feminism or human rights after attending the lectures - and this came from students who initially had no concerns at all.

In 2020, the curriculum on campus changed again. This change made the Feminism class (in the 2020 curriculum, the Feminist Paradigm class could be changed to Feminism) and the Philosophy and Human Rights class as compulsory courses for the study programme. These two classes were no longer just an option because of interest or fulfilment of SCU. Whether we like it or not, all UI philosophy students must take these two courses. A dilemma developed in this regard. On the one hand, I was happy with the change in class status, meaning that more students would take and be involved in the class process. There were more possibilities for changes in the thinking and behaviour so that the hope for change in the circle of philosophical thinking would be further realised. However, on the other hand, I was worried that this class would only be an academic requirement - the important thing is to pass. Despite these concerns, I felt challenged to continue to include feminist pedagogy in the philosophy curriculum. Not only in my classes, but also in other classes.

Encouragement in the Assignment: References and Introductions to Women Philosophers

A challenge that remains is to make feminist pedagogical system the pedagogical foundation of philosophy as a whole. Generally, the mentioning of female philosophers and feminist philosophical thinking only existed in a few classes. In other classes that I teach, such as Introduction to Philosophy, Metaphysics, Aesthetics, and Philosophy of Art, I began to incorporate the thinking of female philosophers in each topic. Some results were seen in the group presentations as well as the final exam papers. More students took theoretical basis from female philosophers than in previous years. What I did was not new. I also experienced the same situation as a student, knowing the names of female philosophers thanks to classes of Gadis, Embun, and even Tommy Awuy.

This situation of information disclosure overcomes the strictness of rigid patriarchal knowledge (Fine 2010). One of my students in the class once asked me why more lecturers in the class did not include references containing the thinking of women and people of colour? To the student, if lecturers encourage more reading of inclusive and intersectional philosophy books, philosophical thinking will develop in a more diverse way - not "just the typical way of thinking". I agreed with what the student said. If we are not introduced to women's thinking and work, then we will have no information about them at all. Scientific research is often biased and perpetuates gender-biased findings (Fine 2010). It is by opening up new knowledge that we experience a change in thinking; our understanding evolves and does not stagnate. The problem is, if the burden of introducing women philosophers and feminist philosophy is only placed on certain classes, it will lead to the perception that feminist thinking only applies to special cases. The use of feminist pedagogy system must be implemented thoroughly in every class. Putting the responsibility on one or two classes will not support transformative change in the course curriculum.

Each class needs to provide special encouragement so that students are inspired to find sources related to women's thinking and feminist philosophy. One of the assignments that I asked students to do was a mid-term exam in the form of a review of the thoughts and positions in several articles in *Philosophy by Women, 22 Philosophers Reflect on Philosophy and Its Value* (2021). Students who were used to the typical masculine writing of philosophy found it hard and confusing to read these

articles. Writings that were rich with each woman's experience and personal reflections on philosophy and life gave colour to the collection. Although some of the reviews complained that it was difficult to understand the pattern of experiential writing. At the end of the writing, students also admitted that knowing different perspectives opened their minds to philosophy itself.

Another assignment I gave in class was to create an infographic about a female philosopher, thinker, or artist. This assignment encouraged them to be creative in developing a media campaign to introduce figures and their thinking through a medium that is close to

them: social media. Although not actually uploaded, this assignment assumed that they created content that would be uploaded on the introduction campaign. Various names and thoughts appeared in this assignment. This proved that if given encouragement, students would certainly be more creative in finding references. This reference encouragement can also be done through the offer of reading materials that we update by including books, articles, or works by female philosophers so that there are more alternative thoughts that can be studied in philosophy classes.



Figure 1: Spider web game

Source: Personal Documentation

Getting to Know Sensitive Issues through Classroom Games

In 2007, during the first semester of my Women's Studies Master's Programme (now renamed as Gender Studies), Kristi Poerwandari introduced a game called "spider web". This participatory game invited the class to listen to a story and then map out the problem before offering a solution. One of the participants acted as the "victim" in the story and would be tied up with raffia every time a problem was raised by another participant. The discussion started when a solution was offered based on the problem. Each participant was tasked with defending his or her argument while trying to refute the arguments of the others. During the discussion, the rope tying the "victim" up would gradually become tighter. The game did not end because someone managed to "break" the problem. The game became more exciting as the problems increased (which means the tie became tighter) and the solutions were challenged by each other. At the end of the game, the facilitator explained that the spider web as a representation of women's problems that are intertwined with each other.

This game was very memorable for me. So, I adapted it into a game for my Feminism class as shown in Figure 1.

The game was easy for students to understand and follow in class. You could see them joking around with their tied-up "victim", but behind the laughter, they tried hard to defend their arguments for the solutions they offered. Every time someone challenged their arguments, a look of disappointment appeared on their faces. They tried very hard to find a solution to free the "victim". Classroom games are one of the learning methods that bring students closer together through active participation. I got involved with the students in their discussions. In some of the games, I asked them what they thought of the games. Most students felt more disturbed because the issue seemed to be presented in front of them - in an attempt to save a friend who was tied up. These participatory games help students practice sensitivity to issues without feeling patronised.

Logbook: Recounting Experiences

In the discussion about feminist-perspective curriculum and syllabus, I mentioned the writing of logbook. I have only practised the logbook in Feminism class as a medium of communication with students - with confidentiality. Since the first meeting of the semester, I

will ask students to prepare logbooks – because during the Covid-19 pandemic lectures are conducted online, I use Google Classroom as a medium for collecting logbooks. In the logbooks, I ask students to write down reflections on the course material per week and then share experiences that they remember related to the material. In addition, I also allow students to tell me anything within a confidentiality agreement. I will provide comments or words of support on the logbooks that students submit every week. Students know that I read their stories and provide support.

Some stories that have given me the permission to share are courageous enough to tell the sexual violence they have experienced, both as children and when they

were in college. Thanks to some data with consent in the logbook, I also obtained data on cases of sexual violence, especially in the campus area. The logbook does not function as a data finder, but as a communication medium that bridges the distance between students and me. I build communication and trust so that when they discuss sensitive issues, there is trust in each other. The logbook also helps students who are not brave enough to speak directly in class, express their opinions and questions in writing. The logbook is a form of applying feminist pedagogy through experiential storytelling.

Participation and Solidarity: Campaigns, Actions, and Exhibitions



Figure 2: Women's March 2018
Source: Personal Documentation

I made an effort to involve students in praxis activities by inviting them to be involved in the final Women's March in Jakarta in 2018 (shown in Figure 2). In the previous year, in celebration of International Women's Day, the Feminism class made various campaigns such as hashtag and twibbon actions via social media; purple

ribbon actions around the Faculty of Humanities at UI campus; discussions, and film screenings. These activities raised awareness to be directly involved in campaigns and advocacies. This activism also creates solidarity with various groups because when joining mass actions, students can network with various communities.



Figures 3 and 4. Exhibition of Works

Source: Personal Documentation

In Figures 3 and 4, you can see examples of the works exhibited in the Final Exhibition – the Final Semester Assignment. In these two examples, students from the Feminism class and the Philosophy and Human Rights class worked together in a joint exhibition. Students were encouraged to be creative in producing works that can educate visitors. The interactive form of the exhibition required students to communicate with visitors and practice telling the theme of the work. This interaction became a media campaign for the issues raised.

Both activities in Figures 2, 3, and 4, displayed the intimacy between theory and practice as illustrated through class activities. In other classes, the interaction method was replaced with group presentations and poster making. But only in these two classes, Feminism and Philosophy and Human Rights, that I was able to encourage raising issues that are close to feminism.

The description of activities in the realisation of feminist pedagogy that I have described is a visible first attempt. In every activity, there was encouragement that I gave so that I did not just “feed” the materials to students. The nuances of revolution that came from each question revealed that every activity I did still fulfilled the needs in developing feminist pedagogy. Students then independently continued and transformed the activities in the formal classroom into discussions in non-

formal spaces. Some then went directly to organisations working in the fields of women’s movement and human rights. A noticeable change in philosophy classes could also be seen from the greater number of references to female philosophers and feminist philosophical thinking. Students were no longer awkward discussing sensitive issues related to the body and sexuality. Although there is still a lot of work to be done in fostering the revolution of feminist philosophy, at least change for the sake of change starts to appear.

Closing

Let us answer the question posed in the introduction of this paper: “Does this mean that as a woman, studying philosophy is pointless?” The answer is: NO. Justifying the question that came from my restlessness means stopping the revolution through question. In fact, the presence of women will enrich knowledge in philosophy. Philosophising itself is a form of self-revolution, when we question various things related to reality. The next step is to challenge ourselves to recognise that we need to open philosophy more inclusively. That is why we need feminism to create a space for intersectional openness through feminist philosophy. Achieving the breath of feminist philosophy can only be done if we change the pattern of pedagogy in philosophy

circles - especially using feminist pedagogy. We need to promote the values of love, empathy, care, and solidarity so that we can realise a form of learning that promotes the participation of all class participants. Students are no longer seen as ignorant individuals, but as equal discussion partners in the classroom. The success of feminist pedagogy is also characterised by the openness of our ears to listen to a variety of personal experiences. When we listen to diverse stories, we enhance our empathy, which can eventually lead to a spirit of solidarity.

Feminist pedagogy also encourages teachers - or me as a lecturer - to creatively develop learning methods in the classroom. The development of issues, trends, and technology are interesting medium that must continue to be learned together. Students are not made to feel distant from issues and relationships in class. They get the opportunity to be actively involved in finding materials and even sharing materials and stories in class. Appreciation of each story shows the maturity of philosophy in recognising and understanding the various issues in the reality of our lives. Through an effort to form a feminist pedagogy system, we have encouraged change through the revolution of feminist philosophy; a revolution that keeps our curiosity alive through questioning - and of course by caring for the stories and knowledge of others.

References

- Arivia, Gadis. 2003, *Filsafat Berperspektif Feminis*, Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan: Jakarta.
- Arivia, Gadis. 2006, *Feminisme: Sebuah Kata Hati*, Penerbit Buku Kompas: Jakarta.
- Fine, Cordelia 2010, *Delusions of Gender: The Real Science Behind Sex Differences*, Icon Books: UK.
- Freire, Paul 1970, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Penguin Random House: London.
- Haraway, Donna 1988, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective", *Feminist Studies* 14, No. 3, hlm. 575--599.
- hooks, bell 1994, *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*, Routledge: New York dan London.
- hooks, bell 2010, *Teaching Critical Thinking: Practical Wisdom*, Routledge: New York and London.
- hooks, bell 2015, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*, Routledge: New York dan London.
- Kristeva, Julia 2002, *Revolt, She Said*, penerj. Brian O'Keeffe, Semiotext(e), New York.
- Shrewsbury, Carolyn M 1987, "What is Feminist Pedagogy?", dalam *Women's Studies Quarterly* Vol. 15. No. 3/4, *Feminist Pedagogy*, hlm. 6-14, The Feminist Press at the City University of New York: New York.
- Tong, Rosemary & Botts, Tina Fernandes 2018, *Feminist Thought: A More Comprehensive Introduction*, Routledge: New York dan London.
- Vintiadis, Elly 2021, *Philosophy by Women, 22 Philosophers Reflect on Philosophy and Its Value*, Routledge: New York and London.

Praxis of Feminist Movement in Indonesia: Dynamics of Political Action and Knowledge Production

Ruth Indiah Rahayu

Kandidat Doktor Program Studi Filsafat, STF Driyarkara
Jalan Komplek Cempaka Putih Indah No. 100A, RT 1 RW 7, Cempaka Putih Barat, Cempaka Putih, Jakarta
Pusat, Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 10520

ruth.indiahr@driyarkara.ac.id

Manuscript Chronology: received 15 July 2022, revised 8 August 2022, accepted 11 August 2022

Abstract

Women face barricades at all levels of activity, but not all of them understand that they face problems as women. Feminism contribution throughout the history has been to formulate the “women’s question” as political knowledge and action. This feminist knowledge includes the experiences of “women’s question” at the personal level, family organizations, community organizations, cultural organizations, production organizations and state organizations. Political action and feminist knowledge are praxis that is also happening all over the world and also in Indonesia. Praxis in Indonesia can be traced since Kartini raised “women’s question” as a personal experience to the growth of the women’s movement which has experience in emancipating “women’s issues”. The problem is that there is often inter-issue stress and support between political action and production so that “women’s question” seem to be reduced to prominent issues. This paper is self-reflective, that is, dialogically reading the collective history of the feminist movement from the personal side of the activists themselves.

Keywords: “woman question”, women’s political action, feminist knowledge production

Introduction

The feminist movement in Indonesia has important transformative qualifications for change at both the personal awareness level and the level of society and the state. Like many Asian women, Indonesian women do everything from within the family, activist organisations, the workplace, the community, and the state. Yet at all these levels, there are barricades and thorny shackles whose forms that can be identified as discriminatory practices, sexual violence, exploitation of labour value, trafficking in women, and so on. These can take place within the family unit, community organisations, economic organisations, and also state organisations.

Although women face barricades at all levels of their activities, not all women recognise that they face problems because they are women. Most women consider these problems to be natural and accepted as the “fate” of women. The contribution of nineteenth-century first-wave feminism was to formulate the “women’s question” as knowledge so that it could be transformed through various media. Vogel states that the formulation of “women’s question” is to conceptualise issues of women’s oppression in the context of social and economic-political power relations. When knowledge is

formulated, it assumes that there is the formulation of knowledge about “women’s liberation” (Vogel 1983, p. 105).

Second wave feminism builds feminist epistemology and methodology based on “women’s issues”. This movement entered the realm of philosophy of science and defined the categories of sex and gender as methods of analysis in uncovering “women’s issues” (Code 1991, p. 1). Although “feminist knowledge” originated in the history of Western Europe and the US, it experienced different praxis according to time and space, including when it transformed into Indonesian women’s knowledge. Praxis, as Lefebvre defines it, is the unravelling of complexity at various levels that includes the production of materials that are abstract and formal such as symbols, culture, representation, and ideology (Lefebvre 2002, pp. 236-237). The praxis of the feminist movement itself reveals the dynamics of tension, disparity, and unification of political action and knowledge production on “women’s issues” and their emancipation.

This paper intends to be self-reflective on the praxis of the feminist movement in Indonesia, although the discussion cannot be separated from the context of world

feminism. Self-reflective is a method used by feminists in the philosophy of history to read androcentric historical philosophical texts, namely reading texts critically according to a feminist personal perspective with past texts (Lloyd 2002, pp. 1-2). In addition, the self-reflective method can be used to “read” the experience of the feminist movement from the personal side of its activists as a dialogue with its collective history.

Discussing Feminism Across Time

The etymology of feminism is Latin, *femininus*, from *femina*, which means “woman”. In old French, it means “feminine qualities”, namely characters attached to the sexuality of the female sex. According to the New World Encyclopedia, the first person who used the word feminism was Charles Fourier, a French socialist activist, in 1837, to refer to the idea or politics of female emancipation. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the word feminism was first used in England in the 1800s, also to refer to women’s emancipation activities. In its development, the word feminist is used to refer to women activists who carry out political activities demanding equal rights for women under the law, especially the right to vote and be elected (women’s suffrage). Meanwhile, the word feminism is used to refer to the notion of emancipation for social, legal and political justice based on gender. During this period, the formulation of “women’s issues” as feminist knowledge was an issue widely discussed by socialist intellectuals (Vogel 1983, p. 105). The political action of women’s emancipation is known as the first-wave feminism, which has a strong character in the mass action of working-class women and black slave women.

The first-wave feminist movement gave birth to the production of feminist knowledge written by both women and men, for example, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) by Mary Wollstonecraft, *Early Factory Labour in New England* (1883) by Harriet H. Robinson, *Ain’t I a Woman?* (1851) by Sojourner Truth, *The Subjection of Women* (1869) by John Stuart Mills and Harriet Taylor, *The Origin of the Family Private Property and the State* (1884) by Friedrich Engels, and *Women and Socialism* (1879) by August Bebel. Their writings became important references for the construction of theories of knowledge in the second-wave feminism era.

Second-wave feminism in the UK, France, Germany, Canada, and the US emerged in the 1960s-1970s in defence of women marginalised by racial difference,

as immigrants and working-class people who had no civil rights as citizens. They brought knowledge of oppression and liberation together in women’s political action (Vogel 1995, p. 10). These female student activists then pursued a doctoral degree and reflected on their experiences as materials for their doctoral thesis. In general, these second-wave feminist activists were New Left student activists, who spread knowledge within communities of “black” and “coloured” immigrant women to acknowledge their oppression and demand civil rights as citizens (Sargent 1981, p. 9).

In the early 1970s, feminist activists sought to answer the question “what is the source of women’s oppression?”, and did a lot of research. Their critique of social theory drew from Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels (Vogel 1983, p. 34), and Sigmund Freud (Mitchell 1974). In addition to criticising social theory, they also criticised philosophy and especially the philosophy of science to build feminist epistemology, which is to build feminist knowledge so that it has scientific truth.

A significant second-wave of feminist knowledge production was the ‘discovery’ of the patriarchal system as a source of women’s oppression and the categories of sex, sexuality, and gender to analyse “women’s issues” (Oakley 1972). Sex is biological sex, sexuality is the genital organs that signify sex characteristics, while gender is the meaning of sex and sexuality in the social division of labour, behaviour, and identity. This social category was later added by feminists to be placed side by side with other categories, such as race, class, ethnicity, and others. By using these analytical categories, feminist research can dismantle androcentric (patriarchal) assumptions that dominate social theory and practice (Walby 1990, p. 19).

