

Political Participation of Women and Youth in Indonesian Democracy

Editorial

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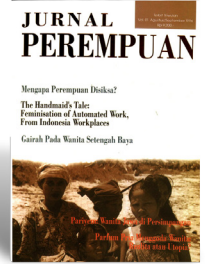
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Political Participation of Women and Youth in Indonesian Democracy

International laws and treaties guarantee the right of women and youth to participate in decision-making that affects their lives. In reality, however, access to decision-making often excludes women and young people.

According to UN Women (2023), women's participation in leadership, politics, and the public sphere is essential to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030. However, global data shows that women are not represented at all levels and that gender parity is still far from being achieved. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), women held 11.3 per cent of parliamentary seats in 1995 and 26.5 per cent in 2023. Only six countries managed to reach 50 per cent in parliament, including Rwanda (61 per cent), Cuba (53 per cent), Nicaragua (52 per cent), Mexico (50 per cent), New Zealand (50 per cent), and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) with 50 per cent. Of the 23 countries, the 40 per cent target was reached in 13 countries in Europe, six in Africa, three in Latin America and the Caribbean, and only one in Asia. The same data also shows that as of 1 January 2023, only 17 countries had 34 Heads of State and 19 countries had Heads of Government. This means that at such a slow pace, it will take 130 years for women to reach important positions in the public sphere. The picture is similar in Indonesia. For example, based on the 2019 elections results, women's representation in the legislature was 20.8 per cent (KPU 2019). This ranked Indonesia 120th out of 187 countries.

This means that while there has been progress in women's participation in politics, there is a "glass ceiling" in formal and informal politics that needs to be broken. Women still face discrimination and barriers, including cultural and social norms and access to financial resources that prevent them from fully participating as decision-makers.

Twenty-five years after the adoption of the Beijing Declaration, women, especially young women, are still under-represented at all levels of leadership, parliament and public life, and gender equality in politics is far from being achieved. Looking more closely, the IPU shows that the participation and representation of young women in parliament is still very low, at around 2.2 per cent. Young women are the group affected by the making of public policy, so they should be involved in political negotiations. Women's exclusion from politics

is caused by discriminatory policies, gender norms, and various structural inequalities. This situation is a violation of political rights and undermines the principle of inclusivity in democracy. Although many women are now standing for elections, the number still lags far behind that of men. Gender stigma and stereotypes are still the basis for questioning women's political capacity. For younger women in particular, the challenges of political participation are more complicated. In addition to gender discrimination, they also face age discrimination, known as ageism. In the social and political sphere, young women are seen as lacking political experience and knowledge. The formal and informal participation of women and young women in formal politics, especially in elections, is still far from the ideal of gender justice. They are targeted for votes, but without proportionate participation in their aspirations at different levels of governance (community, local, and national).

Feminist thinkers Young (1993) and Phillips (2017) have argued for the importance of women's participation and representation in politics. According to a number of feminist scholars, transformative politics must involve different groups. Social transformation is only possible through dialogue between different experiences and interests. It is important to make explicit gender and other differences, including age. Without engagement and recognition, the prejudices of the dominant group will continue to be reproduced. Feminist scholars believe that egalitarian democracy can only be approached if silenced categories such as gender and other intersecting identities are adequately recognised and responded to.

Political participation is the most basic prerequisite for promoting gender equality and true democracy. Participation is not limited to the presence of women leaders in the political world and the presentation of gender-sensitive policies, but also includes the involvement of political education for the community at large and the opening of spaces for participation in everyday politics, which we can find in the work of women's networks through activism. Forms of participation can include public education and campaigns to support women's political participation; voicing the rights and political interests of marginalised groups; working with men to promote gender equality in politics and policy; and others - as described in seven articles in this issue of *Jurnal Perempuan (JP)*.