The third-wave feminism was influenced by post-modern and post-structuralist influences in the 1980s and 1990s. Feminist activists in this era were not satisfied with the theory of knowledge that had been built by the second-wave feminists, especially in questioning the categories of sex, sexuality, and gender. Judith Butler, one of the pioneering post-modern feminists, questioned the categories of sexuality imposed on women (vagina) and men (penis) as something fixed and universal. The fixed and universal nature of the categories of sex, sexuality, and gender is a social construction. In contrast, sex, sexuality, and gender are fluid and vary according to culture (Butler 1999). Thus, male and female are “fluid” identities, which is evident from intersex (LGBT). This third-wave enriched the explanation of LGBT under the umbrella of queer theory (Butler, 2004).

Following the 2008 global financial crisis that severely impacted families in the US and Europe, some feminists returned to the second-wave feminist thinking about women's oppression in relation to capitalism (Bhattacharya 2017, pp. 3-4). Some of these feminists combined Marxism and post-modernism, and this genre of feminists is often called "4th wave feminists" or materialist feminists. Rosemary Hennessy as the pioneer argues that materialist feminists developed a theory of culture that is personal and structural. Therefore, materialist feminists revived the concept of structure and agency in relation to language and culture. In other words, materialist feminist married the discourse as a social analysis based on the material conditions of local society. These material conditions were examined not only in terms of gender, but also in relation to women's real lives that were intersectional with race, ethnicity, class, language, and others. The topic of women's marginalisation was an important concern for materialist feminists (Hennessy & Ingraham 1997, pp. 7-8).

The strengthening of knowledge production among contemporary feminists in developed countries reinforces the wave of knowledge emancipation instead of building a mass women's movement like the first-wave feminists. This tendency suggests that feminism in developed countries is praxis in the ivory tower rather than praxis in social movements.

In contrast to feminist tendencies in developed countries, women's political actions in Asian countries, mostly developing countries or former colonies, are still building mass women's movements. Kumari Jayawardena is quite comprehensive in describing women's political actions in India, Egypt, Turkey, Iran, India, China, South Korea, Japan, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, the Philippines, China, and Afghanistan. These women's political actions generally link women's issues with the struggle for independence, against military dictatorships, and some of them against imperialism in the form of the expansion of Transnational Corporation (TNC) and Multinational Corporation (MNC). Nevertheless, Jayawardena acknowledges that feminism in Asia was influenced by feminism in the West in both theory and practice (Jayawardena 1986, p. 260).

Women's political actions in Latin America as a former colony are similar to women's political actions in Asia. In Argentina, Peru, Uruguay, Brazil, and Chile, women's political participation grew alongside movements for independence, democracy, and resistance to military dictatorships. Then in contemporary times, women's political actions are centred on mobilising movements

of the urban poor women, resisting TNCs/MNCs, and also fighting for indigenous communities (Jaquette 1989, p. 205).

Transformation of Feminism into Indonesian Women's Knowledge

Feminism entered Indonesia through the relations between Dutch and Dutch East Indies citizens. Kartini was the agency who experienced the transformation of knowledge from Dutch feminists, namely, Estella Zeehandelaar and Marie Ovink-Soer, among others. A significant novel that shaped Kartini's agency character was written by Cecile Goekoop entitled *Hilda van Suylenburg* (1897). Kartini identified herself with the character in the novel, Hilda, who refused to live and wait for a potential husband's proposal. Instead, Hilda was determined to go to university to study law. Her aspiration to become a lawyer to defend oppressed women in marriage was realised (Toer 1997, pp. 143-144). Kartini's personification of Hilda reflected her rejection of young marriage and polygamy.

The emancipation of the "women's issue" underlined the struggle for the importance of education for women, the opportunity for women to earn a living and work according to their skills, and the abolition of polygamy as it was considered degrading to women's dignity. However, the issue of polygamy was not easily emancipated by Kartini. Even Kartini eventually accepted polygamy. Nevertheless, the impact of this knowledge and struggle continued in a number of national movements until Indonesia's independence and up to the present day.

Kartini's knowledge of feminism in the form of correspondence with Dutch feminists was then written as a book by Mr J.H. Abendanon entitled *Door Duisternis Tot Licht* (1912). The book was later translated by Armijn Pane into Malay under the title *Habis Gelap Terbitlah Terang* published by Balai Pustaka in 1923. Several women activists, such as Suyatin Kartowiyono, S.K. Trimurti, Umi Sardjono, Maria Ulfah, Siti Sundari Darmobroto, and others gained feminist knowledge transformation from *Habis Gelap Terbitlah Terang* (Rahayu 2021).

The transformation of feminist knowledge could spread widely thanks to the 'revolution of printing press' in the Dutch East Indies, which gave birth to newspapers led by female journalists, such as *Soenting Melayu* led by Rohana Kudus, *Tjahaja Siang* published by PIKAT-Manado women's organisation led by Walandaw

Maramis, *Wanita Sworo* led by Siti Soendari Darmobroto, *Poetri Hindia* (1914) published by the Poetri Mardika organisation.

It was not only Malay women who experienced a transformation of feminist awareness. Auw Tjoei Lan, the daughter of a "Chinese Captain" (head of a gang and protector against crime) from Majalengka, was active against the trafficking of poor women from China to Batavia. Tjoei Lan studied Dutch language and literature in Batavia with Dr Zigman, founder of *Ati Soetjie* organisation. Furthermore, Tjoei Lan was active as an organiser in *Ati Soetjie* to protect women victims of trafficking, who were generally sold as domestic slaves or sex slaves in the prostitution industry in Batavia (Koran Sulindo 2019).

During Indonesia's independence, the women's movement was quite diverse in its fight for "women's issues". In addition to the issues already mentioned, they also fought for women's representation in parliament, the defence of women workers, women farmers, and also international solidarity with colonised countries. The transformation of feminist knowledge has further developed in international networks by becoming members of international organisations, namely the Women International Federation Democratic (WIDF) and the International Council of Women (Rahayu 2020).¹

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, women's political actions were stronger than the production of feminist knowledge. However, the production of knowledge in the form of newspaper articles on the minimum age for marriage and monogamous marriage was significant. Umi Sardjono, Chairperson of Gerwani, even proposed the age of 21 as the minimum age for marriage as a proposal for the Marriage Bill (Sin Po, 26 January 1953).

The transformation of feminist knowledge was interrupted during the New Order era, but the 1975 International Women's Conference in Mexico renewed the course of this transformation. There were three significant moments: *firstly*, the International Women's Conference in Mexico City, which gave a new colour to the tradition of social research; *secondly*, there was a transformation of feminist knowledge among young women activists both working for community empowerment and campus discussion groups; and *thirdly*, there was pressure on the government to implement the mandate of the 1975 Women's Conference to "improve the status and role of women" in development. During the New Order era, the words "improving the status and role of women" were accepted by the government, including among researchers and

academics. Meanwhile, the word feminism was only used and developed in the guerrilla movement of women activists against New Order authoritarianism.

An important contribution of feminist knowledge to the social research tradition was the use of gender-disaggregated data. The special issue of *Prisma*, which included a woman researcher's paper entitled *Women and New Horizons* (Prisma, October 1975), was the beginning of "women's issues" entering social research. In its development, gender-disaggregated data method was used by population research to uncover women's behaviour and family planning. At this time, the concept of gender was used more as disaggregated data to look at the differences between men and women in society as beneficiaries of development. Applied research models tend to have the capacity to influence state policies in development, especially related to family planning and women's work in agriculture and urban areas. Research conducted by Pudjiwati Sajogjo during the 1980s-1990s on women's work in agriculture has dismantled BPS' assumptions about women's work. Women researchers from LIPI such as Yulfita Rahardjo, Melly G. Tan, Mayling Oey Gardiner, Saparinah Sadli (UI), T.O. Ihromi (UI) can be said to be the pioneers of women's studies who succeeded in breaking the basic assumptions of women in development regarding "work", "participation", "status", and "role" of women in the household unit of analysis (Rahayu 2019 p. 187).

The non-developmental research is generally done by Indonesian feminist students as Master's thesis in European and US universities. For example, Julia Suryakusuma's Master's thesis at the Institute of Social Studies (ISS), the Netherlands, on the domestication of women is called *Ibuisme-Negara (State-Motherism)* through state corporatized organisations, such as Dharma Wanita, Dharma Pertiwi, and PKK.

In the corridor of inter-campus women's discussion groups and non-governmental organisations, the word feminism became a concept of resistance to the ideology of *konco wingking*, namely Panca Dharma Wanita, which is the reference for state corporatist women's organisations. The word *koncowingkingism* (Javanese: friend who is behind) refers to the Javanese conception of the position and role of women "behind" the position of men, or in the concept of home, being "in the kitchen". This *koncowingking* ideology was the imagination of New Order militarism to domesticate women's political actions (Rahayu 2006). The word *koncowingkingism* in relation to state power in feminist theory was often referred to as *ibuisme-negara*. The formulation of "Panca Dharma

Wanita" positioned women as (1) wives who accompany their husbands, (2) housewives, (3) offspring bearers and child educators, (4) additional breadwinners, (5) and citizens and community members.

Before the word gender became known among activists, especially those working in the field of community empowerment, the government popularised the word "women's role", which was associated with development. The concept of "women's role in development" was a new word that became a government's programme with the support of financial institutions or international donors. The government's project to implement the concept of "women's role in development" was concretised by the establishment of the Junior Ministry of Women's Affairs (1978), which was later changed to the Ministry of Women's Affairs (Ministry of UPW). In accordance with the mandate of *GBHN REPELITA V 1988*, under the instruction of the Ministry of UPW, every university was required to establish a Centre for Women's Studies (CWS) as a scientific support in the form of gender analysis on various aspects and dimensions of development issues. This was also intended for the development and integration of women in nation building (Pudjiwati 1991).

At the same time, the word gender was used by women activists in women's NGOs and CWS as a tool to analyse social inequality, especially in the early 1990s. The mid-1980s was the birth of NGOs that specifically advocated for women's interests or upheld women's rights. Kalyanamitra, one of women's NGOs based in Jakarta, has a programme that has never existed before, namely gender training. This gender training is intended for NGOs that have both community empowerment and women's empowerment programmes. The materials include an introduction to the concepts of sex and gender, gender distinctions and discrimination within the self, family and society, and challenging development that discriminates against the female gender. At an advanced level, Kalyanamitra provides training on the use of gender analysis tools for women's empowerment programmes.

It is likely that the gender training initially organised by Kalyanamitra and other women's NGOs was a venue for the transformation of the second-wave feminist knowledge. Although this transformation was still within the framework of development and detached the concept of gender from feminism for practical reasons, the detachment of the concept of gender from its origin had reduced feminism as a political action and theory of

knowledge to the concept of gender for the purpose of women's empowerment programmes. Meanwhile, in the 1990s, there were still few women activists in Indonesia who read the work of the second-wave feminists outside the context of development. Feminists who did their Master's degrees in Europe or the US had the opportunity to read the second-wave feminist literature. Likewise, Indonesian women who did their Master's degrees in these developed countries then gained knowledge of feminism and transmitted this knowledge to Indonesia through NGOs or development programme consulting activities. In other words, feminist literature was something that was only accessed by the elites in the 1990-2000 decade and a small number of women activists.

It is important to note the success of feminist activists in establishing the Gender Studies Programme at the University of Indonesia, which was originally called the Centre for Women's Studies, in 1990 for Master's degree. This establishment was an achievement of feminist scholars in breaking androcentrism on campus, led by Saparinah Sadli and T.O. Ihromi. In this gender studies programme, feminist knowledge can be transformed to students, some of whom are already working within the state bureaucracy. In addition, "gender" courses have been taught mainly in Anthropology, Political Science, Sociology, and Linguistics, but depend largely on the lecturers' alignment with feminism. However, this success was not widespread in all universities and to date the most advanced gender studies in producing knowledge have been on the politics of affirming women's representation.

The existence of feminist lecturers has influenced the development of feminist knowledge in Indonesia. A number of women's NGOs and feminist journals in Indonesia were initiated by feminist academics. In short, female students and lecturers are significant agencies for introducing gender concepts in research and women's empowerment programmes in the community, and consultants for development policies. In particular, *Jurnal Perempuan* is the first journal that serves as a forum for writings using feminism as a theory of knowledge. Through *Jurnal Perempuan*, readers are introduced to non-development feminist theory through book reviews, which is quite significant in recognising feminist knowledge.

At the time of reformasi and afterwards, there were two prominent feminist issues, firstly, the 30% quota for women's representation in formal political

institutions written into the Election Law. The inclusion of women's issues into the state sphere was considered an achievement of women's political action in the early reformation that was significantly accepted by the public. The second issue was the struggle to uphold women's human rights, specifically related to gender-based violence and sexual violence. These two issues, raised by women/feminist activists, then entered into state policy. Among the impacts were the change of the nomenclature of the Ministry of UPW that became the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection and the inclusion of the issue of sexual violence as one of its programmes. Another manifestation of feminist knowledge in Indonesia was the birth of *Komnas Perempuan* as the work of the women's movement recognised by the state.

Feminism is now recognised as a personal and women's movement identity. Many women are brave to declare themselves feminists and they are generally connected to NGO activities, feminism courses, and feminism fan pages. Many interdisciplinary studies have been conducted to encourage various social transformations. In the context of climate justice, for example, various feminist approaches often form the basis of movements and research on environmental issues. Amidst the achievement and development of feminism knowledge in Indonesia, there are also various counter-feminism movements in the society. Conservative women's organisations and political parties in the name of religion often seek to domesticate women and/or exclude them from the public sphere. Some forms of counter-feminism that are heavily campaigned for are the call for polygamy under the pretext of family resilience.

After following the transformation of feminist knowledge in history from agency to agency, from institution to institution, this paper then aims to answer the question of "what is feminist knowledge and how is it theorised and transformed"?

Feminist Knowledge: Correcting the Tradition of "Who Knows?"

The formulation of feminist knowledge theory is an epistemological journey that is still "young" compared to existing epistemologies. Feminists feel the need to build a feminist theory of knowledge (epistemology) because they are faced with the question of "who knows" (knower) and thus has the authority as the knowledge owner.

Dale Spender (1985) revealed that the starting point of the question of "who knows" was raised by Betty Friedan in *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). In the 1950s, men were the source of public knowledge about women. According to Friedan's observation, as cited by Spender, it was men who review, analyse, and direct what women should be happy with, namely being a wife and housewife both academically and in the mass media. The definition of a happy woman was not built on women's experiences and reflections but from a male perspective. Friedan believed that men's writing about women influenced women's lives as wives, mothers, housekeepers, and even the meaning of happiness. Friedan then wanted to know the perspective of women themselves and met women in suburban areas of the US to learn about their life experiences. It turned out that many women were unhappy when required to be wives and mothers who took care of the household. They were bored and burnt out, and wanted to work and actualise their capabilities. Thus, the campaign that women were happier at home and in taking care of the household was a male assumption rather than a fact (Spender 1985, pp.7-8).

The way Friedan revealed women's experiences, according to Spender, was not yet in the framework of building a feminist theory of knowledge. However, the way Friedan explored knowledge based on women's experiences inspired "who knows" in feminist research methodology in the 1970s (Spender, 1985, p.9).

According to Spender, Ann Oakley was the feminist who started feminist methodology in research to explore the invisible existence of women in sociology. Oakley interviewed 96 women about their lives in the household. At that time, the experience of living in the household was not recognised in sociological research, which only focused on structural social relations. Oakley then found the figure of Hannah Gavron, whose life experience illustrated a spider web with structural relationships. Gavron's figure inspired Oakley to look at the experiences of other women and make Gavron a model of knowledge-making. Not only that, Oakley collected all-sex data across cultures and found that the nature of being female and male was shown to be the result of societal characterisation rather than natural traits (Spender 1985; Oakley 1995).

Spender believed that "who knows" in knowledge theory is significant. The "Who" based on sex and gender determines the formation of knowledge. In fact, knowledge that comes from women is different from knowledge that comes from men. Meanwhile, the

existing structure of knowledge theory was androcentric because it was derived from male knowledge and made women's knowledge invisible and unobservable. On this basis, feminists then built a feminist theory of knowledge (epistemology).

Previously, Simone de Beauvoir had conducted a philosophical reflection on the existence of women as "the others". The definition of women as "the others" was that women were not representations of the world. The representation of the world was male, in fact, the world itself was shaped by men (Beauvoir 1953, pp. 95-96). The consequence of this was that "who knows" and the recognition of the truth of knowledge rested with male authority. The practical implication of "who knows" was that men then created values, norms, and political meanings for the structuring of society and the state based on men's views. This showed that the common good as the political goal of citizens or the state only concerned men's perspectives and interests. Thus, in this androcentric realm of knowledge and politics, women were seen as non-existent as subjects of the world, subjects of knowledge, and subjects of politics (Code 1991).

Then what is knowledge? Lorraine Code in her work *What Can She Know: Feminist Theory and the Construction of Knowledge* (1991) attempted to build a feminist theory of knowledge by focusing on "who knows". Because feminists confront the issue of "who knows" as something abstract, featureless, which is formulated in the proposition "S knows that p", namely S is who knows the object p. When the world is represented as male (Beauvoir 1953), S is assumed to be male and in the epistemological analysis of the male community so that they make truth claims on the knowledge they get. Feminists in the realm of knowledge face issues about claims to truth in addition to "who knows" (Code 1991, p. 1).

The scientific tradition as Code puts it departs from the rationalist theory of knowledge pioneered by René Descartes (1596-1650). As quoted by Code, Descartes stated that knowledge is the production of ratio. Descartes' theory of knowledge is called rationalism. Descartes favoured the ratio as the centre of knowledge, at the same time the human body (non-ratio) was considered as something unknown in the process of knowing and creating knowledge. The construction of Descartes' theory of knowledge is also called Cartesian dualism because Descartes made clear and distinct aspects of the ratio and non-ratio (body). According to Code, the implication of Descartes' rationalism is that

women who are associated with the body are considered non-rational beings. The implication is that women's experience, reflection, and knowledge are considered as non-knowledge. The subject of knowledge in Descartes' definition is a person who has the cognitive capacity to master mathematics, astronomy, physics, and philosophy (Code 1991 pp. 5-6).

Code said that the tradition of rationalism is to seek truth based on the coherence of knowledge and reality in a proposition "S knows that p" or can be formulated in the example of "Sandra knows (S) that the door is open (p)". The scientific process is the testing of existing knowledge (prior knowledge thesis) into experiments on observed objects. The discovery of observed objects must obtain justification from the scientific community, which according to Code is dominated by male scientists or knowledge owners (Code 1991, p. 8).

The method used in the tradition of deductive rationalism simplifies the complexity of "who knows" (S) and also the object of knowledge (p). Rationalism's proposition is based on the formulas A and non-A, thus excluding any possibilities other than A and non-A. Everything must be either one (dominant) or the other (subordinate). There is no continuity between A and non-A elements. This pure logic becomes problematic when confronted with the human side that deals with feelings, emotions, and love, and considers this side as "the others" that is not in continuity with the ratio. Therefore, women's experiences related to the capacity to love and care for their family members are seen as non-knowledge because they are subjective (Code 1991, p.13).

In Code's analysis, feminists also face problems in recognising truth related to objectivity. Objectivity according to the rules of science is (1) presenting evidence that is accessible to the public and not in the form of subjective experiences such as a woman's life experience. "Who knows" or scientists, such as Copernicus, Newton, and Einstein when presenting evidence of their findings could be accessed by other scientists exactly the same as their findings. In this case, objectivity means that (2) the evidence is invariant and universal no matter how many people access it. For example, Newton's theory of gravity is invariant from the time of its discovery to the present day. For this reason, objectivity is (3) evidence in the form of facts and not values, or also called value-free (Code 1991, p. 11).

According to Code, women are hidden in the theory of knowledge because "who knows" is not gender neutral

and the criterion of objectivity does not recognise subjectivity. Meanwhile, feminists' attempts to uncover women's knowledge through their lived experiences are subjective. The subjective nature of women's knowledge is inaccessible to the public across time and space, invariant, different according to the "woman who knows" and therefore, not universal. On this basis, Code offered a subversion of "who knows" based on clear and distinct gender (Code 1991, p. 8).

Code rejected the objective/subjective dichotomy which implies that only 'purely objective' knowledge deserves epistemological recognition. *Firstly*, Code rejected the premise that some knowledge could be said to be entirely objective and some entirely subjective. According to Code, knowledge is a product of the blending of objective and subjective elements. *Secondly*, in relation to truth, Cartesian Dualism holds that either all is objective or all is subjective. The implication of this premise, according to Code, is that the intrusion of subjectivity into objectivity is seen as undermining thesis (which has been recognised as true by the scientific community) *qua* knowledge (which has not been recognised as true by the scientific community). Conversely, in the Cartesian view, if knowledge can be declared all subjective it is feared that it will fall into extreme relativism, even solipsism, which is the view that personal experience is a fact that can be trusted. Code's position rejected this notion and offered the intrusion of subjectivity into objectivity as an attempt to reclaim the feminine within the tradition of rationalism (Code 1991, p.12).

In addition, Code also examined the notion that women lack the capacity to reason. Code cited research that reveals that there are natural cognitive differences between women and men. Such findings ultimately, according to Code, depend on the political orientation of "who knows", namely it will be interpreted as an affirmation of male supremacy and female inferiority or as an indication of the need to reassess womanhood. Code cited Ruth Bleier's opinion regarding the study of the lateralisation of the human brain that the biology of the brain is shaped by the environment and individual experiences. This opinion was proven by Janet Sayers that there was no difference in brain research based on gender. One example is the belief that the male brain is good at spatial skills (math skills) while the female brain is good at verbal skills (language). This research evidence confirms Bleier's suggestion to be cautious in drawing conclusions from brain laterisation studies. Differences in female and male brain function are as plausible as the

socio-cultural factors that shape sex-based stereotypes perpetrated by parents from childhood (Code 1991, pp. 16-17).

Code arrived at a formulation for theorising feminist knowledge. *Firstly*, Code did not abandon objectivity but also did not glorify pure objectivity. She abandoned the dualism of objective and subjective so as to allow the experience of cognitive agents of different sex or gender as a source of knowledge. *Secondly*, Code used the category of sex differences to clarify "who knows" so as to allow women as owners of knowledge. In other words, Code sought to affirm that women's experience with all its emotions has epistemic status.

Until now, the debate in the philosophy of science, even among feminist philosophers themselves, is still full of dynamics. However, the affirmation of "who knows" based on the use of sex and gender categories to analyse social inequality has created a significant "knowledge revolution". The "knowledge revolution" has changed assumptions in social science, development policy, social movements, and individuals.

"Women's Issues" in the Tension of Knowledge Production and Political Action

Reflection on the journey of feminism in knowledge about "women's issues" and political action for emancipation shows that there are dynamics. In Indonesian praxis, the dynamics of uncovering "women's issues" are often in tension between issues and also between political actions and the production of knowledge to support such actions.

Knowledge production is a broad category that includes various forms of products generated by research and modelling processes that can be applied to practical action and policy. Feminism's version of knowledge production encompasses the whole reflection on action and research on personal and group experience of action, which is then analysed and formulated as models for women's political action and policy.

If we trace "women's issues" from Kartini to the present day, we can see that there are ongoing issues that are currently not creating widespread political action and significant knowledge production. For example, the issues of young marriage and polygamy. These issues are like an endemic disease, an epidemic that women activists have tried to eradicate in the past but they have never gone away and have even created dissent among activists themselves. Meanwhile, the production of counter-feminist knowledge is stronger,

using the pretext of poverty and certain religions to justify the practice of polygamy and young marriage. In contrast to the issues of polygamy and young marriage, the issues of women's representation and sexual violence are now successfully creating widespread political action and knowledge production. The strengthening of these two issues creates tension and gap with the issues of polygamy and women's labour, which have little political action and weak knowledge production.

At the beginning of the reformation, political action to expose gender-based violence in a structural context involving the policies of state authorities was strengthened. Knowledge production was also strengthened to formulate gender-based violence in past gross human rights violations. Komnas Perempuan has been instrumental in nurturing political action and knowledge production on gender-based violence. The model of remedy for victims and crisis centre development by women's NGOs was quite developed at the beginning of the reformation but was weakened especially after the issue of women's representation was strengthened.

In its development, many crisis centres established by feminist activists were closed. The government has now established an Integrated Team for the Prevention and Handling of Cases of Violence against Women and Children under the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (KPPA). This institutionalisation has actually been initiated when Khoffah Indar Parawansa became Minister of Women's Empowerment at the beginning of the reformation. In addition, the passage of the Sexual Violence Crime Law (TPKS) on 22 April 2022 was an achievement of women's political action that included women's NGOs, Komnas Perempuan, and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection.

Political action to realise the 30% quota for women's representation in parliament was strengthened at the beginning of the reformation. This strength was accompanied by the work of research institutions in producing knowledge. Initially, the Centre for Electoral Reform (CETRO) was established as an election monitoring institution and specifically helped develop political strategies for the affirmation of women's representation. Ani Soetjipto, one of feminist researchers who was active at CETRO, was quite productive in disseminating electoral knowledge production from a feminist perspective and its practical offers in newspapers. After that, campus-based research institutions such as the Centre for Political Studies (Puskapol) FISIP UI were established. Outside

the campus, such as Cakra Wikara Indonesia (CWI), the Association for Elections and Democracy (Perludem) produced research and strategy models for candidates to win legislative and local elections. They also used the results of the research to revise the Election Law, which still hinders women from winning in national and local elections.

It seems that women candidates are not only hampered by electoral administrative procedures, but fundamentally by obstacles that come from political parties. CWI has released a research report entitled *Meretas Jarak Afirmasi dan Administrasi: Studi Tentang Penerapan Kebijakan Afirmasi Pada Struktur DPP Partai Politik (Hacking the Distance between Affirmation and Administration: A Study of the Implementation of Affirmation Policies in the Leadership (DPP) Structure of Political Parties)* (2021) found problems such as: (1) the fulfilment of the 30% quota of women's representation in the formal structure of the DPP of political parties is still intended as a mere administrative requirement in order to participate in elections; (2) after the election is over, the percentage of women in the DPP tends to decrease and will increase to reach the 30% quota before the next election (CWI 2021).

The issue of women's representation in formal politics had actually become the mandate of the Third Women's Congress in Bandung in 1938. In 1939, there were four women activists who won the elections as members of the Municipal Council, namely Sudirman for Surabaya, Ema Puradiredja for Bandung, Siti Sukaptinah for Semarang, and Siti Umiyati for Cirebon. Siti Sukaptinah was later elected as a member of the Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesia's Independence (Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia/BPUPKI) in 1944 (Janti 2019). The mandate for women's representation was consistently fought for during the first elections held after Indonesia's independence in 1955 for members of the Constituent Assembly and the House of Representatives (National Archives 2015). This mandate was again declared at the Women's Congress after the 1998 reformation on 22 December 1998 in Yogyakarta and subsequently formed the Indonesian Women's Coalition as a forum for political action on women's representation.

The issues of women's representation and sexual violence, to date, have been quite advanced in political action and knowledge production. However, there is a tension and gap with the issues of women workers or "women and work". The tension is in the form of the political expression that issues of women's representation

and sexual violence receive large-scale support across gender and social class while issues of women workers get less support.

However, significant research on women and work is supported by labour research institutes such as INKRISPENA (Research Centre for Crisis and Alternative Development Strategies), TURC (Trade Union Research Centre) and academics. The book entitled *Women, Work and Social Change* (1997) written by Ratna Saptari and Brigitte Holzner has also pioneered the production of knowledge on women's labour situation. Meanwhile, the Sedane Labour Resource Centre (LIPS) has produced their own research on women workers' experiences. However, feminist political action remains weak due to the gap between the labour movement and the women's movement. Women's labour issues do not seem to mobilise the politics of all women because the social class is different and therefore the interests of "class politics" are different. In addition, the issue of women's labour is often still associated with the stigma of "PKI/Gerwani", and is therefore seen as sensitive.

In contrast to the issue of women's labour, the issue of women and the ecological crisis have received widespread, albeit temporary, acceptance. The production of knowledge about women and ecological crisis has increased significantly. Meanwhile, political action on LGBT issues is happening on a small scale and knowledge production is still limited.

Closing

This reflection has informed us that: *firstly*, "women's issues" can be reduced to the salient issues of women's representation and sexual violence. *Secondly*, the prominence of the issues of women's representation and sexual violence has opened up opportunities for conservative movements to raise the issues of polygamy and young marriage. *Thirdly*, there is a gap between the political action and knowledge production of women workers, which is expected because these issues are stigmatised and do not represent the interests of all women. *Fourthly*, a balance between political action and knowledge production is needed so that each issue of "women's issues" has significant achievements.

This reflective paper concludes with a follow-up question on why the issues of women's representation in politics and sexual violence are prominent today? Does this prominence reflect today's "women's issues"? Of course, the explanation to this question requires further research and not just a reflection as this paper does.

In addition, the praxis of feminism in Indonesia provides lessons that political action and knowledge production should be balanced. This is so that an issue of "women's issues" is not only a political action but also a research activity and knowledge production. If we refer to Lefebvre, praxis includes the totality of the material and spiritual (in the sense of knowledge, ideology, symbols). Therefore, the feminist movement should have the ability to encompass this totality so that its capabilities have emancipative power.

References

- Beauvoir, S. 1953. *The Second Sex*. penerjemah dan penyunting H.M. Parshley. Jonathan Cape: London.
- Bebel, A. & Lilienthal, M.S. 1910. *Woman and Socialism*.
- Bhattacharya, T. 2017. *Social Reproduction Theory: Remapping Class, Recentering Oppression*. Pluto Press: London.
- Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia (2022, April 3). Charles Fourier. Encyclopaedia
- Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Charles-Fourier>.
- Butler, J. 1999. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of identity*. Routledge: London & New York.
- Butler, Judith 2004, *Undoing Gender*, New York & London, Routledge.
- Charles Fourier. 2020. *New World Encyclopedia*, diakses pada 12 Juni 2021, di https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Charles_Fourier#:~:text=of%20social%20needs.-,F%C3%A9minisme,which%20its%20women%20were%20liberated.
- Code, L. 1991. *What Can She Know? Feminist Theory and the Construction of Knowledge*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca & London.
- Engels, F. 1942. *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. International Publishers: New York.
- Friedan, B. 1963. *The Feminine Mystique*, New York, Norton.
- Goekoop, C. 1989. *Hilda van Suylenburg, Scheltema & Holkema, Dutch*.
- Guide Arsip Pemilihan Umum 1955--1999, 2015, Jakarta, Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia.
- Hennessy, R. & Ingraham, C. 1997. *Materialist Feminism: A Reader in Class, Difference, and Women's Lives*. Routledge: London & New York.
- Jayawardena, K. 1986. *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*. Kali for Women: New Delhi.
- Lefebvre, H. 1961. *Critique of Everyday Life Volume II*. diterjemahkan ke dalam bahasa Inggris oleh John Moore. Verso: London & New York.
- Janti, Nur 2019, *Historia*, "Sukaptinah Berjuang Agar Bangsa dan Kaumnya Tak Dijajah", diakses pada [Historia.id](https://www.historia.id), 9 Januari 2019,

- di: <https://historia.id/politik/articles/sukaptinah-berjuang-agar-bangsa-dan-kaumnya-tak-dijajah-vxJ5d>
- Jaquette, J.S. 1989. *The Women's Movement in Latin America*. Unwin Hyman: London & USA.
- Koran Sulindo 2019, "Politik Etis dan Bangkitnya 'Kesadaran' Tionghoa", diakses pada 2 Juni 2022, di: <https://koransulindo.com/politik-etis-dan-bangkitnya-kesadaran-tionghoa/>
- McKissack, P. 1992. *Sojourner Truth: ain't I a Woman?* Scholastic: New York.
- Mill, J.S. 1869. *The Subjection of Women*. Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer: London.
- Mitchell, J. 1971. *Women Estate*. Penguin: London.
- Oakley, A. 1972. *Sex, Gender and Society*. Gower/Maurice Temple Smith: England.
- Prisma. 1975. *Wanita dan Cakrawala Baru*. Lembaga Penelitian, Pendidikan dan Penerangan Ekonomi dan Sosial: Jakarta.
- Rahayu, R.I. 2019. "Membongkar Asumsi Kerja Perempuan: Kontribusi Pudjiwati Sajogyo". dalam Mohammad Shohibuddin dan Adi D. Bahri. *Perjuangan Keadilan Agraria*. Insist Press: Yogyakarta.
- Rahayu, R.I. 2006. "Militarisme Orde Baru dan Ideologi Konkowingking: Penguatan Ideologi Perempuan Indonesia Versi Ksatria Jawa" dalam Baskara T. Wardaya (penyunting). *Warisan Otoritarianisme Orde Baru*. ELSAM and PUSDEP: Jakarta.
- Rahayu, R.I. 2020. *IndoProgress*, "Feminisme Anti-Imperialis Gerwani di Panggung Perang Dingin", diakses pada: 13 Februari 2020, <https://indoprogress.com/2020/02/feminisme-anti-imperialis-gerwani-di-panggung-perang-dingin/>.
- Robinson, H.J.H., Wright, C.D., & Massachusetts. 1889. *Early factory labor in New England: (from the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor for 1883)*. Wright & Potter Print. Co: Boston.
- Samosir, H., Mulyani, D.S., & Margret, A. 2021. *Meretas Jarak Afirmasi dan Administrasi: Studi Tentang Penerapan Kebijakan Afirmasi Pada Struktur DPP Partai Politik*. Cakra Wikara Indonesia: Jakarta.
- Saptari, R. & Holzner, B. 1997. *Perempuan Kerja dan Perubahan Sosial: Sebuah Pengantar Studi Perempuan*. Pustaka Utama Grafiti: Jakarta.
- Sardjoni, U. *Sin Po* "Perkawinan di RRT, *Sin Po*, 26 Januari 1953.
- Sajogyo, P. 1991. *Latar Belakang Perlunya Pendirian Pusat Studi Wanita Dalam Lingkungan Perguruan Tinggi, Pusat Studi Wanita, Institut Pertanian Bogor*.
- Sargent, Lydia. (ed) 1981. *Women and Revolution: A Discussion of the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism*. Black Rose Books: Montreal.
- Simpson, J.A., Weiner, E.S.C., & Oxford University Press. 1989. *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Clarendon Press Oxford.
- Spender, D. 1985. *For the Record: The Making and Meaning of Feminist Knowledge*. The Women's Press: London.
- Toer, P.A. 1997. *Panggil Aku Kartini Saja*. Hasta Mitra: Jakarta.
- Vogel, L. 1983. *Marxisme and the Oppression of Women: Toward Unitary Theory*. Rutgers University Press: USA.
- Vogel, L. 1995. *Women's Questions: Essays for a Materialist Feminism*. Routledge: New York.
- Walby, S. 1990. *Theorizing Patriarchy*. Blackwell: Oxford-UK & Cambridge-USA.
- Wollstonecraft, M. 2004. *A vindication of the rights of woman*. Penguin Books: London.

Endnotes

- 1 Despite the contradictions between the agendas of WIDF and ICW during the Cold War, both made considerable contributions to the Commission on the Advancement of the Status of Women at the UN until the World Women's Conferences in 1975 in Mexico, the second conference in Copenhagen in 1980, followed by Nairobi in 1985, and Beijing in 1995.