JP 115 aims to build a discourse on the importance of women's and youth participation in politics. Specifically, JP 115 discusses: the importance of women's substantive representation in Indonesian politics; political participation of women and youth as full citizens; social movements and activism: meaningful participation of women and youth in informal politics; and political participation that embraces differences and guarantees the rights of vulnerable groups. By ensuring the full

participation of women and youth in politics, we are moving towards a more just and sustainable society. Inclusive political participation will lead to better governance, economic stability, and social cohesion. With its 115th issue, *Jurnal Perempuan* wishes to emphasise that the pursuit of gender equality in politics is not only an ethical obligation - it is a fundamental prerequisite for creating a prosperous, equal, just, and inclusive society for all of us (Abby Gina).

Abstracts

Siti Azizah Namirah & Ida Ruwaida

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Political Empowerment of Village Women and the Role of Civil Society Organizations

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 83–94, 3 tables, 2 figures, 37 bibliographies

This article reviews the role of civil society organizations (CSOs) in collective empowerment, in order to encourage women to transform their gender roles, especially in the political field. Various studies on women's political empowerment have been carried out, but most of them still focus on the issue of participation and not much has discussed women's collective action. Therefore, political empowerment in this study is seen in a more comprehensive manner by referring to the conception of Sundström et al. (2017), namely from the dimensions of choice, agency, and participation. This article is more based on a literature review which is supported by the results of a case study at Yayasan PEKKA, known as a CSO which focuses its activism on women, especially in rural areas. The findings of the study show that the empowerment process in principle begins with strengthening individual capacity, but women's critical power and ability to articulate the interests of women and other marginal groups is still questionable (choice dimension). This is a modality for strengthening group and institutional capacity (agency dimension), so as to be able to encourage the active role of women in various stakeholder forums both at the village and district levels (participation dimension). An integrative and sustainable model of empowerment is needed to strengthen women's political position, including encouraging women's power-within-based leadership, namely leadership that promotes collective action, or what is known as social power.

Keywords: collective political empowerment, women empowerment, civil society organization, choice, agency, participation, power within, bargaining position

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Young Women and Political Parties: From Descriptive Participation to Substantive Representation

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 95–108, 1 figure, 29 bibliographies

The low level of political participation among women in general, including young women, in Indonesia can be explained through three reasons. Firstly, women face a challenging playing field because politics is predominantly characterized by a masculine culture. Secondly, in their pursuit of political engagement, women encounter several obstacles, such as patriarchal structures, sexist and ageist views, and social class barriers. Thirdly, young women are also hindered by political nepotism, lack of party support, limited political knowledge, and financial constraints. This paper utilizes the conceptual framework of Women and Political Party by Lovenduski (1997), Squires (2007), Ann Phillips' theory of women's representation, as well as the works of Young, Mouffe, Childs, and Krook to examine the dynamics of young women and political parties in Indonesia from the 2019 elections to the upcoming 2024 elections. The focus is on the interconnection between descriptive participation and substantive representation. The research methodology employed involves a critical analysis of existing literature supplemented by interviews conducted with young women

actively involved in five political parties qualified as participants in the 2024 elections (Golkar, Nasdem, PKB, Demokrat, and PSI), including both ordinary party members and those who were elected as members of the DPR (People's Representative Council of Indonesia) in the 2019 elections.

Keywords: young women, political parties, political representation

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Participation and Agency: Indonesian Young Women in Advocating Sexual Violence Crime Law

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 109–122, 2 tables, 48 bibliographies

Since a decade ago, the women's movement in Indonesia has consolidated its power to advocate for policies aimed at eliminating sexual violence through legislative advocacy and public campaigns. These efforts were a response to the increasing cases of sexual violence and the absence of a legal framework to address the issue. In the process of policy advocacy, young women have played a crucial role by participating in formal and informal political processes, although their participation has often been overlooked and unrecognized. This research examines the dynamics of young women's activism in various forms at the national level in the advocacy process for Sexual Violence Crime Law (UU Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual/UU TPKS). This research aims to demonstrate the role and forms of activism among young women in advocating policies related to sexual violence. The study utilizes a qualitative methodology through in-depth interviews with eight young women activists involved in the advocacy, lobbying, and campaigning to pass the bill. The research finds that young women face various barriers and challenges, but simultaneously demonstrate their agency in the policy advocacy process.