Islamic Feminism in Indonesia: Reflection, Action, and Praxis

Musdah Mulia

Universitas Islam Negeri Syarif Hidayatullah
Jalan Kertamukti, Ciputat, Tangerang Selatan, Banten 15412

m-mulia@indo.net.id

Manuscript Chronology: received 12 July 2022, revised 19 July 2022, accepted 11 August 2022

Abstract

This paper reflects the author's experience working as both an academic and activist in the Islamic feminism movement. Unlike other feminist movements, Islamic feminism bases its ideas on the humanist, inclusive and egalitarian teachings of Islam. Islamic feminism seeks to empower women spiritually and morally, eliminate injustice, and promote gender equality in all spheres of life. Being an Islamic feminist is synonymous with jihad against a hierarchical gender system that erodes the humanitarian potential of women, and further reformulates Islam as a source of authority that liberates women. Islamic feminists contributed to the production of the idea of egalitarianism and gender activism by putting women centred on their own freedoms. They managed to rediscover the hidden knowledge of the egalitarian principles of Islam buried in patriarchal culture, which is the main feature of Islamic feminist epistemology. The author further recommends the importance of Islamic feminism being integrated into Islamic studies in universities in Indonesia.

Keywords: Islamic feminism, Islamic studies, patriarchy, khalifah fil ardh, tawhid, feminist epistemology, CLD KHI, CEDAW, reform of family law

Introduction

The term Islamic feminism began to appear in various literatures in the early 20th century, including in Thomas Philipp's *Feminism and Nationalist Politics in Egypt*, 1978. The paper portrayed the Islamic feminism movement in Egypt due to the influence of the Egyptian Revolution of 1919. He also mentioned a number of Islamic reform thinkers, such as Rifa'ah Rafi al-Tahtawi (1801-1873), Qasim Amin (1865-1908), and Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905). Their writings sharply criticised various Islamic understandings that undermine the dignity of women, causing social regression and injustice in society. Philipp's writing also documented the activities of early Islamic feminists such as Huda Sha'rawi, founder of the Egyptian Women's Organisation in 1923 (Lois Beck & Nikki Keddie 1987 p. 277).

Other writings on Islamic feminism can be found in the works of Aisyah Taymuriyah (Egyptian writer and poet), Malak Hifni Nasir, and Nabawiyah Musa (both Egyptian feminists), Zainab Fawwaz (Lebanese writer), Taj Sultanah (Iran), Fatma Aliye (Turkey), Rokeya Sakhawat Hossain, Nazzar Sajjad Haydar, and Ruete (all three from Zanzibar). They were all known as pioneers in fostering feminist awareness and working to eradicate cultural values and ideologies that marginalise women

(Romli 2010). For the Indonesian context, early thoughts that were considered the forerunners of the idea of Islamic feminism can be explored from the writings of colonialism-era female figures, such as Kartini, Dewi Sartika, and Rahmah El-Yunusiyah (Anwar 2021, p. 43).

The term Islamic feminism is still controversial; largely, conservative groups refuse to attach the term feminism to Islam because the two words are considered contradictory, Islam is on the path of faith, while feminism is considered secular. Therefore, Islam and feminism cannot be united (Moghadam 2002, p. 71). Moderates and progressives, such as Laila Ahmed, Rifat Hassan, and Fatima Mernissi agree with Islamic feminism because feminism is in no way contradictory to the essence of Islam as both are in line to promote justice and equality of all human beings, including men and women. Although in practice Islamic societies tend to position women as subordinates because the teachings of equality are still poorly understood (Mojab 2001, p. 124). I agree with the second group's view that the core of Islamic teachings is to uphold justice in its essence, including gender-based justice. There is no contradiction between feminism and Islam.

Unlike other feminist movements, Islamic feminism directs its movement towards the transformation of just and democratic social systems and institutions by promoting the principles of justice and gender equality based on Islamic teachings and traditions. Islamic feminism refers to thoughts and movements that are always historical and contextual and in line with the growing awareness of Islamic society in responding to various social inequalities.

Islamic feminism moves to ensure that people, especially women, do not experience discrimination, exploitation, and violence due to gender-biased religious understanding and practice and patriarchal values. Their efforts included promoting, critically questioning, reinterpreting, and internalising the value of justice by considering the context based on Islamic teachings (Anwar 2018). Thus, Islamic feminism is an idea and movement that bases its struggle on Islamic teachings and traditions that are humanist, inclusive, and prioritise the principles of *maqashid shari'ah* (the objective purpose of sharia) to eliminate all forms of gender injustice in society.

Furthermore, the terms Islamic feminist and Muslim feminist are debated. Some experts, such as Cooke, define Muslim feminists as feminists who do not always base their studies on religious texts like Islamic Studies. They are called Muslim feminists because they are Muslims, but they do not necessarily pay attention to or refer to Islamic teachings in their feminist ideas. Instead, Islamic feminists use the Islamic tradition as a basis for consideration in their studies and movements. Islamic feminists assert that they are questioning the epistemology of Islamic teachings and believe that the essence of Islam is not contradictory to the idea of feminism (Badran & Cooke 1990, p. 60).

In this paper, I avoid the term Muslim feminist for simply linguistic reasons; the term is only suitable for male feminists; for women it is called *Muslimah* feminists. To avoid linguistic ambiguity, I choose to use the gender-neutral word "Islam". Therefore, Islamic feminists are those (women and men) who critically question various forms of gender injustice in Islamic teachings and traditions and take concrete actions to end the oppression that causes these injustices by using Islamic teachings as a basis. In other words, Islamic feminists seek to uphold justice, realise equality, and humanise human in order to create morally good people for the creation of a just and civilised society (in Islamic terms, *baldah thayyibah wa rabbun ghafur*).

This paper elaborates on the ideas and movements of Islamic feminism in Indonesia, especially through the reflection on the author's personal experience of being an Islamic feminist. Furthermore, it portrays various actions and praxis of Islamic feminism in Indonesia in formulating a humanist-feminist interpretation of Islam in order to uphold the values of gender justice towards the realisation of a democratic, just, and civilised society.

Becoming an Islamic Feminist

As a woman who grew up in a traditional Islamic boarding school (*pesantren*), I, no different from most Islamic women, was taught that women are God's creatures who are different from men. Not just physically, but also in status. Men's status is higher because they can be prophets, prayer leaders, family leaders, and many professions that only men can do. Women are simply called husband's companions, helping to earn a living even though they are the main support of the family economy. Women, even if they are highly educated, are still expected to be wives who obey their husbands, give birth to offspring, and maintain the good name of the family, even the good name of the community, religion, nation, and state.

The discourse about women circulating in *pesantren* and society generally revolves around the issues of well, bed, and kitchen. No wonder, if the title of housewife is far more important than all educational degrees and professions that women struggle to achieve; some even achieve them with tears. In addition, most women are haunted by fear, insecurity, lack of confidence, and even a sense of sin because throughout their lives they are intimidated by religious teachings that contain horror and threats of *haram*; all are *haram*! Even worse, in the afterlife it has been clearly described that most women inhabit hell, even though they have the chance to enter heaven, they are just spectators because all the pleasures in the form of angels, sexual satisfaction, and spirituality are fully prepared for men.

Fortunately, various interpretations of Islam that undermine women's humanity were not strong enough to influence my life because my family environment was moderate and placed great importance on education. My mother was the first woman in her village to complete *pesantren* education, and my father completed higher education, which was rare in his community. In addition, my maternal grandmother was a brave woman. She chose to be a single parent, raising her five sons by

cultivating the rice fields and managing ponds left behind by her husband. Every year, after the harvest, she travelled around South Sulawesi, Java, and Sumatra to visit relatives and families while enjoying tourism. To me, she was a true example of an independent, strong, and authoritative woman.

However, my family still expected me to be a skilled woman, so I took sewing, cooking, and embroidery courses. My grandmother and mother still believed that women should be skilled in domestic work, so I became a feminist who enjoyed cooking and sewing. My mother's message, which has stuck in my memory, was full of feminism spirit: "women must have morals, work, and have wealth". This means that women must have spiritual strength to be noble, productive by producing works and services, and economically independent. The spirit of feminism intensified after I got married because I met a husband who also shares the sense of humanity.

In addition, the long experience of struggling with issues of education, women's empowerment, and vulnerable groups, which started from activities in the IPPNU youth organisation, then the *Fatayat NU* and *NU* women's organisation, honed my sense of gender sensitivity. Being part of *NU* women's organisation for more than 25 years has taught me that women are the main victims of unjust behaviour in society, but most of them do not realise that they are victims. How ironic! Many women still believe that they were created as weak and subordinate beings and must submit to men. In fact, they believe that obedience to men is a prerequisite to enter heaven.

Seeing this reality in society, I was inspired to make efforts to strengthen literacy and education in order to make people, especially women, aware of their true identity as whole human beings, endowed with dignity, and equal to men. At the same time, it reminds women of their moral responsibility as spiritual beings as well as family members and community members.

My critical awareness increased after moving to Jakarta and pursuing postgraduate education at *UIN Syahid Jakarta* (1991-1997). I was fortunate to do my postgraduate education with Prof. Dr. Harun Nasution, a renowned Islamic reformer and pioneer of the Islamic higher education movement in Indonesia. Although he did not call himself a feminist, his ideas and activities in education were full of egalitarian values and gender justice. During my study, I digested the writings of Islamic feminists, such as Rifa'ah Rafi al-Tahtawi, Qasim Amin, Muhammad Abduh, Riffat Hassan (1995), Fatima Mernissi, Ziba Mir-Hosseini, Asghar Ali Engineer

(1992), Amina Wadud (1994), Nawal As-Sa'adawi, Laila Ahmed, Margot Badran, and Azza Karam. I also read the writings of Indonesian thinkers, such as Saparinah Sadli, Toeti Heraty Noerhadi, Wardah Hafid, Lies Marcoes, Nurul Agustina, Nursyahbani Katjasungkana, Julia Suryakusuma, Kamala Candrakirana, Mansour Fakih, and Masdar Mas'udi. At that time, there was not much Indonesian feminist writing. Now, I am happy to see the emergence of a number of Islamic feminists, both women and men, some of whom seem very militant.

My feminist thinking continues to evolve, influenced by encounters, conversations and intense discussions with women activists and pro-democracy activists in various organisations that are vocal about gender justice, such as Kalyanamitra, Solidaritas Perempuan, Kapal Perempuan, Mitra Perempuan, Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia, Komnas Perempuan, Komnas HAM, Yayasan Rahima, Fahmina Institute, Rumah KitaB, Yayasan Pulih, Yayasan Kesehatan Ibu, Yayasan Puan Amal Hayati, and last but not least, *Jurnal Perempuan* with Gadis Arivia's feminist perspective on philosophy. Likewise, I gained insight from fellow progressive researchers at the Institute for Religious and Gender Studies (Lembaga Kajian Agama dan Jender/LKAJ). Finally, through ICRP, an interfaith organisation, I have come to realise that religious-based gender injustice is not only found in Islam, but also in all religions and beliefs. Therefore, it is important to collaborate with feminists from all religions and beliefs to eliminate gender-biased and patriarchal interpretations and practices of religious traditions.

I am very careful not to mention the names of feminists in this paper because not everyone is comfortable with the term feminist. There are still many who, despite their efforts to fight for gender equality and justice, are reluctant to be called feminists. This is also the case in Egypt, as told by Omaima Abou-Bakr, the founder of the Islamic feminism movement in Egypt. As she explained in our conversation in Cairo in 2014, the term feminist was not widely recognised by the public, so it was no surprise that we feminists were only known in academic circles. It was only in the last few years, especially after the 25 January 2011 Revolution that we started organising seminars, conferences, and workshops, and since then the term Islamic feminism has been commonly used.

The discomfort of using the term feminist is partly due to various misconceptions about feminism. Some consider feminist movement as a Western product that was deliberately developed to destroy Islam; an anti-family movement, anti-women's nature, anti-marriage,

and anti-child protection. All these accusations are baseless and highly erroneous. The core of feminist movement is to uphold justice and equality for all human beings, especially women who have been the most disadvantaged. I believe that upholding justice is at the core of the teachings of all religions and beliefs.

Being a feminist, including an Islamic feminist, is not just about fighting or demanding for women's human rights as human beings and as full citizens, but also actively making efforts to strengthen women's literacy and education so that they are able to fulfil their human obligations as family members, community members, citizens, and even at the global level as citizens of the world. Women must appear as moral agents in various transformation and humanisation actions to defend and uphold justice for all, especially vulnerable and oppressed groups (*mustadh'afin*), including groups with disabilities, promote compassion and empathy for humanity as spiritual beings, maintain peace and social cohesion, and care for environmental sustainability. The characteristics of Islamic feminists are certainly far from being arrogant, self-willed, enslaving others: men or women, ignoring individual obligations to parents and family and social obligations to the wider community. And finally, and most importantly, is that feminists do not neglect spirituality.

My dissertation entitled *Negara Islam: Pemikiran Husain Haikal (Islamic State: The Thought of Husain Haikal)* (1997; 2001) has included feminist thoughts regarding the rights of Islamic women in politics. The Islamic state is obliged to protect and fulfil the basic rights of citizens, including women. Therefore, all forms of discriminatory, exploitative and violent behaviour, especially against women, are not justified in an Islamic state for any reasons. Similarly, my inaugural speech as Research Professor of Religious Literature (1999) addressed the theme *Potret Perempuan dalam Lektur Agama: Rekonstruksi Pemikiran Islam Menuju Masyarakat Egaliter dan Demokratis (Portrait of Women in Religious Literature: Reconstruction of Islamic Thoughts towards an Egalitarian and Democratic Society)*. It strongly condemned views that undermine the dignity of women as written in various types of religious literatures in Indonesia. After that, I produced a number of books that outspokenly discussed the importance of strengthening religious and cultural literacy and the fulfilment of women's human rights, especially reproductive rights and health.

In early 1998, along with the reformation era in this country, researchers at the Office of Research and Development Agency (Balitbang) of the Ministry

of Religious Affairs established the Institute for Religious and Gender Studies (LKAJ), which actively facilitated various critical discussions related to issues of democracy, feminism, and human rights, especially from the perspective of Islamic teachings. Then, at the end of 1999, LKAJ, together with Solidaritas Perempuan, launched six books voicing the views of Islamic feminism, namely *Ikhtiar Mengatasi Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga (Efforts to Overcome Domestic Violence)* by Ciciek Farha (1999), *Pengasuhan Anak dalam Keluarga Islam (Childcare in the Islamic Family)* by Fuaduddin T.M. (1999), *Kodrat Perempuan dalam Islam (The Nature of Women in Islam)* by Nasarudin Umar, *Perempuan sebagai Kepala Rumah Tangga (Women as Heads of Households)* by Ratna Batara Munti (1999), *Pembagian Kerja Rumah Tangga dalam Islam (Division of Domestic Work in Islam)* by Istiadah (1999), and *Pandangan Islam tentang Poligami (Islamic Views on Polygamy)* by Musdah Mulia (1999).

Then, in early 2000, the idea of revising Islamic family law emerged and this became a central feminist issue in various Islamic countries. Ziba Mir-Hosseini (2013), an Islamic feminist from Iran, was one of the figures who sharply criticised the existence of gender injustice in Islamic family law. As the Chairperson of the Gender Mainstreaming Team at the Ministry of Religious Affairs (2001-2007), I also positively welcomed the idea of reforming Islamic family law. Together with feminists and progressive scholars, our team managed to formulate a reform of Islamic family law under the name Counter Legal Draft: Compilation of Islamic Law (abbreviated as CLD KHI) in 2004 (Gender Mainstreaming Team 2004).

The concept of Islamic family law reform in the form of CLD KHI did not receive a positive response in the country; it has even been strongly rejected. Surprisingly, even though it was officially rejected by the Indonesian Ministry of Religious Affairs, the desire of many groups to study it scientifically remains. In fact, it was warmly welcomed and highly appreciated internationally. Not only Islamic educational institutions were interested in studying it scientifically, but also secular institutions. Of course, as the result of scientific research, no one has the right to abolish CLD KHI or prohibit its dissemination.

Since its publication in 2004 until now, there have been more than 50 institutions and universities, both at home and abroad, that have invited me and other team members to discuss its contents. It was such a blessing in disguise that because of CLD KHI I had the opportunity to travel to various countries, fulfilling the invitations of a number of institutions and universities interested in

studying it. I was also active in explaining the importance of reforming Islamic family law to end various forms of discrimination, exploitation, and gender-based violence, especially against women in family life. This activity also made me more intensely involved in the global Islamic feminism movement.

I need to mention some of key institutions that have reviewed CLD KHI, namely the Islamic Family Law Institute, Harvard University, USA (2004) - just a few months after CLD KHI was announced - then, respectively, Passau University in Germany (2005), Aga Khan University (The Institute for the Study of Muslim Civilization) in London (2005), The 10th AWID International Forum on Women's Rights and Development in Bangkok (2005), EHESS institute in France (2007), and Islamic Feminism Training in Davao, Philippines (2007).

Most surprisingly, I was invited to present CLD KHI at the 2008 International Conference on Islamic Feminism in Barcelona, Spain, organised by Junta Islamica Catalana, a progressive Islamic organisation in Spain. A year later (2009), the International Conference on Islamic Feminism in Malaysia also provided space to discuss CLD KHI. In 2011, the Moroccan Islamic feminist movement held a workshop on Islamic family law reform and CLD KHI became the main reference. In 2012, the Wellesley College in Boston chose CLD KHI as one of the materials for training women leaders. In the same year (2012), CLD KHI draft was presented at Dokuz Eylul University in Izmir, Turkey. The discussion of CLD KHI gained momentum at the Islamic Feminism Conference in Alexandria, which gave birth to the Alexandria Declaration (March 2014), published by Bibliotheca Alexandrina Egypt. This Declaration was not only formulated by Islamic feminists, but also famous scholars, including from Al-Azhar, Egypt. The Declaration places the principle of gender equality as an integral concept in defining the relationship between men and women in Islam and encourages women's broad participation in the public sphere.

Not to exaggerate, CLDKHI was the most phenomenal product of Indonesian Islamic feminism. Unfortunately, the idea of reform has yet to be implemented, mainly due to the low level of religious and cultural literacy among the government and the public. However, I remain optimistic that the idea of Islamic family law reform will be accepted in the future. It is evident that after 15 years, one of CLD KHI's proposals, namely an increase in the minimum age of marriage, was successfully adopted with the passage of Law Number 16 of 2019 on the Amendments to Law Number 1 of 1974 concerning Marriage, that marriage is permitted

when the male and female parties have reached the age of 19 years old. Equality in marriage age has been recognised.

Reflecting on our work in drafting CLD KHI, I conclude that feminism's work patterns are identical to the ones of intellectual work. They are always critical of social phenomena and sharply question why inequality and injustice occur, especially against vulnerable groups such as women. Feminists are actually warriors who tirelessly search for new ideas that better guarantee the realisation of justice and fight to implement them in people's lives despite facing a steep and winding road full of challenges and obstacles.

For me, being a feminist and a Muslim woman is not confusing; both go hand in hand without any contradiction. Feminist theories are like reading glasses, helping me to see more clearly the reality of society and various gender injustices in it. The fact of social inequality stirred my humanitarian consciousness to formulate an advocacy movement to realise justice for all. Feminist thinking that is drawn from Islamic teachings has actually strengthened my spirituality because I am increasingly convinced of the truth of Islamic teachings in upholding justice.

In conclusion, being a feminist and a Muslim woman is to be a person who is responsible for implementing the vision of human creation as *khalifah fil ardh* with a concrete mission of *amar ma'ruf nahi munkar* (transformation and humanisation efforts) to the best of my ability, in order to create a society free from the fetters of ignorance, poverty, and evil, free from patriarchal culture that erodes women's humanity. In other words, being an Islamic feminist is synonymous with being a moral or ethical agent who is firmly grounded in Islamic spiritual values.

Epistemological Foundation of Islamic Feminism

Awareness of the bias of patriarchal values in the interpretation of sacred texts has long been felt by Islamic reform thinkers, such as Rifa'ah Rafi al-Tahtawi, Qasim Amin, Muhammad Abduh, and Tahir Mahmood (Romli 2010). Starting with Rifa'ah Rafi al-Tahtawi, the first Islamic thinker who wrote about the status of women. He boldly stated that a woman's honour lies in her education, not her dress. *Hijab* is not a guarantee of a woman's honour. According to him, Islam is a religion that places great importance on education, including for women. Islam values human logic so much that it places critical reasoning on par with revelation. That is why, after

returning from France, he fought for the promotion of education for Egyptian women (Al-Tahtawi 1843).

Qasim Amin was no less firm in his fight for justice for women. He highlighted in his two books: *Al-Mar'ah al-Jadidah (New Women)* and *Tahrir al-Mar'ah (Women's Freedom)* the need to liberate women. According to him, a nation cannot develop well when women are powerless. Wives, according to him, have only been treated as sexual objects. Women must be empowered through education, freedom of dress, and the abolition of polygamy. Islam glorifies women as free human beings, so all forms of restraint on women in the form of *hijab*, *muhrim*, and others must be eliminated (Amin 1998).

Meanwhile, Muhammad Abduh elaborated on Islamic teachings related to the concept of family and strictly prohibited polygamy. To him, the Qur'anic verse on polygamy only explains the socio-historical context of the *Jahiliyah* culture at that time, not the commandment of polygamy. Islamic teachings on family prioritise the principle of equality between husband and wife; both must complement, protect, and communicate with respect and love. The ultimate goal of Islamic marriage is to realise *sakinah mawaddah wa rahmah*, a peaceful life for husband and wife (Abduh 1881).

Finally, Tahir Mahmood, an Islamic law expert from Tunisia, said that family law used in Islamic societies is the result of a patriarchal interpretation of Islam. He then identified thirteen crucial issues in Islamic family law that must be reformed, namely the minimum age of marriage, the role of guardians, the importance of marriage registration, the economic capacity of husband and wife in marriage, polygamy, family live, restrictions on the husband's right to divorce, the rights and duties of husband and wife in marriage and after divorce, pregnancy and its implications, parental consent (*ijbar*), the distribution and amount of inheritance rights, mandatory wills (*wajibah*), and endowment (*waqf*) (Mahmood 1987, pp. 11-12).

The religious interpretations challenged by Islamic reformers are not only discriminatory against women, but also ignore women's feelings and experiences. Whereas women's experiences are important to be considered in various public policies, including in the drafting of family law. Women feel patronised because their experience and knowledge are ignored in theological reflection. Another form of marginalising women's experience in theological interpretation is by prohibiting women from actively studying and

teaching theological traditions. A critical attitude towards tradition in the context of women's experience is essential, not just adding a new perspective to the existing order. Women's experience is indispensable in reconstructing gender-biased interpretations in the name of religion.

For this reason, Islamic feminists choose Islam as a frame of reference in their epistemic production of gender justice and equality and the elimination of various gender injustice practices in Muslim societies. Generally, feminists use a contextual approach that prioritises critical reasoning and women's experiences. In addition, Islamic feminists are particularly interested in supporting spiritual equality because it gives women the ethical agency they need to be valued as equal beings before God (Anwar 2021, p. 34).

At least the following four things can be used as the epistemological foundation of Islamic feminism. *First*, the liberating concept of tawhid (monotheism). Tawhid is actually a testimony of Muslims that affirms that there is no God except Allah SWT and Muhammad as his messenger. With tawhid, Muslims (women and men) are committed not to worship other gods in the form of humans (rulers, businessmen, religious leaders, husbands, and so on), or power, wealth, ideology, intellectual ability, political parties, organisations, tribes, and so on.

Islamic feminism concludes that a correct understanding of tawhid will lead to the principles of equality, justice and human freedom. The belief that no human being is equal to God, in turn, gives birth to a view of human equality as fellow creatures. No human being should be deified in the sense that it is to be depended upon, feared, worshipped, and all their actions are to be regarded as unconditionally right. The king is not god to the people, the husband is not god to the wife, the rich is not god to the poor, and so on. Unconditional fear and obedience to a king, leader, superior or husband that exceeds the faithfulness and fear of God is a denial of the principle of tawhid. Thus, tawhid is not just a static religious doctrine. It is an active energy that enables humans to place God as God, and humans as humans. The acceptance of the meaning of tawhid not only leads to individual salvation, but also gives birth to an egalitarian and civilised society (Mulia 2005, pp. 6-9).

Second, the vision of human creation. A number of verses explain the vision of human creation to be *khalifah fil ardh* (leader or ruler of life on earth). This vision can be realised through the main human mission of *amar*

ma'rûf nahi munkar (transformation and humanisation efforts). This sacred task cannot be done by one gender, male or female only. As human beings, who both carry the mandate of caliphate, men and women and other gender types are ordered by God to work together and collaborate to carry out *amar ma'rûf nahi munkar* for the sake of the realisation of a right, decent, and beautiful world order in God's grace (al-Taubah 9: 71).

All human diversity is in order to carry out the mandate as *khalifah* by making various transformation and humanisation efforts in order to create a civilised society. In this context, humans are not judged based on sex, gender, ethnicity, religion, and other primordial ties, but solely based on the quality of faithfulness, namely their sincerity in carrying out the mandate of *khalifah* and carrying out the main mission of humanity.

Third, the concept of Islam as a religion of mercy (*rahmatan lil-'âlamîn*). Islam is a religion that was taught to spread mercy (love full of goodness) for all creatures in the universe (al-Anbiyâ 21:107). The message of mercy in Islam is widespread in Islamic texts, both in the Qur'an and Hadiths. The word *rahmah*, *rahmân*, *rahîm*, and its derivatives are mentioned repeatedly in the Qur'an in a large number of verses, more than 90. The genuine meaning of the word is compassion or love. A Hadith Qudsi states, "*Anâ ar-rahmân. Anâ ar-rahîm*" (I am the most merciful. I am the most loving). This function of mercy was elaborated by the Prophet Muhammad with his saying: "*Inni bu'itstu li utammima makârim al-akhlâq*" (I was sent by God to establish the noble morality of humanity). The Prophet condemned violent, coercive, discriminatory, and other such behaviours (Âli 'Imrân, 3:159).

The message of mercy should inspire Muslims to build a life order based on the following four pillars. First, respect for human dignity (*karamatul insan*). Second, respect for human equality before the law (*al-musâwah amâma al-hukm*). Third, respect for the rights of human fellowship (*al-ukhuwwah*). Fourth, enforcement of justice (*iqâmat al-'adl*). The four pillars of life must be upheld by every Muslim, regardless of sex, gender, ethnicity, skin colour, language, and so on.

Fourth, the concept of *maqâshid al-syarî'ah*. Religious leaders conclude that the objective goal of Islam (*maqâshid al-syarî'ah*) is to humanise humans through the protection of the following five basic rights. First, *hifdz al-nafs*, the protection of the right to life. This implies that Islam guarantees the protection of human life and body, without exception. The implication is that no one should harm, harass, kill, or discriminate and

commit violence against others on any grounds. Second, *hifdz al-'aql*, the protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression. This means that Islam provides space for all humans to have opinions and express opinions, thoughts, ideas, of course in appropriate and polite ways so that no one restricts and suppresses the thoughts and opinions of others.

Third, *hifdz an-nasl*, the protection of reproductive rights, especially for women. Islam teaches respect for human reproductive functions so that women who are menstruating, pregnant, giving birth, and breastfeeding get special dispensation not to perform certain worship services, and they are even promised rewards for obeying to keep these reproductive functions. In relation to reproductive functions, Islam guarantees protection for all women from discriminatory, exploitative, and violent treatments. Fourth, *hifdh al-mâl*, the protection of individual property rights. This protection implies the guarantee of choices of work, profession, right to wage, as well as security of property rights. Islam condemns all forms of unjust and brutal treatment of human property, such as deprivation of private property rights, corruption, misappropriation, embezzlement, eviction, environmental destruction, and so on. Finally, *hifdh al-dîn*, the protection of the right to freedom of religion. Islam guarantees freedom of religion, and on the contrary, condemns all unjust actions, such as intolerance, intimidation, coercion, and oppression of others just because their beliefs are different. Islam continues to encourage parents to teach the correct religion to children. Preachers may also spread religious teachings while maintaining a polite attitude full of wisdom, without threats, intimidation, and coercion.

The Core of the Study of the Indonesian Islamic Feminist Movement

The Reformation era in Indonesia after the fall of the New Order (1998) provided new spaces for the process of democratisation and regional autonomy that should be able to change the culture and structure of Indonesia to become more egalitarian. However, the reinforcement of fundamentalism, especially *Salafism* and *Wahabism*, which has led to radicalism in Indonesia, has made efforts to uphold democracy, especially in relation to gender relations, more exhausting.

Why so? There have been many convincing theses that women are always in the position of victims whenever a society experiences fundamentalism, especially in the context of religion. Women often become the target object of fundamental interpreters who hate women -

misogynists. Because most of the interpreters are men, the interpretations also have the tendency to undermine the dignity of women. Religious fundamentalism gives birth to acts of radicalism that erode women's humanity. If a society or state is radicalised, the domestication of women becomes the first political programme (Armstrong 2003, pp. 23-25).

Actually, the development of Islamic discourse and gender equality in Indonesia is much more progressive than in Islamic countries, especially in the Middle East; it is just that the progressive discourse has never become mainstream in society. Indonesian Islamic feminist activists face substantial challenges from within the majority of Muslims, who tend to be more conservative due to the strong influence of Islamic fundamentalism. The struggle of Islamic feminists to abolish the practice of female circumcision, child marriage, forced marriage, trafficking (of women and children), polygamy, various forms of sexual harassment and violence, as well as advocacy efforts to defend minority rights have faced enormous obstacles, not only from fundamentalist groups, but also from conservative circles within moderate Islamic organisations such as NU and Muhammadiyah (Marcoes 2021, pp. 253-255).

Conservative and fundamentalist groups both use religious arguments to relegate women to the domestic sphere and perpetuate patriarchal culture even more strictly. This can be seen in the massive fundamentalist campaign with the slogans: "The beauty of polygamy", "Let's get married early to avoid adultery", "Stop Dating", "Indonesia LGBT emergency", "Islam anti-feminism", and so on. Faced with increasingly undemocratic conditions, especially due to the obstacles of radicalism that impose anti-humanist-feminist interpretations, as well as due to economic globalisation that makes women trapped in poverty and underdevelopment, Indonesian Islamic feminists rise up to find solutions. Among other things, they try to reformulate a theological system that prioritises universal religious moral messages, such as the values of equality, fellowship, freedom, justice, and peace.

The focus of Islamic feminist studies is very broad, ranging from countering the issue of radicalism by offering a new understanding of the meaning of jihad, the concept of nationality and citizenship, and other political issues. It includes discussions and advocacy efforts to build gender equality in various regulations, laws, and public policies that contain discriminatory elements against women. In addition, it also formulates

cultural efforts to strengthen the religious literacy of the community, especially women's groups so that they have a full understanding of their identity as dignified human beings.

However, in this paper I limit myself to three issues of Islamic feminist studies. Firstly, the issue of women's bodies and existence. Secondly, the issue of marriage and the revision of the Family Law, and finally, the issue of women's leadership in the public sphere. On these three issues, I try to formulate a new interpretation that I call a humanist-feminist religious interpretation as stated in the book *Muslimah Reformis: Perempuan Pembaru Keagamaan (Muslimah Reformist: Women Religious Reformers)* (2005) and I then expand the discussion of the book to *Ensiklopedia Muslimah Reformis: Pokok-Pokok Pemikiran untuk Reinterpretasi dan Aksi (Encyclopedia of Muslimah Reformists: Key Thoughts for Reinterpretation and Action)* (2019).

Interpretations of Women's Bodies, Existence, and Creation

Generally, mainstream interpretations of women's bodies are very dehumanising. Women's bodies are considered *aurat* and therefore women should not show their bodies in public spaces. Islamic teachings that are widely socialised almost entirely lead to the domestication of women; women should stay at home taking care of their husbands and children with the promise of going to heaven. This makes women insecure about their activities.

Similarly, mainstream interpretation of human existence and creation places women as subordinate beings. For example, it is said that Prophet Adam was the first human being, while his wife, Eve, was created from his rib. In fact, the story of Eve's creation from a rib has no accurate basis in the Qur'an. There is not even a single word in the Qur'an that means rib. This gender-biased interpretation must be eliminated in order for society to value women more as whole human beings.

Regarding the creation of human beings, a number of Qur'anic verses are found, especially *an-Nisa*, 4:1, *al-Baqarah*, 2: 187 and 228, *al-Nisa*, 4:1, *al-Hujurat*, 49:13, *al-Mu'min*, 40:40, *al-Dzariat*: 56, *al-Isra'*:70, affirm the common origin of human creation; that all humans are created from one, namely *nafs wahidah*. The moral message is that humans must respect each other because essentially, they come from the same source. There is no distinction between one human being and another, except for the quality of their faithfulness and

that only Allah should judge, not humans (al-Hujurat, 49: 13).

Islamic feminism offers a new interpretation that is more humanist-feminist to ensure that women's bodies are not *aurat*, and their existence is highly valued as human beings with dignity. Islamic feminists campaign for the belief that all humans, regardless of gender, are created by God from one source (*nafsun wahidah*). This belief leads to the recognition of the principles of justice, equality, and human freedom. No human being should be mistreated for any reason. A woman's position is equal to that of a man; she can be anything, including being the most righteous human being in the sight of Allah SWT, being the most faithful human being.

Islamic feminism teaches that the glory of a human being lies in the quality of their faith and it is God's prerogative to judge the quality of one's faith. Humans, regardless of gender, are all encouraged to compete in doing good (*fastabiqul khairat*). In essence, God encourages humans, regardless of gender, to increase their spirituality to become human beings who benefit others and care for their environment. This is the meaning of the Prophet's hadith: "the best person among you is the one who bring the most benefits".

Interpretations of Marriage and Efforts to Reform Islamic Family Law

Islamic feminists from various countries agree that a number of articles in the Islamic family law still perpetuate discriminatory views towards women. The definition of marriage in the family law places women as sexual objects, not partners or in an equal position with their husbands. The understanding of marriage that is not gender-equitable hinders the efforts to build a family that is *sakinah, mawaddah wa rahmah* as taught by Islam. Analysis of legal cases related to marriage reveals that gender inequality in marriage law is found in three aspects of the law, namely the content of law, the culture of law, and the structure of law (Katjasungkana 2002). This condition is clearly seen in the Marriage Law No. 1 of 1974 and the Compilation of Islamic Law in 1991. The Islamic interpretation of marriage in society as read in the Compilation of Islamic Law (1991) places women as helpless sexual objects.

Islamic feminists offer an interpretation that defines marriage as a sacred commitment, an important transaction involving two equal parties: wife and husband. This transaction is referred to as *mitsaqan ghalidzan* in the Qur'an (al-Ahzab, 7; an-Nisa, 21 and

154). *Mitsaqan ghalidzan* is a sacred covenant between two equal parties filled with love and affection. Thus, both parties are obliged to maintain the sanctity and perpetuity of the agreement. Both (husband and wife) have equal responsibilities in family life.

This is where the importance of the offer of reforming the Islamic marriage law lies, such as CLD KHI. At least, there were fourteen reform issues proposed, namely a more egalitarian definition of marriage; the role of guardian may be given to women; mandatory marriage registration to protect the rights of husband and wife; the minimum age of marriage is 19 years old; dowry is a symbol of love and may be given by the husband or wife; equality of position and position of husband and wife; equality of rights and duties of husband and wife; equality of husband and wife in earning a living, but reproductive duties must be valued more than earning a living; *nusyuz* can be done by the husband or wife; allowing interfaith marriages if there is court permission; prohibition of polygamy; wives have the right to divorce and the right of reconciliation; *iddah* applies to both husband and wife, as well as *ihdad*. Meanwhile, in terms of inheritance, the following reforms were proposed: permissibility of inheritance of different religions, equal shares of inheritance for sons and daughters, and inheritance rights for children outside marriage proven through DNA tests. As for *waqf law*, it is proposed that *waqf* of different religions is allowed (Gender Mainstreaming Team 2004).