Keywords: young women, participation, agency, TPKS law

Usep Hasan Sadikin

Perkumpulan untuk Pemilu dan Demokrasi (Perludem)

The Politics of Hope Synergy: the Intersectionality of Youth Politics in Feminism

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 123–136, 1 table, 13 figures, 49 bibliographies

Indonesian youth experience age discrimination (ageism) according to the Domination Matrix in the form of legal structural dominance and cultural hegemony. Law Number 40 of 2009 on Youth defines youth as citizens aged 16–30 years, but a number of political positions in Law Number 7 of 2017 on Elections and Law Number 10 of 2016 on Local Elections have conditions that prohibit youth ages. All youths are prohibited from becoming president/deputy which is implied by the existence of a minimum age requirement of 40 years, governor/deputy (30), and members of the General Election Commission/Election Supervisory Body at central (40), provincial (35) and district/city levels (30). Culturally, the ageism which judges youth to be incapable of leading is natural with the fact that youth have never nominated a youth minister and chairman of National Committee of Indonesian Youth (KNPI). It is important for young people to study the politics of hope for feminism, which in history succeeded in removing the ban on women's suffrage and succeeded in obtaining political affirmation of at least 30%. As a significant number of citizens, the intersectionality of youth in feminism can be a synergy to achieve a more representative

parliament, by recognizing one another's identities within the framework of political expectations.

Keywords: politics of hope, ageism, youth, intersectionality

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Agency and Inclusive Citizenship for Women with Disabilities: A Case Study of the Role of HWDI in Handling Covid-19 in Jakarta

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 137–147, 48 bibliographies

Persons with disabilities experience vulnerability in fulfilling their right to protection in a pandemic situation. This study aims to examine the participation process of groups of persons with disabilities, namely the Indonesian Association of Women with Disabilities (Himpunan Wanita Disabilitas Indonesia – HWDI) through the struggle for disability protection during the Covid-19 period in DKI Jakarta. This study uses the perspective of inclusive citizenship to see efforts to involve active participation of citizens in encouraging the fulfillment of rights by the government. This study uses a descriptive qualitative method with narrative analysis techniques. The results of the study show that although HWDI has been able to influence the DKI Jakarta provincial government in several policies, there are rights that still need to be fulfilled in the dimension of inclusive citizenship. These rights include social, civil, and political rights which have not been fulfilled by the government, which has implications for persons with disabilities not being further involved in handling the Covid-19 pandemic.

Keywords: persons with disabilities, inclusive citizenship, disability protection rights from disasters.

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Men as Allies of the Feminist Movement: Men's Involvement as a Strategy for the Advocacy Movement Carried Out by Civil Society Networks in Encouraging the Ratification of the Sexual Violence Crime Law

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 149–160, 1 table, 28 bibliographies

This research discusses the advocacy strategy carried out by the Civil Society Network (JMS) by involving men to push for the ratification

of the TPKS Law. By referring to the theory of the strategic capacity of gender equality policy advocates by Htun and Weldon, JMS has used organizational capacity through strategies of (1) framing demands; (2) building networks, and (3) lobbying policymakers. This study uses a qualitative method by conducting in-depth interviews to obtain primary data and collecting secondary data through a study of documents including regulations, news, and previously existing scientific papers. The findings from this study indicate that JMS involves men in advocacy strategies that are carried out by utilizing the privileges of men. For instance, the involvement of male religious leaders to counter the narrative of rejection of the TPKS Law which considers the TPKS Law to be inconsistent with the religious and moral values of the Indonesian people. Apart from that, JMS also involves male legislators who have a strategic position as Chairperson of the TPKS Law Working Committee to help lobby other members of the Indonesian Parliament.