CLD KHI offers a fair and democratic marriage law based on Islamic teachings that are humanist, inclusive, and egalitarian. The main objective is to build a happy marriage full of love (*sakinah, mawaddah wa rahmah*), polite husband-wife behaviour (*muasyarah bil ma'ruf*), mutual respect, mutual understanding, and complementarity towards happiness in this world and in the afterlife. CLD KHI strives for no more discrimination, exploitation, and violence in marriage by anyone and for any reasons. No more child marriage, *sirri* (unregistered) marriage, contract marriage, and polygamy that suffers women and children, and finally all marriages are only valid if they are registered. This offer is intended to protect women and children from discriminatory treatments as have been the case in society. In addition, it is also to realise the comprehensive protection of the human rights of all human beings, especially women, as stipulated in the Indonesian Constitution and the International Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).

Interpretations of Women's Leadership in Public Spaces

The majority of interpretations regarding women's leadership in the public sphere contain misogynistic elements. Among other things, women are considered unfit to be leaders because they are physically weak, have short minds, are very emotional, and their feelings are delicate so it is feared that they will not be able to make firm decisions. Usually, the arguments used are based on the hadith: "women are weak in mind and religion" (narrated by Bukhari) and the hadith: "never will succeed a nation that entrusts its leadership to women" (narrated by Bukhari) as well as the Qur'anic verse that means men are leaders of women (al-Nisa' 4:34).

Islamic feminists have proven that all theological arguments about the prohibition of women becoming leaders and doing activities in the public sphere are a misunderstanding of interpretation. This is partly because in the discourse of women's leadership in the public sphere, most Muslims find it difficult to distinguish between the provisions of revelation and *fiqh*. Revelation is eternal, unchanging. In contrast, the provisions of *fiqh*, including *fiqh an-nisa*, are the result of *ijtihad* or reasoning that is always influenced by socio-political and socio-cultural factors; therefore, they are relative and can be changed.

Islamic feminists ensure that Islam explicitly invites humans (men and women) to always deliberate (al-Syura, 42:38). *Syura* (deliberation) according to the Qur'an is one of the principles of managing collective life, including women's leadership in the public sphere. The Qur'an clearly records the stories of women's requests at the time of the Prophet to make *bai'at* (political pledges to the Prophet). The Qur'an also clearly notes that Allah SWT commanded the Prophet to accept their *bai'at* (al-Mumtahanah 60:12). The story of *bai'at* is evidence of women's freedom in making political decisions. The Qur'an also contains a letter called *al-Saba'*, which tells the story of a woman's leadership as a very wise and peace-loving head of state.

Islamic feminists remind the followers not to dissolve in textualist understanding so as to ignore the consideration of *al-maslahah al-'ammah* (public good), which in fact is the objective purpose of sharia (*maqashid al-syariah*). Islamic feminists invite all religious communities to constantly make efforts to reinterpret so that their religious teachings are always relevant to the dynamic and changing situation of society, especially due to advances in science and technology, especially digital technology. If not, it is feared that religious teachings will

one day become fossils that are forgotten because they are no longer functional in human's life.

Closing

I am formulating a concrete effort to foster the study of Islamic feminism at Indonesian universities. This is an ideological and epistemological project that will be worked on by Islamic academics in Islamic studies. The aim is, among others, to evaluate Islamic paternalism, then develop alternative teachings that are more just and egalitarian and prioritise the principles of Indonesian diversity.

The idea first emerged at the International Conference on Islamic Feminism in Barcelona in 2008. At least the Conference agreed on three things. Firstly, Islamic scientists and scholars must join hands and collaborate to spread the values of Islamic feminism that promote justice, especially in the form of Islamic feminism studies at the university or college level. Secondly, Islamic scientists and scholars must actively voice Islamic views that are humanist-feminist and this requires a holistic reinterpretation of religious teachings. It is hoped that in the future, mainstream religious teachings in society will fully contain religious interpretations that prioritise universal human values, such as gender equality and justice. Thirdly, it is important for Islamic scientists and scholars to advocate for the government in their respective regions to produce gender-sensitive laws and public policies, especially related to family law or marriage law. Only by developing gender-responsive policies towards women and vulnerable groups can society enjoy a just, peaceful, and prosperous life.

Feminist knowledge is the result of feminist epistemology and knowledge methodology that emphasise on gender justice and equality with all its aspects including dynamic and diverse relations, identities, roles as crucial dimensions of knowledge, identifying, and understanding social issues. One of the most important practices of feminist knowledge is to give voice to marginalised gender and sexual groups as sources of information and knowledge production.

Today, non-feminist knowledge production is male-centric, misogynistic, patriarchal, homophobic, and heteronormative. Of course, misogynistic knowledge production does not make women's experiences and opinions an important source of knowledge in understanding social issues. Women's daily experiences that directly reflect on social issues are not accepted as a source of data to analyse or understand various social

phenomena. As a result, the entire knowledge building is formulated without involving women's valuable experiences.

Therefore, Indonesian Islamic feminists need to collaborate to formulate a new Islamic epistemology that is more comprehensive, including the study of *akidah*, *tasawuf*, morals, *tafsir*, *hadith*, and *fiqh* by including the approach of women's experiences. This commitment needs to be developed considering that various knowledge and policies developed in various universities, especially Islamic universities, reflect more knowledge from and about men. Women have experiences, especially bodily experiences with their unique reproductive potential and this has implications on perspectives, needs, and thoughts that also need to be specifically understood. For this reason, the study of Islamic feminism needs to be integrated into Islamic studies in Indonesian universities. *Wallahu a'lam bi al-shawab*.

References

- Abduh, Muhammad. 1881. *Hukm al-Syari'ah fi Ta'addud al-Zawaj, al-Waq'at al-Mishriyah*: Kairo.
- Al-Tahtawi, Rifa'ah. 1843. *Takhlis al-Ibriz fi Talkhis Bariz, Mathba'ah Syirkah ar-Raghaib*, Kairo.
- Amin, Qasim. 1998, *al-A'mal al-Kamilah*. Dar al-Syuruq: Kairo.
- Amin, Qasim. 2000, *The Liberation of Women and The New Women*, The American University in Cairo Press: Mesir.
- Anwar, Etin. 2021. *Feminisme Islam: Genealogi, Tantangan dan Prospek di Indonesia*, Mizan: Bandung.
- Arivia, Gadis. 2003. *Filsafat Berperspektif Feminis*. Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan: Jakarta.
- Armstrong, Karen. 2003. *Sejarah Tuhan*. Mizan, Cetakan IV: Bandung.
- Beck, Lois & Keddie, Nikki. (eds) 1978. *Women in The Muslim World*. Harvard University Press: London.
- Badran, Margot & Cooke, Miriam. 1990. *Opening the Gates: A Century of Arab Feminist Writing*. Indiana University Press: Bloomington.
- Engineer, Asghar Ali. 1992. *The Rights of Women in Islam*, C. Hurst: London.
- Farha, Ciciek. 1999. *Ikhtiar Mengatasi Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga (Belajar Dari Kehidupan Rasulullah saw)*. Lembaga Kajian Agama & Jender: Jakarta.
- Fuaduddin, T.M. 1999. *Pengasuhan Anak dalam Keluarga*. Lembaga Kajian Agama dan Jender: Jakarta.
- Hassan, Riffat. 1995. *Setara di Hadapan Allah, Relasi Laki-Laki dan Perempuan dalam Tradisi Islam*. LSPPA-Yayasan Prakarsa: Yogyakarta.
- Istiadah. 1999. *Pembagian Kerja Rumah Tangga dalam Islam*. Lembaga Kajian Agama dan Jender: Jakarta.
- Katjasungkana, Nursyahbani. 2002. *Kasus-Kasus Hukum Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan*. LBH APIK: Jakarta.
- Mahmood, Tahir. 1987. *Personal Law in Islamic Countries*. Time Press: New Delhi.
- Marcoes, Lies 2021. *Merebut Tafsir*. Amongkarta. Yogyakarta
- Mir-Hosseini, Ziba et al. 2003. *Gender and Equality in Muslim Family Law*. I.B. Tauris: London.
- Moghadam, Valentine. 2002. "Islamic Feminism and its Discontents: Toward a Resolution of the Debate", *Signs*, Vol. 27, No. 4.
- Mojab, Shahrzad. 2001. "Theorizing the Politics of 'Islamic Feminism.'", *Feminist Review*, Vol. 69(1). hlm. 124-146. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01417780110070157>.
- Mulia, Musdah. 2021. *Negara Islam Pemikiran Politik Husain Haikal*. Paramadina: Jakarta.
- Mulia, Musdah. 2005. *Muslimah Reformis: Perempuan Pembaru Keagamaan*. Mizan: Bandung.
- Mulia, Musdah. 2020. *Ensiklopedia Muslimah Reformis: Pokok-Pokok Pemikiran untuk Reinterpretasi dan Aksi*. Penerbit BACA: Jakarta.
- Musdah Mulia, 1958-- (1999). *Pandangan Islam tentang Poligami/ Musdah Mulia*. Lembaga Kajian Agama dan Gender: Jakarta.
- Munti, Ratna Batara. 1999. *Perempuan sebagai Kepala Rumah Tangga/Ratna Batara Munti (Cet. Pertama)*. Lembaga Kajian Agama & Jender: Jakarta.
- Romli, Mohamad Guntur. 2010. *Muslim Feminis*. Freedom Institute: Jakarta.
- Tim Pengarusutamaan Gender 2004. *Pembaruan Hukum Islam: Counter Legal Draft KHI*. Departemen Agama: Jakarta.
- Umar, Nasaruddin. 1999. *Kodrat Perempuan dalam Islam*. Lembaga Kajian Agama dan Gender: Jakarta.
- Wadud, Amina. 1994. *Wanita di dalam al-Qur'an*. Pustaka Pelajar: Yogyakarta.

Feminist Organizational Funding Contributions and Dilemmas for Feminist Knowledge and Practice

Abby Gina Boang Manalu¹ & Iqraa Runi Aprilia²

Universitas Indonesia¹ & Jurnal Perempuan²
Universitas Indonesia, Jalan Prof. Dr. Selo Soemardjan, Kampus UI Depok, Pondok Cina, Kecamatan Beji,
Depok, Jawa Barat 16424¹,

Alamanda Tower 25th Floor, Jalan T.B. Simatupang kavling 23-24 Jakarta 12430²

abby@jurnalperempuan.com¹ & iqraa@jurnalperempuan.com²

Manuscript Chronology: received 16 July 2022, revised 8 August 2022, accepted 11 August 2022

Abstract

Donor agencies or development partners have significantly contributed to support the funding of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Indonesia. Feminist fundings are expected to support women grassroots empowerment, gender justice, and the spread of feminist knowledge in Indonesia. This research aims to identify the issues that donor agencies and donor intermediaries deal with and how these issues affect the financing of feminist CSOs. This is a qualitative research, data collecting is done through a Forum Group Discussion (FGD) that includes donor agencies (grant making) and intermediaries. This study shows that funding obstacles are from government constraints on particular feminist concerns. This study is also a reflection for feminist CSOs not to completely depend on donor organizations.

Keywords: Indonesian feminist knowledge, donor agencies, government restrictions, women empowerment, gender justice

Introduction

Grant making agencies and intermediaries have a significant role in supporting feminist agendas around the world, including in Indonesia. Funding support for feminist organisations has facilitated feminist discourse, encouraged the birth and development of feminist knowledge, feminist research, as well as feminist activism, women's empowerment, and social transformation. In reflecting on the twenty-five years of work of Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan (YJP) as a feminist organisation that focuses on building feminist knowledge through research and public education, donor agencies have contributed to supporting the feminist agendas championed by YJP. However, in the midst of global and national political changes, today's efforts to voice feminist knowledge face a number of challenges. This research aims to elucidate the challenges to the sustainability of women's organisations as reflected by YJP in relation to funding support from donors and intermediaries and the barriers and restrictions related to the distribution of funds for feminist and gender justice agendas in Indonesia.

Global agendas such as the Beijing Platform and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) agree on and

promote the gender justice agenda and the fulfilment of women's human rights holistically. The fulfilment of these rights includes economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights. By adopting the 2030 SDGs agenda, the governments of various countries in the world, including Indonesia, are committed to achieving gender equality and women and girls' empowerment.

Achieving this global feminist justice agenda requires long-term commitment and work. The changes that need to be produced cannot be limited to responding to changes at the macro level or in policy aspects, but also touch on changes at the meso level, namely agency and cultural practices, as well as at the micro level, namely empowerment at the interpersonal and family levels (Colfer 2012; McLaren 2018). To ensure social transformation towards gender justice, interventions at various levels of structure need to be carried out. Parties that often conduct programmes or implement feminist agendas at the praxis level are Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and/or feminist communities.

There are three groups that work hand in hand to support the feminist agenda, namely donor agencies (grant making agencies) or currently in the Indonesian context referred to as development partners,

intermediaries, and implementors or grantees. In this classification, YJP is a CSO that works as an implementing organisation.

YJP is the first feminist CSO that operates as an organisation that implements feminist agenda advocacy through research, publications, and public education. Based on the work carried out by various feminist CSOs, including YJP, the work has an important role in pioneering change and promoting the value of gender justice (Cornwall 2014).

According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2016 pp. 5--6), there are four important reasons to support civil society organisations advocating for women's rights. *Firstly*, a number of global studies show evidence that activism and social movements for women's rights are the engines for policy changes in many countries to target gender injustice. *Secondly*, the process towards gender justice is sustainable and can only be achieved by promoting transformation in social norms and practices. Women's human rights-based civil society organisations work in this area. *Thirdly*, civil society organisations working for gender justice are pioneers in designing innovative research and approaches to achieve gender equality. *Fourthly*, feminist-based civil society organisations have the power to respond to counterattacks or attempts to thwart the struggle for gender justice.

Not only that, feminist CSOs have an important role because they are able to bridge and/or translate the universal feminist agenda into a contextual agenda that refers to the needs of communities at the local-grassroots level. Feminist CSOs that implement the feminist justice agenda have effective and significant social knowledge and practices to achieve women's rights fulfilment agendas at various levels: global, national, and local (Eyben 2011).

The authors find it important to examine the contributions and dilemmas of feminist funding received by feminist CSOs - particularly from the perspective of YJP's experience. Funding for feminist agenda is certainly influenced by various factors, ranging from global political conditions, the vision-mission of CSOs, policies at the national and local levels, and various other factors. This research is not intended to respond to all of these aspects but to provide an overview of the contributions and dilemmas experienced by feminist CSOs in carrying out their advocacy work amidst a number of negotiation

processes with the existing situation. This paper aims to answer the main question of how the contributions and dilemmas of donor support to the work of feminist CSOs in Indonesia - YJP.

Research Methodology

This research is a qualitative study that critically reflects on various literacies related to the issue of funding for feminist CSOs that promote and nurture feminist knowledge and praxis and strengthens it with qualitative data from FGDs and in-depth interviews involving representatives from six donor agencies and intermediaries in Indonesia that have worked with YJP. Most of the organisations involved in this research are not willing to publish their names. Therefore, for ethical and security reasons, the organisations will be referred to by their initials A, B, C, D, E, and F, respectively.

Representatives of organisations involved in the data collection were selected using criteria sampling (Miles & Huberman 1994). Thus, the research participants were purposively selected and did not give an overview or represent the situation of donor and intermediary agencies in general - but rather in particular. The purpose of purposive selection is to ensure the relevance of the interviewees' knowledge to women's rights advocacy carried out by a number of feminist CSOs, including YJP.

The organisation of this research writing is divided into four sub-themes, each of which discusses: *First*, the importance of feminist frameworks in the organisation of donor agencies and intermediaries and their impact on targeted support to feminist CSOs. *Second*, the barriers experienced by donors and intermediaries to mobilise funds for feminist issues in Indonesia. *Third*, evidence of the growth of feminist knowledge and praxis in Indonesia. *Finally*, reflection on the sustainability of the work of feminist CSOs amidst various challenges.

Feminism Framework in Donor and Intermediary Institutions

Currently, feminist thoughts and movements in the world are facing severe challenges, including: sexual violence, femicide or gender-based killings are rampant in various parts of the world, strong repression against feminists, climate change in relation to the exclusion of vulnerable women groups such as indigenous and/or rural women in disaster mitigation and access to and management of natural resources, and various other issues.

According to Htun and Weldon (2012), various studies in many countries have shown that feminist CSOs are key to driving feminist policies and social justice. Concrete evidence is the spread of feminist knowledge through the anti-gender-based violence movement. The successful passage of pro-gender and anti-discrimination laws in many parts of the world has been driven by autonomous feminist movements and amplified through programmes funded by donors and intermediaries. The same can be reflected in the Indonesian context. Various policies have been championed by feminist movements organised into feminist CSOs that fight through campaigns, research advocacy, and/or social movements. Both types of struggles are important and cannot be separated from one another.

A number of feminist advocacies built on feminist literacy including research, for example: the advocacies for the Trafficking in Persons Act (TPPO Act), the Elimination of Domestic Violence Act (PKDRT Act), and most recently the Sexual Violence Crime Act (TPKS Act), the demand for the passage of the Domestic Workers Bill (RUU PRT), and various other policies. This work is only a handful of the work of feminist CSOs that demonstrate participation and involvement in politics and bring democracy to life. Ironically, the State does not pay serious attention to CSOs funding, especially for feminist CSOs. Every year, 4-4.5 trillion rupiah is allocated from the state budget for political aid (Kompas.id 2022; Tempo.co 2022), while CSOs as one of the pillars of democracy do not receive similar attention. It was only since 2018, with the adoption of Presidential Regulation No. 15/2018 that CSOs have been able to access funds from the State. This is still limited to CSOs that provide direct assistance or services, while research and advocacy organisations do not benefit from such funding (Jackson 2019). Feminist CSOs under the umbrella of CSOs certainly experience the same or even multiple difficulties because feminist issues are often only a small part or not a top priority in government programmes.

The difficulty of accessing funds from donors and the state resulting in feminist CSOs being vulnerable to chronic and acute funding shortages (Hessini 2020). Therefore, investment in feminist struggles needs to be made. Intervention commitments from donor agencies and intermediaries are needed to ensure feminist fund distribution mechanisms are in place as feminist frameworks within donor agencies

influence grant distribution practices, the missions of programmes run by recipient agencies, and the regulation and normalisation of feminist knowledge at the organisational and partner levels. In the Indonesian context, since the reformation era, donor agencies have been playing an important role in this regard because the majority of feminist CSOs in Indonesia depend on funding for most of their programmes and administration (Iswanti 2019).

Feminist CSOs generally exist because of the reflections and concerns of a number of people who organise themselves and voice their struggles. In the context of Indonesia, CSOs are the backbone of democracy that was born due to a number of past and present conflicts, human rights violations, corruption, and various other issues. Responding to these issues, various CSOs with various agendas were born, including feminist CSOs. This means that CSOs were born from community initiatives, although in their development a number of donor agencies and intermediaries provide assistance to CSOs (Kamstra & Schulpen 2014; Iswanti 2019).

Furthermore, CSO initiatives and work require the support of various parties in order to be amplified and innovated. Funding support for CSOs from donor agencies enables organisations to cover the administrative needs of the organisation and sustain essential programmes and core staff of the organisation. Donor support is also important to ensure the welfare of women human rights activists, by ensuring minimum wage for workers and the right to social security.

Despite their central role in promoting gender-sensitive social justice, funding for feminist CSOs is generally small and short-term (OECD 2016). YJP as one of the feminist organisations in Indonesia has also experienced this. In recent years, funding for feminist CSOs has become increasingly difficult to access. The size of funds has become smaller, and the range of themes supported has become more limited. The increasingly limited themes were also mentioned by one of the interviewees in the interview.

In the past, we supported Art and Culture, Local Economic Empowerment, and Civic Engagement themes. Since 2019, we actually have been working on centring gender and inclusivity in our activities, but it is still an ongoing process, although gender and inclusivity have always been intersecting issues. Currently we only work on one theme, which is natural resources (Interview 2022, A, 20 June).

Based on the FGDs and in-depth interviews that we conducted with a number of interviewees, the authors recognise that the feminist framework influences access, distribution, and financial aid to feminist CSOs.

The existence of a feminist framework that strives for gender justice and inclusion in organisations can be seen by examining the eight components in the table below.

Table 1. Components of Feminist Framework Analysis in Donor Agencies and Intermediaries

Components of Feminist Framework	A	B	C	D	E	F
Feminist perspective policies	-	-	-	V	-	-
A clear objective to advocate for the fulfilment of women's rights and gender justice principles in the organisation.	V	V	V	V	V	-
Gender-based budgeting (Funding designated in programmes for women's empowerment)	-	-	-	V	V	-
A mechanism for handling sexual violence in the organisation	V	V	V	V	V	V
Implementation of gender sensitivity strategies in the organisation and partner organisations (child protection and anti-sexual violence policies in the organisation)	V	V	V	V	V	V
Involvement of vulnerable and marginalised groups in the organisation and partners (staff with different ethnicities, sexual orientation minorities, disabled)	V	V	V	V	-	V
Monitoring and evaluation of partners' programme implementation with a feminist lens	V	V	V	V	V	-
Gender sensitivity/feminist principles training for staff and partner organisations	V	V	V	V	V	-

Source: Components referenced and adapted from Coe 2008 and processed based on the data from FGDs and in-depth interviews

Based on the FGDs and in-depth interviews that the authors conducted with the interviewees, it is found that all organisations represented by the interviewees have supported various programmes carried out by feminist CSOs in Indonesia. However, in the FGD conducted in June 2022, only one organisation has a written policy based on feminism.

Our organisation's core values are Freedom & Dignity, Responsible Citizenship, Self-Determination & Diversity, Equality & Justice, and Sustainable Use of Our Planet's Resources. In our strategy document, we explicitly list feminism as a core value that is also applied in our programmes. Among other things, we explicitly list and apply feminism as a key value and approach, in accordance with the principles promoted by donors that implemented the FIAP (Feminist International Assistance Policy). FIAP has several priorities, including gender equality and empowerment of women and girls, human dignity, environment and planet actions, and finally ensuring inclusive governments (FGD 2022, D, 6 June).

This quote shows that an institution like organisation D has a written policy with a feminist perspective. This

is inseparable from the donors or funding agencies that provide funding to organisation D. International feminist policy guidelines implemented by organisation D ensure that in order to achieve global justice, forms of inequality must be addressed, namely by ensuring the empowerment of children and women. This is implemented through a number of written internal rules governing the organisation and the partner organisations that organisation D works with and receives funding from. D intermediary organisation differs from all other respondents because while all respondents indicate a feminist framework in organisational policies, they are implicit and not written as feminist policies.

Funding support to CSOs needs to be critically examined. Kamstra and Schulpen (2014) believe that there are a number of dilemmas about power relations and programme direction when intermediaries as well as implementing organisations or CSOs at the grassroots level receive grant funding. These dilemmas include power imbalances, advocacy patterns that tend to be centred on the aspirations of funders, uniformity of issues, and a dual direction of advocacy that does not prioritise the struggle

for aspirations from constituents or grassroots communities in the assisted programme area. Instead of supporting CSO advocacy agendas that are based on solidarity, donor assistance is perceived as an effort to uniformise the goals and institutionalise the collective actions (Iswanti 2019).

Based on some research by Kamstra & Schulpen (2014) in the Indonesian context, donors basically do not dictate what CSOs including feminist CSOs that receive funding should do, but the great need for donor funding makes recipient organisations have to read the tendencies of funders and follow or at least adjust the advocacy agenda or strategy to keep the support going. This becomes a dilemma because accountability and loyalty to constituents become questionable. It is not uncommon for there to be differences between issues of funders and the needs on the ground. What are the implications of the high demand from CSOs on donors? On the one hand, global issues concurrently become the agenda and target that many community groups and CSOs aim for and fight for, but on the other hand, there is homogenisation of issues, agendas, advocacy methods, and other aspects.

The global feminist policy guidelines are an important breakthrough that seeks to address this dilemma because it accommodates the lens of intersectionality. Therefore, support for the feminist agenda goes beyond the fulfilment of women's human rights, which is usually advocated through pushing for changes at the policy level. It also examines and encourages changes in cultural practices and institutions and ensures empowerment at the local level. These global feminist policy guidelines define a human rights-based approach, which takes into account all forms of discrimination based on sex, race, ethnicity, place of birth, colour, religion, language, sexual orientation, gender identity, age, ability, or migrant or refugee status (Global Affairs Canada 2018). The ideal of global justice can only be achieved by bridging human rights-based struggles and examining different types of discrimination through the lens of intersectionality (McLaren 2019).

Meanwhile, the other five organisations involved in the FGDs and in-depth interviews stated that all of them advocate for the issue of inclusivity and ensure the fulfilment of the rights of marginalised groups. All organisations involved as respondents have also funded and supported various programmes to promote social inclusion, gender justice, and empowerment of vulnerable groups despite not having or implementing feminist policy guidelines.

Explicitly, the (feminist) framework is not visible because in the context of Open Society Foundation's (OSF) strategy in Indonesia, the three-year priority programme until 2021 generally focuses on revitalising democratic institutions and processes in Indonesia, which involves issues such as reforming democratic institutions in the form of electoral reform, security sector reform, and the strengthening civic space in Papua; and also strengthening civil society resistance and struggle, which relates to strengthening public interest journalism; using media, arts, and culture for resistance, and strengthening participation and resistance in youth groups. OSF recognises that women's groups are an important part of the implementation of the strategy and accommodating the strategic issues of women's groups is an integral part of the strategy implementation (FGD 2022, F, 6 June).

This means that support for organisations and community movements that advocate for the struggle for women's rights in politics is realised even though it is not the main issue or target. The same thing was also shared by the representative of organisation C.

We do not call it a feminist framework; our organisation calls it a Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) framework. Basically, women empowerment and gender equality are the pillars of organisation C in all countries. The reason for not calling it a feminist framework is actually a strategy. Given that organisation C is present in dozens of countries in Asia with various different contexts and backgrounds, mentioning a feminist framework is not possible in some places. Some of the issues we work on are government, access to justice, women's empowerment, and gender justice. In Indonesia, because of the leadership and commitment of the programme managers, gender issues are our concern (FGD 2022, C, 6 June).

The use of language and term is a concern for a number of donor organisations, intermediaries, and implementing organisations. The use of appropriate language is important to ensure the viability and sustainability of the programme. For donor and intermediary organisations, it is important to read the local-national social, cultural and political context and then use the appropriate language for naming the programme. Apart from D, the other five organisations admitted that they were familiar with the feminist framework and had more or less implemented them in their respective organisations. According to the interviewees, apart from D, the strength or sustainability of feminist funding and programmes in the organisations is not determined by written policies or rigid guidelines, but is developed based on initiatives at the level of the leadership and the person in charge of the programme in each organisation.

Funding Feminist CSOs Advocating for the Gender Justice and Social Inclusion Agenda

Commitment of funding organisations and intermediaries to supporting the feminist agenda is shown by the support of many feminist CSOs that work on issues that intersect with the agendas of funding organisations and intermediaries. All organisations involved in the FGDs and in-depth interviews stated that the feminist CSOs they support and partner with are organisations that have accountability for championing issues of women's empowerment and gender equality, and are involved in promoting social transformation (FGD 2022, June 6).

Feminist frameworks in organisations are closely related to the direction of funding, advocacy methods, and ways of engaging constituents. A feminist policy framework will encourage and secure funding that also favours a feminist agenda.

In the pandemic support initiative, D opened a call for mini proposals with funding of only 5-10 million rupiah for local communities only. There were 11 local communities that submitted mini proposals, 9 of which were selected. Some of them initiated to build small businesses collectively, capitalising on available local resources run by women's communities. One of them, in Madura, is making mix herbal medicine (*jamu racik*). They discussed about local resources and *racik* resources. There was a division of roles and schedules of collective members for making and selling *jamu*. This became a space for learning, and at the same time, strengthened this collective movement. This endeavour continues to this day. The proceeds from the sale of *jamu* become a joint saving fund and is used for community activities such as discussions (FGD 2022, D, 6 June).

Feminist framework and funding do not necessarily demand large funding for women's groups, but require consistency and contextualised support to realise women's ideas and ideas at the grassroots level. In this context, this is demonstrated by economic empowerment during the pandemic.

The organisation's vision-mission and principles for social justice and inclusivity, including gender inclusion, are manifested in funding and proposal application requirements. Some organisations in the interviews stated that their organisations do not have a gender focal point or a dedicated gender programme. However, all of these organisations are committed to supporting women's empowerment work.

Given that Indonesians have an extraordinary spirit of charity, we want to advocate for faith-based philanthropy, to not only earmark their funds for targets, such as orphans

and schools. We asked for the philanthropic funds to be allocated for victims of domestic violence. Unfortunately, not many donors have supported our idea (FGD 2022, C, 6 June).

C stated that their programme is important to respond to the situation of gender inequality. Although there is no funding from donors, C has some small funds that can be used to support activities outside the programme that do not receive funding from donors. These funds are used to innovate and undertake activities that are not necessarily prioritised as global issues. This is a highly contextualised reflection and strategy that is not recognised or discussed in the donor agenda.

Other strategies used by donor organisations and intermediaries to support programme on and funding to feminist issues were shared by interviewees.

Currently, the gender guidelines are being developed, but in the call for proposals process we always include "impact of the programme on gender justice" in the proposal template that will be completed by prospective partners. In addition to asking them to explain the linkage between their planned programme and gender justice, we also ask them to make clear indicators such as the involvement of women in the programme, in the policy-making process, and so on. This will be an important part of the assessment of the proposal. We also expect programmes that clearly promote women's capacity building. Currently, in organisation B, there is no gender specialist. However, every project manager is encouraged to understand gender issues. Organisation B also develops and integrates gender issues in four main values: openness, justice, equality, and humanity (Interview 2022, B, 21 June).

With the exception of D, which focuses on feminist policy and funding, the other five organisations are concerned with issues of social injustice and exclusion of the rights of marginalised groups. Women are one of the categories of the major issues they are advocating for, so although there is no written feminist policy, the scope of support and work of the organisation has a portion for feminism issues.

The OECD (2016, p. 13) states that there is a need for budget and a gender expert within funding agencies. Why is this important? Because the absence of gender budget at the central donor agency has a direct effect on its subsidiary organisations such as intermediaries and/or implementing agencies. In addition, the absence or lack of a gender focal point in the organisation has also resulted in confusion and difficulty in determining which organisations should be the priority recipients of grants. This is due to the absence of definitive guidelines on the procedures and criteria for programmes or groups to be supported. The existence of a gender expert influences

the amount of support allocated to feminist CSOs in various countries, including Indonesia.

Although all organisations involved in the FGDs and interviews know that the organisations they represent are committed to promoting gender justice, almost all organisations do not have disaggregated data on the proportion of funding for gender issues or the number of CSOs they have supported. The importance of the feminist framework in this case, according to the authors, is that it also ensures that the ideals of social justice aimed for globally can only be achieved if feminist perspectives are accommodated. Social justice can only be guaranteed with openness and inclusivity. However, inclusiveness does not simply mean realising and accepting differences, but consciously responding to different needs that refer to situations that impact different and complex inequalities. This means that the holistic form of support is integrated in feminist-based planning, programmes, evaluation, and monitoring. What is the purpose? To ensure that the goal of participation is not just nominal participation but transformative participation.

Organisational Commitment and Contribution to Supporting the Anti-Sexual Violence Agenda in the Organisation

Having gender sensitivity practiced within the organisation is a prerequisite for becoming a partner. For example, one organisation stated that in the proposal application, applicants should be able to explain that their programmes have an impact on the fulfilment of women's rights or the promotion of gender justice. Commitment to feminist values is also realised by regularly conducting training related to feminism, anti-sexual violence in the workplace, and within the scope of work of the partners.

There is a point where we hope that in addition to, for example, getting a grant from us, the concerned organisation does not only have financial SOPs, or other administrative requirements, but also has SOPs to prevent sexual violence, for example (FGD 2022, F, June 6).

Gender training is mandatory for us. It is mandatory internally. All programme officers and programme managers at organisation C receive gender trainings on sexual exploitation and child protection, and we also provide this to all partners. We do not have a specific programme for women. But internally, we are very fierce about gender issues. We realise and understand that we have a responsibility when managing funds. Therefore, we use the funds for social engineering, supporting the agendas of friends in civil society organisations, and internal organisational strengthening (FGD 2022, C, June 6).

These days we see many cases of sexual violence within CSOs that advocate for feminist agendas. In this case, the existence of a feminist policy framework in the organisation should have a role to stimulate and practice feminist knowledge about safe and decent work, namely the security for human rights activists to be free from sexual violence (SV). Even if it happens, it is important that there is a mechanism for handling it with a feminist perspective. As Htun (2019) notes, feminist movements and feminist agendas around the world have managed to push for changes in policies and institutional practices related to the prevention and handling of SV. Therefore, feminist policies also need to be present and implemented to ensure that donor organisations, intermediaries, and implementors are aware of feminism principles and practice them in their institutions and in the communities where they are located. Gadis Arivia in Gina (2019) states that the feminist framework always carries the feminist agenda, namely knowledge is responsible for bringing change at the level of praxis and improving unequal situations. There should be no perpetuation or omission of the issue of women's human rights violations in feminist organisations.

Dilemmas Faced by Donors and Intermediaries in Supporting CSOs and the Feminism Movement in Indonesia

The struggle for global justice is a holistic endeavour. The sustainability of support for feminist CSOs is also related to various aspects that influence each other. Based on the FGDs and interviews conducted by the authors, there are several barriers that have limited donor support to feminist CSOs in Indonesia. Globally, the OECD (2016) states that there are a number of barriers to funding for feminist CSOs, especially in Asia. One of the barriers is funding cut or relocation, which has a direct impact on funding for CSOs. The shift of political priorities and redistribution of funds on certain issues will have a significant impact on reducing the allocation of funds for gender equality issues and the fulfilment of women's human rights.

In the context of Indonesia, in recent years many donors have reduced their assistance as Indonesia has moved towards becoming a lower middle-income country (Jackson 2019); thus, grant funds that were previously intended for Indonesia are now being diverted to other countries that are considered more in need. Indonesia has now become one of the countries that provide funds to other countries (bilateral-multilateral). This means that political conditions in the funding

agency such as organisational structure and leadership and politics in the donor and recipient countries affect the budget and support programmes for intermediary and implementing agencies. Another problem is that when intermediary organisations and implementors receive funding from foreign donors, to some extent, the organisational structure, number of core staff, and programme implementation mechanisms are highly oriented towards the donors (Elbers & Schulpen 2011) - in other words, there are unequal power relations. Unequal power relations, among others, from recipient countries to donors, from donors to intermediaries and/or implementors.

Particularly for foreign organisations, their work and programmes inevitably have to work in accordance with the rules of inter-state agreements so that their agendas are more or less limited by these rules. In particular, programmes supported and carried out by donor agencies should be activities that are in line with the government's agenda and do not contain resistance or invite polemics.