Keywords: advocacy strategy, JMS, allies, sexual violence

Ikhaputri Widiyanti¹ & Retno Daru Dewi G. S. Putri²

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Learning from Young Women Activists: A Way to Influence Early Political Awareness

Jurnal Perempuan, Vol. 28 No. 2, August 2023, page 161–173, 1 table, 18 bibliographies

This research emphasizes the importance of involving young women in various activism. Problems arise when young women are often considered immature to be involved in social and political movements. Apart from being supported by a patriarchal mindset that tends to subordinate women's experience, there is an intersectional problem where young people need more knowledge to make changes. In fact, one way to encourage active representation of women in political space is to encourage involvement from a young age. This research explores the activism experiences of young women who influence their respective communities. Data was collected through Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and strengthened through literature studies. The data is managed using a political participation theory approach, as well as the influence of affect theory in digital activism. The findings in this research show that young women's knowledge is just as essential in the political space. Their advocacy is full of the spirit of the times, so they can have a strong influence on other young women through the community they have built.

Keywords: youth community advocacy and networking, young women activists, young women's political participation

Young Women and Political Parties: From Descriptive Participation to Substantive Representation

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Abstract

The low level of political participation among women in general, including young women, in Indonesia can be explained through three reasons. Firstly, women face a challenging playing field because politics is predominantly characterized by a masculine culture. Secondly, in their pursuit of political engagement, women encounter several obstacles, such as patriarchal structures, sexist and ageist views, and social class barriers. Thirdly, young women are also hindered by political nepotism, lack of party support, limited political knowledge, and financial constraints. This paper utilizes the conceptual framework of Women and Political Party by Lovenduski (1997), Squires (2007), Ann Phillips' theory of women's representation, as well as the works of Young, Mouffe, Childs, and Krook to examine the dynamics of young women and political parties in Indonesia from the 2019 elections to the upcoming 2024 elections. The focus is on the interconnection between descriptive participation and substantive representation. The research methodology employed involves a critical analysis of existing literature supplemented by interviews conducted with young women actively involved in five political parties qualified as participants in the 2024 elections (*Golkar, NasDem, PKB, Demokrat, and PSI*), including both ordinary party members and those who were elected as members of the DPR (People's Representative Council of Indonesia) in the 2019 elections.

Keywords: young women, political parties, political representation

Introduction

History has shown that the role and participation of "young people" can transform not only political systems, but also natural and human resources, and economic opportunities. However, many people still doubt the potential of young people and marginalise their role. In addition to being marginalised, young people face many structural challenges such as poverty, educational barriers, and limited access. In the 2024 elections, the electorate is estimated to reach 187 million people. According to the General Election Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum, KPU*), millennials and Generation Z will be the largest voters.

Generation Z and Millennials are the largest voting bloc in the 2024 elections. However, these two groups of voters tend to be apathetic and averse to politics, both formal politics by becoming political party cadres and active voters in elections (Rojab 2022). This is due to Generation Z and Millennials' low knowledge of Indonesia's political and electoral system. This assumption then leads to the lack of representation of Generation Z (1996-2015) and Millennial Generation (born 1980-1995) in the legislative sphere, especially the representation of

young women. In 2024, the Millennial Generation will be 29-44 years old, and Generation Z will be 19-28 years old. This means that these two groups will be the biggest voters in the 2024 elections.

Generation Z is often labelled as an egocentric and politically apathetic group. They do not think elections change much. Generation Z is a large electorate, but they are not involved in the decisions that affect their lives. This means that Gen Z's voices, aspirations, or demands are not heard by those in power and by policy makers. Meanwhile, they are also not encouraged to get involved in formal political activities, such as political parties. In fact, Generation Z is very critical. They pay a lot of attention to substantive issues that are important and strategic, such as anti-corruption, the environment including the climate crisis, human rights, and gender equality. They hope that there will be more discourse on government policies in the form of open forums outside of the presidential and vice-presidential candidate debates organised by the KPU or televised inter-party debates. Unlike Generation Z, Millennials have a different political experience from the older generation. They are the generation that grew up in the open atmosphere of

the post-reformation era and have almost no memories of the New Order, let alone the Old Order.