The restriction is more often due to terminology, and we (the organisation) already understand the terminology that is not well-liked, or cannot be understood. Simply put, when they do not understand the terminology, then it is not accepted. For example, 20 years ago, we were with an organisation. Our strategy was to not call it gender budget, or woman's budget, but to call it people's budget. Because it turned out that the use of the word women's funding or gender funding was questionable, so we used the term people's budget (FGD 2022, C, 6 June).

The quote shows that a language strategy is needed. Based on the FGDs, it is understood that an issue and/or programme was often rejected, among other things, because the terminology was not understood. Certain terminology already carries suspicion or resistance from most people. Then the question is how can donor agencies and/or intermediaries consistently maintain their spirit for social justice when there are these limitations, and how do donor agencies and intermediaries support implementing agencies or feminist CSOs working on issues that are considered to have high resistance?

Through the FGDs, it was found that most organisations use the language strategy of championing the rights of marginalised groups that include broad categories of groups. The word funding or programme support for minority groups is considered an acceptable term. This is a necessary strategy considering that certain terms such as LGBTIQ, for example, have high resistance both at the local and national levels.

On the one hand, this strategy is important to ensure that programme support and funding from donors and intermediaries are inclusive. On the other hand, by not mentioning the identity of the target group, there is a problem of not being able to see and measure the problem and the intervention. A number of feminist CSOs at the implementor level have certainly not abandoned this issue and continue to fight for justice for the groups they assist, but this work and the continuation of the programme needs to be supported by sustainable funding. Their work is even more urgent to be done because they are working on social justice spaces that are ignored or silenced by the State. One of the dilemmas experienced by social justice-related organisations is as follows:

Feminist policies from donors and in our own organisation are very open to the diversity of issues. You can call it LGBT, you can call it feminist, because they themselves explicitly use FIAP (Feminist International Assistance Policy). But how then the intermediary and/or implementor applies and modifies it is adjusted to the needs and special considerations, such as security. This means there is flexibility and no coercion (Interview 2022, D, 17 June).

According to a number of interviewees, while it is true that there are global agendas such as climate justice issues, donors and intermediaries can still strategise to ensure inclusion. However, it cannot be denied that global issues have created a tendency to homogenise issues and neglect the much more complex issues of inequality and discrimination at the grassroots level.

The Contribution of Feminist Funding to the Development and Dissemination of Indonesian Feminist Knowledge

In an effort to discuss Indonesian feminist knowledge, it is necessary to understand what feminist knowledge is. The answer is needed to equalise our understanding of Indonesian feminist knowledge. Concrete experience as a criterion of meaning is Patricia Hill Collins' narrative that confronts the persistence of eurocentric masculinist knowledge. Such knowledge excludes feminist knowledge through the basis of literacy, the quality of educational experience, and the capabilities of administrative positions (Collins in Jaggar 1993). Feminists reject such knowledge validation processes and construct their own validation processes through alternative epistemologies to assess knowledge claims.

Uma Narayan, in her book *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions, and Third-World Feminism*, explained that the difference in handling victims of domestic

violence (DV) in the United States and India often makes the women's movement in India considered backward. Narayan emphasised that when it comes to women's issues, there needs to be attention to the context in order for the solution to be appropriate - even if the treatment is different. Asian feminist thinking, as well as some multiculturalist feminist theories, are frameworks that can be used to look at the situated experiences of Indonesian women and women in other locations and situations.

Later, in 1979, feminists gathered at the Feminist Ideology and Structures in the First Half of Decade for Women workshop in Bangkok. Bunch in Jaggar (1993, p. 250) stated that feminism is an effort to empower women from the aspects of life and body control, economic, social, and political on global and local scales. However, feminist knowledge is often trapped in the different needs of issues between First World countries and Third World countries. The differences in issues then eliminate feminist narratives from the local scale - in this context, Indonesian feminist knowledge.

Indonesian feminist knowledge is a fraction of the global feminist movement and thinking. The work of feminist CSOs, especially those who work as programme implementors, is very important for social transformation because they are directly involved with the community and engaging in dialogue with constituents. In the context of *Jurnal Perempuan's* work, for example, feminist CSOs engage in participatory research that focuses on the experiences and knowledge of groups that are voiced in research, public education, social media campaigns, and movements.

Currently, the work done to produce feminist knowledge based on data and research is difficult to get full support. Why? Because programme and evaluation standards, for example, expect changes in the empowerment of vulnerable groups with measurable results. Meanwhile, research advocacy does not have an immediate impact. Whereas in the context of advocacy such as that carried out by JP, data and research are the basis for showing that the issues being advocated for come from concrete experiences articulated in scientific standards.

Amidst changing local, national and global political directions, donors and intermediaries have contributed to the advancement of feminist knowledge in Indonesia. Based on the data processing of the FGDs and interviews conducted, there are at least several commitments to feminist ideals that are manifested in organisational practices, including:

1. Women's experiences are the basis for analysing and extracting knowledge. Donor organisations and intermediaries believe that knowledge lies with partners working directly in the field.
2. Support for various forms of feminist CSO advocacy.
3. Research, advocacy, and public education on women and minority issues.
4. Support and strengthening of campaigns on gender justice issues through social media campaigns, especially for issues that are said to have high resistance, such as LGBTQ, natural resource conflicts, criticism of mining, gross violations of human rights, and so on.
5. Advocate for pro-women and vulnerable groups policies - Ministerial Regulation (*Permen*) on child- and women-friendly prisons, Regent Regulation (*Perbu*) on the policy of rejecting contract marriages in Cianjur, and collective work to pass the on the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill (RUU TPKS) - now the Law on Sexual Violence Crime (UU TPKS).
6. Make gender issues a prerequisite for proposal submission to ensure that fund recipients implement programmes related to women's empowerment.
7. Procurement of funds that are fully focused on funding gender issues by organisation D.
8. Have a pro-women organisational management both internally and externally; Include a budget for the specific needs of female staff, create a safe space, ensure that there is a regular gender training on sexual exploitation and child protection, have maternity and menstrual leave regulations, and have a Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) to handle sexual harassment cases.
9. Bridge and build collaborative work between feminist CSOs and the State.
10. Create and maintain the sustainability of collective leadership, feminist leadership to encourage women, especially young women to contribute to public spaces.
11. Have a database of sexual violence throughout Indonesia.
12. Maintain the solidarity of partners throughout Indonesia by providing and exchanging information on women's issues on a regular basis.

For Bunch, the ultimate way of bridging the diverse ways of struggle and thinking of feminism is

connectedness among women based on women's struggles at home and the need to learn from other women's experiences in order to understand global implications through shared struggles (Bunch in Jaggar 1993). The philanthropy that contributed to this research has the power to connect women's thoughts and personalities from the micro, meso and macro levels. The connection between women needs to be fought for because women's personal experiences can be called knowledge only if they are conveyed to the macro level or at the policy level. It should be noted that limited funding - the absence of a specific percentage for gender issues - will make it difficult to connect women's interests from the micro to the macro scale.

Closing

A number of feminists CSOs, both as intermediaries and implementors, are committed to advocating for the feminist agenda in Indonesia, despite a number of challenges. Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan as one of feminist CSOs that focuses on research-based advocacy also experiences a number of challenges to maintain the sustainability of feminist advocacy. Changes in domestic and foreign political situations, policies of the State, and political agendas of donor agencies contribute to the dynamics of JP's work.

In the early days of Reformation, when Indonesia was still considered a developing country, donor support for CSO work in various sectors was enormous. The agenda of democratisation, human rights enforcement, and inclusive development all involved feminist dimensions or at least gender justice so that initiatives carried out by Jurnal Perempuan, both related to research and other forms of advocacy, received support from various parties. At that time, a number of supports for organisational and programme strengthening were easily accessed as there were not many restrictions on the issues or methods of advocacy undertaken by CSOs.

These days, the entire funding system from foreign donors has different provisions and mechanisms. The restrictions do not actually target feminist CSOs incorporated in Indonesia or local-national CSOs. But the majority of donors and intermediaries are international or foreign institutions so that a number of bilateral-multilateral provisions become the fences of the work. The implication is that when there are changes in issues that are deemed incompatible with the State's agenda, CSOs automatically need to adjust their programmes and budgeting to be in line. This has a direct impact on feminist CSOs, especially CSOs at the implementor level,

whose programme funding and administration mostly require support from these institutions.

Before these changes in situation occurred, YJP had actually reflected on how to build organisational independence. In 2011, *Jurnal Perempuan's* subscription programme or what was later known as Sahabat Jurnal Perempuan (SJP) was created. SJP programme was not only intended as a strategy for JP to be empowered and financially independent, but also to remain consistent with the mandate of the feminist movement, that solidarity and collective action are the basis for social transformation.

SJP programme was also mandated to keep JP's feminist struggles accountable to the needs of its members. SJP is YJP's stakeholder. SJP are the people, who faithfully read *Jurnal Perempuan's* research and directly support YJP's sustainability in producing Indonesian feminist knowledge. In the past five years, SJP's income has been around 230 million rupiah per year. This can finance 25% of YJP's operational needs because YJP's expenses in one year are approximately 1 billion rupiah. This public support is a new hope for solidarity to become the basis for the sustainability of feminist knowledge and praxis in Indonesia (Steinem in Schneir 1994).

In the context of YJP's work, we see SJP as a form of resilience for the women's movement in Indonesia. Feminist funding from SJP solidarity can support the sustainability of JP's research-based advocacy, which is sometimes not on the agenda of donors or other cooperation partners.

SJP, as a form of individual philanthropy, ensures that feminist knowledge and praxis are based on the needs on the ground. Mohanty (2019) stated that to ensure accountability of feminist knowledge and praxis, there are several things that must be ensured, namely: *firstly*, the community must have an awareness of what is needed and that the organisation providing funding is a partner helping to implement the agenda. *Secondly*, the community must have a critical analysis of their situation and problems, and *thirdly*, the community must know their resources and strengths to change unequal situations. In such a reflection, funding from any party will aim to strengthen or support, and not to limit or define, the social movement.

Based on the literature and the process of the FGDs and interviews, we reflect that feminist knowledge always goes hand in hand with movement and solidarity. In JP's work, feminist knowledge is nurtured and practised through research with a feminist perspective.

For its continuation, feminist funding is one of the prerequisites. Researchers see that funding from donors and intermediary institutions has a lot of impact on strengthening feminist knowledge. However, the elements of solidarity and collective action have been reduced, and thus, feminism funding based on individual philanthropy such as SJP is an offer for the sustainability of advocacy carried out by *Jurnal Perempuan*.

References

- Coe, K. 2008. *The Significance of Donor Gender Equality Policies in Natural Resource Management Research*.
- Colfer, C.J.P. 2012. *The Gender Box: A Framework for Analyzing Gender Roles in Forest Management*. Cifor: Bogor.
- Cornwall, A. 2014. *Strategies and Pathways to Make States more Accountable for Women's Rights*. Background paper for UN Women's Expert Group Meeting on 'Envisioning women's rights in the post-2015 context', 3-5 November 2014: New York.
- Elbers, Willem & Schulpen, Lau. 2010. "Decision Making in Partnerships for Development: Explaining the Influence of Local Partners". *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* - NONPROFIT VOLUNT SECT Q. 39. 10.1177/0899764010366304.
- Eyben, R. 2011. *Supporting Pathways of Women's Empowerment: A Brief Guide for International Development Organizations. Pathways of Women's Empowerment*. RPC: Brighton.
- Gina, Abby. 2019. "Gadis Arivia: Feminisme Harus Mampu Melakukan Perubahan Sosial Lewat Diskursus dan Aksi". *Jurnal Perempuan edisi 100*, Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan: Jakarta.
- Global Affairs Canada. 2017. Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy, Diakses 1 Juli 2022, pukul 17.00 WIB, di https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/assets/pdfs/iap2-eng.pdf?_ga=2.40236002.1130724037.1656993489-905814034.1655887759
- Hessini, L. 2020. "Financing for Gender Equality and Women's Rights: the Role of Feminist Funds", *Gender & Development*, 28:2, hlm. 357--376.
- Htun, M. & Weldon, S.L. 2012. 'The Civic Origins of Progressive Policy Change: Combatting Violence Against Women in Global Perspective', 1975-2005. *American Political Science Review*, 106 (3), hlm. 548--569.
- Iswanti, et al. 2019. *Perempuan dan Gerakan Sosial di Indonesia*. Komnas Perempuan: Jakarta.
- Jaggar, A.M., & In Rothenberg, P.S. 1993. *Feminist Frameworks: Alternative Theoretical Accounts of the Relations Between Women and Men*. McGraw-hill: New York.
- Jackson, Elisabeth. 2018. "LSM Indonesia Sekarang bisa Akses Dana Pemerintah untuk Pelayanan Masyarakat", *The Conversation*, diakses 1 Juli 2022, di: <https://theconversation.com/lsm-indonesia-sekarang-bisa-akses-dana-pemerintah-untuk-pelayanan-masyarakat-102047>.
- Kamstra, J., & Schulpen, L. 2015. "Worlds Apart but Much Alike: Donor Funding and the Homogenization of NGOs in Ghana and Indonesia". *Studies in Comparative International Development*.
- Kompas.id. 2022. "Pemerintah Berniat Menaikkan Dana Bantuan untuk Partai Politik". *Kompas.id*. Diakses pada 1 Juni 2022, di: <https://www.kompas.id/baca/polhuk/2022/07/19/pemerintah-berniat-menaikkan-dana-bantuan-untuk-partai-politik>.
- McLaren, Margaret A. 2019. *Women's Activism, Feminism, and Social Justice*. Oup Usa.
- Miles, M.B., & Huberman, A.M. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Narayan, U. 1997. *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions, and Third-World Feminism*. Routledge: New York and London.
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). 2016. "Donor Support to Southern Women's Rights Organizations". *OECD*. Diakses 1 Juli 2022, pukul 17.00 WIB, di <https://www.oecd.org/dac/gender-development/OECD-report-on-womens-rights-organisations.pdf>.
- Parpart, L.J. et al. 2002. *Rethinking Empowerment: Gender and Development in a Global/ Local World*. Routledge: London & New York.
- Schneir, M. 1994. *Feminism in Our Time: The Essential Writings, World War II to the Present*. Vintage Books: New York.
- Tempo.co. 2022. "Kemendagri Usulkan Kenaikan Dana Banpol untuk Tahun 2022". *Tempo.co*, diakses pada 1 Juni 2022, di: <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/1458851/kemendagri-usulkan-kenaikan-dana-banpol-untuk-tahun-2022>.
- Vienna Institute for International Dialogue and Cooperation (VIDC). 2019. Interview with Chandra Talpade Mohanty at "Feminist activism and solidarity across borders", Diakses pada 1 Juli 2022, pukul 17.00 WIB, di <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W7-EeP5AFG4>.

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**.

Formatting your paper

Headings should be short and in bold text, with a clear and consistent hierarchy. Please identify **Notes or Endnotes** with consecutive numbers, enclosed in square brackets and listed at the end of the article. **Figures** and other images should be submitted as .jpeg (.jpg) or .tif files of a high quality. Please number them consecutively with Arabic numerals and mark their intended location within the body of the text clearly. If images are not the original work of the author, it is the author's responsibility to obtain written consent from the copyright holder before using them. Authors will be asked to confirm the status of images, tables and figures in the journal submission pack. Images which are neither the authors' own work, nor are accompanied by the necessary permission, will not be published.

Please Note: The wide availability of an item on the internet does not imply that it is not subject to copyright restrictions. Please supply evidence that the item is legally available to use. For example, it may be posted online with a "Creative Commons" attribution, or it may be taken from one of your earlier works, for which you hold the copyright. Please provide evidence. If you do not have permission, it must be sought as a matter of priority. Otherwise we cannot publish, and the content will have to be removed. If required, the editor will provide guidance on identifying and approaching the copyright holder. If you are currently seeking permission but are yet to receive it, please indicate this next to the relevant content in the permissions section of the journal submission pack. Please note that the process of seeking permission can take several months. **Tables** should be included as part of the manuscript, with relevant captions. **Supplementary data** can be appended to the article, using the appropriate form and should follow the same formatting rules as the main text. **References** to other publications should be complete and in Harvard style, e.g. (Jones 2011) for one author, (Jones & Smith 2011) for two authors, (Jones, Smith & Jackson 2011) for three authors, and (Jones et al. 2011) for four or more authors. A full reference list should appear at the end of the paper.

- For **books**: Surname, Initials year, *Title of Book*, Publisher, Place of publication. e.g. Author, J 2011, This is my book, Publisher, New York, NY.
- For **book chapters**: Surname, Initials year, "Chapter title", in Editor's Initials Surname (ed./eds.), *Title of Book*, Publisher, Place of publication, pages.
- For **journals**: Surname, Initials year, "Title of article", *Title of Journal*, volume, number, pages.
- For **conference proceedings**: Surname, Initials year, "Title of paper", in Initials Surname (ed.), Title of published proceeding which may include date(s) and place held, Publisher, Place of publication, Page numbers.
- For **newspaper articles**: Surname, Initials year (if an author is named), "Article title", *Newspaper*, date, pages.
- For **images**: Where image is from a printed source – as for books but with the page number on which the image appears.
- Where **image is from an online source** – Surname, Initials year, Title, Available at, Date accessed. Other images - Surname, Initials year, Title, Name of owner (person or institution) and location for viewing.

Copyright Notice

All written material, unless otherwise stated, is the copyright of the Jurnal Perempuan. Views expressed in articles and letters are those of the contributors, and not necessarily those of the publisher. If you wish to use any content appearing in JP, please contact redaksi@jurnalperempuan.com for guidance.

YAYASAN
YJP
JURNAL
PEREMPUAN

Alamanda Tower, 25th Floor,
Jalan T.B. Simatupang kavling 23-24,
Jakarta Selatan
Telepon: (62) 21 2965 7992

Australian
Volunteers

Australian
Aid 