Millennials, despite their large numbers, think that politics is only for old-fashioned people or the older generation. Most tend to be apathetic and not very politically savvy. Based on CNN Indonesia's data, they are very tech-savvy and active on social media such as Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, WhatsApp, and TikTok. The data also shows that 80 per cent of Millennials access social media every day (Sinaga 2018). The information they consume includes holidays, entertainment, culinary, religion, politics, and sports. Millennials are also interested in new things, such as disruptive innovations.

At the same time, it was found that the number of female voters had reached more than 96 million, or 51 per cent - the majority - of the total number of voters. Borrowing data from Plan International Indonesia, the survey results shows that political participation is very important. Plan International Indonesia (2023) finds that 69 per cent of young women admitted to facing challenges when trying to participate in politics. Meanwhile, 29 per cent said that politicians generally do not listen to young women, and another 25 per cent said that politicians do not talk about issues that affect their lives. Finally, some 23 per cent of young women face barriers in the form of a lack of understanding of political issues. Plan International Indonesia's research also shows that poverty, unemployment, violence, and conflict are of greater concern to young people than other issues.

The voice and role of young people is important because they have the potential to bring new ideas, innovations, and idealism in the midst of today's political madness, which shows a series of corruption cases by state officials, the display of wealth by the State Civil Apparatus (*Aparatur Sipil Negara, ASN*), and the lack of achievement shown by policies that do not favour and respond to the needs of the community. At the same time, the representation of young people in parliament is still relatively low. Out of a total of 575 members of the People's Representative Council of Indonesia (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia, DPR RI*) for the 2019-2024 period, only 20 are under 30 years old. This is a decrease compared to the 2014-2019 period, when there were 92 out of 560 members of DPR RI. Looking at their backgrounds, half of the young politicians in DPR RI today come from political dynasties. For example, Puteri Komarudin, Hillary Brigitta Lasut, or those who come from circles that not only have kinship ties within the political party but also large economic capital, such as Gerardus Budisatrio Djiwandono.

Indonesia has provided constitutional guarantees through the provisions of Article 28H(2) of the 1945 Constitution, which states that everyone is entitled to receive ease and special treatment in order to obtain the same opportunity and benefit in order to achieve equality and justice. This provision was subsequently followed up in Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties and the Election Law (PKPU No. 7 of 2019 on Elections), which provide for women's representation of at least 30 per cent in each electoral district at each level, and the list of candidates submitted by political parties must meet the provisions that for every three candidates there is at least one female candidate (semi-zipper). If the political party does not meet these requirements, then the political party is disqualified in the electoral district that does not meet the PKPU provisions. This policy was maintained until the 2019 elections. As a result, women's representation in parliament continued to increase from the 1999 elections to the 2019 elections, from 9 per cent in the 1999 elections to 11 per cent in the 2004 elections, then increased again to 18 per cent in the 2009 elections, decreased slightly to 17 per cent in the 2014 elections, and increased to 20.5 per cent in the 2019 elections. The percentage of women in legislative seats in Indonesia, while increasing, is still below the global average of 26.8 per cent.

Research Methodology

The research methodology is a critical analysis of literature studies complemented by online interviews conducted in June 2023 with young women active in the five political parties that qualify to participate in the 2024 elections (*Golkar, NasDem, PKB, Demokrat and PSI*), both those who are ordinary cadres and those who were elected as members of DPR RI in the 2019 elections.

Joni Lovenduski (2005) cynically argues that parliament is a repository of traditional political masculinity. This sentence can be interpreted as a description of conditions that are highly correlated with conditions in political parties as the main distributors of members in parliament. With ease and clarity, we can understand Lovenduski's point that as long as political parties never manage to carry out recruitment, regeneration, capacity building, promotion, and management - especially for women politicians - then parliament that will produce public policies will continue to have a masculine face like that of political parties.

Although provisions for women's affirmative action are included in Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties and

Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections, and many political parties also have provisions for women's affirmative action in their statutes and bylaws, the discrepancy in women's representation remains a major problem to date. The problem is rooted in the internal conditions of political parties, which should be the upstream of all affirmative action. It turns out that they have not been able and have not been strongly committed to including women as strategic and useful figures. If the process of recruitment, regeneration, capacity building, and promotion within the political party is not optimally implemented, this condition indicates that there is no attitude of "mutual respect and interdependence between political parties and their women members".

Women's Political Interests in the Concept of Representation

Gender issues such as sexual violence, trafficking of women and children, high maternal mortality rates, inadequate health services, poverty with a female face, and vulnerable migrant workers are some of the many strategic issues of concern to feminist groups. Democracy and the fulfilment of human rights, as enshrined in the Constitution and its derived regulations, should enhance the dignity and fundamental rights of every human being. However, for the majority of women, including young women, the impact is negative and makes their lives and future uncertain. Cases faced by young people, both men and women, such as educated unemployment, employment, economic hardship, high housing prices, poor environmental quality, lack of security guarantees for their right to privacy, restrictions on freedoms of speech and expression, and sexual harassment are some of the strategic problems faced by the Millennial and Generation Z generations.

There are many factors that are not taken into account and make it more difficult for women to receive the same benefits and outcomes from their participation in political parties. Androcentric assumptions and claims of neutrality, objectivity, and inclusivity are still common. In fact, these issues are loaded with gender dimensions. Implicitly and explicitly, these assumptions favour one gender (usually men), and the standards and experiences used are those of men, which are considered normal and true.

According to Squires (2007), there are three strategies for achieving gender justice in the political arena: quotas (affirmative policies), gender mainstreaming (*Pengarusutamaan Gender*, PUG), and the establishment

of gender focal points in political parties (women focal points). Forms in the political parties vary, such as the *Kesatuan Perempuan Partai Golkar* (KPPG) Golkar Women's Wing (*Sayap Perempuan Golkar*), *Pergerakan Perempuan Kebangkitan Bangsa* (PPKB) PKB Women's Wing, *Srikandi Demokrat* (Democratic Party), *Perempuan Partai Solidaritas Indonesia* (PSI), *Garnita Malahayati Nasional Demokrat*, *Perempuan Indonesia Raya* (Gerindra), *Perempuan Partai Amanat Nasional* (PUAN), *Srikandi PDIP*, and *Wanita Persatuan Pembangunan* (WPP).

While quotas aim for numbers, PUG aims to ensure that processes in decision-making arenas incorporate gender-equitable principles. PUG focuses not only on women nominally, but also on gender justice to change unequal power relations. There has been much criticism of quotas and PUG. The main criticism of quotas is their potential to be essentialist, pursuing only quantity and marginalising quality of representation and gender perspectives. PUG has the potential to again marginalise women because it allows everyone to participate (integrationist) and is bureaucratic and technocratic in nature, further reinforcing neoliberal principles and moving away from the idea of gender justice.

So, how do we interpret women's political interests? How are women's political interests fought for by political parties? Existing feminist theory shows that there is no single explanation of the causes of women's subordination that can be used as the main basis for defining women's interests.

Molyneux (1985) defines three concepts that are considered to be women's interests: women's interest, practical gender interest, and strategic gender interest. Women's interest is seen as a problematic concept due to the heterogeneous identity of women; it is impossible to generalise that there is a common women's interest in different places. Gender interest is the interest of women and men that is socially constructed through the social attributes of male and female gender. Strategic gender interests can be practical and immediate, and strategic gender interests require feminist awareness and take longer.

In addition to Molyneux, the concept of women's interests being different from men is also discussed by Iris Marion Young (1990). According to Young, women's interests differ from men's because of biological differences (sexual differences). Biological differences lead to differences in interests. This view has also been widely criticised for seeing women only in a homogeneous category. Anne Phillips (1991) argues

that women's interests are highly contextualised, diverse, unequal, and fluid because the category of women is not homogeneous. Phillips recognises that there are differences in the interests of women and men. For Phillips, however, the most important thing is to equalise participation by forgetting gender differences for a moment. Phillips is one of the political feminists best known for her idea of affirmative action in the form of quotas for women in politics.

Of course, Phillips' ideas have also been challenged and criticised as the idea of equalising participation through the pursuit of numbers often marginalising the presence of gender ideological perspectives in the realm of formal politics. Mouffe (1992) in Randall & Waylen (1998) came out of the sexual-biological interest and gender interest debate by considering the political arena as an open contestation. Women have both practical and strategic interests. Regardless of differences in gender, sex, women's interest identities, and gender interests, we should move beyond terminological debates for substantive democratic purposes. The link between identity and interests cannot be simplified by assuming a shared identity. There is always a struggle for interests. Therefore, political context and opportunity are two aspects that also need to be examined.

Young Women and Political Party Experience

A survey conducted by *Kompas* Daily shows that the younger generation's views on politics generally express a reluctance to participate in politics and join political parties. The Chairman of *OPP Perindo*, Michael Sianipar, for example, stated that there are structural problems in the political party that hinder participation in elections or in political parties, namely seniority behaviour, prioritisation of people with senior age or proximity to political party leaders, large capital ownership, the existence of many supportive fan clubs, and also the level of education (Nababan 2023). Young people in Indonesia are considered immature in terms of experience and ability to enter politics. If the young group is female, the barriers to entering politics are compounded by cultural norms in society. In 2019, the Constitutional Court rejected a judicial review by a young politician from the Indonesian Solidarity Party (*Partai Solidaritas Indonesia, PSI*) to lower the age limit for regional head candidates. Currently, the minimum age to become a governor is 30 years old, and the age to become a regent or mayor is 25 years old.

Similarly, adolescent girls consider women's participation important, but their participation is still very low. The majority perceive many barriers to participation, such as a political system that is not friendly to them, politicians, in general, who do not talk about issues that affect women, and mistrust and lack of confidence in voting in elections. From the formal political sphere, data on the representation of young people under 30 years of age is only 4 per cent. In fact, the projection of women as voters in the 2024 elections is estimated at 50-60 per cent (Saubani 2023). Through interviews conducted by the author on the experiences of young women in the Millennial generation age group who are actively involved in politics through the five political parties participating in the upcoming 2024 elections (*Partai Demokrat, Partai Solidaritas Indonesia, Partai Golongan Karya, Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, and Partai Nasional Demokrat*), there are multiple challenges that young women face when they are serious about entering the political arena through political parties. This section provides a reflective review of the interview activities conducted with the theoretical framework used.

On the *first* layer of challenge, sexism, almost all interviewees agreed on the different treatment and roles that men and women receive in formal political activities. According to an interviewee from *Partai Golkar*, being a woman in a masculine formal political environment is a burden, especially if you are young. It is an additional burden. The first obstacle women face when registering as a member of a political party is the support from the family, be it husband, children, or other extended family. If there are obstacles from the family, the woman is likely to be discouraged from participating in formal politics through political parties. If the married woman finally does enter the political arena, she will have to make many compromises. There are priorities that must be chosen so that the time to be present in the family is greatly reduced. There will also be a phenomenon of multiple roles that these women will experience. This situation is different from that of single women. When it comes to barriers to joining the political party, family factors are likely to be a secondary reason, usually these barriers are in the form of high political costs in terms of political capital and campaigning. After facing sexist opinions in the family sphere, women are also hindered by sexist activities in the political party sphere as a masculine institution (LAP from Golkar & TA from PSI 2023, interviews 11 & 12 June). All interviewees agreed that there are some sexist comments made by male political

party members, usually aimed at women's appearance. There are also jokes that cross the line and make female cadres feel uncomfortable. A young woman's status, personal opinions, and history in a political party can also be used to undermine her bargaining position as a cadre. According to one PSI cadre, there was resistance from members of other political parties when she loudly voiced disagreement with a policy formulated by a particular political party.

Second, the cost of politics is high. If a candidate has a lot of capital, many financial obstacles can be overcome. According to our interviews with *Partai Demokrat* and *Golkar* (LI from *Partai Demokrat* & PK from *Golkar* 2023, interviews 10 & 13 June), both interviewees agreed that having big political capital is a great privilege and makes it easy for both of them to become legislative candidates of the respective political party. In the prevailing field conditions, it must be recognised that there are logistical costs that must be met to ensure that a legislative candidate has a name that is recognised by the community in his or her constituency. Legislative candidates who do not have the capacity to bear the necessary political costs are automatically disadvantaged. From the interviews conducted, it appears that these disadvantaged parties consist mostly of "ordinary" young women, not celebrities, not related to political dynasties, with limited economic capital, who are active in the political party as legislative candidates or only as cadres, who may have a lot of knowledge and understanding of the strategic issues to be fought for, and who have social capital in the form of long grassroots organising work.

Third, the culture of seniority within the political party. If we are talking about a political party whose system is already strong, there will be a phenomenon of fighting over serial numbers and quotas to become legislative candidates. In theory, this situation can be resolved with the help of the solidarity of senior colleagues. However, in the interviews conducted, these seniors actually underestimated their political abilities. Seniors who should be inspiring role models instead become obstacles for young women who are new to formal politics. As a result, these young women have no choice but to participate in voluntary and unpaid party activities to support their vertical mobility in the party political order. One of the interviewees from *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (PKB) said that the place that is usually used as an arena for young women who have just entered the political party is the women's wing (ZV of PKB 2023, interview 12 June). The activities of the women's

wing are closely related to social services and publicity. Young women, who should be given easier access to the political arena, are instead burdened with pro bono tasks that offer no certainty about their chances of becoming members of the legislature. Another problem is that not all senior women in a political party join the women's wing, increasing the possibility of young women being subordinated and exploited by their seniors and creating a gap that reinforces the culture of seniority in the party. In this context, young women do not have the agency to refuse because the selection of cadre nominees is controlled by more senior women through the requirement that 30 per cent of a political party's cadres must be women.

The phenomenon of recruiting young public figures as political party cadres is not new. Almost all political parties have cadres of young public figures based on the principle of reciprocity: cadres get political vehicles and political parties get massive publicity. Some political parties use these cadres of young public figures to win seats in the legislature by appropriate methods, so that the cadres are elected. However, this condition does not deny the practice of political parties using celebrity cadres for publicity purposes only. In an interview with one of the young public figure cadres, the political party did not adopt an approach of familiarising the cadre with the political arena (FD and MK from *NasDem* Party 2023, interview 12 June). What the party does is an approach that focuses on publicity. In addition, these young cadres who are public figures have fierce electoral districts and are not placed at number 1 because there are other cadres who will run again. This condition is very detrimental to young public figure cadres who have minimal knowledge of the political arena. However, to quote a legislative candidate nominated by PKB, he "did not feel that his position was being used for the party's interests" and instead felt that "the party was open and tended to guide him, who is relatively new to the political arena". There is a mismatch of knowledge and awareness of his position between the supporting political party and this legislative candidate with a public figure background.

Finally, the use of formal political participation by young people who are only used as party vote-getters. Based on the author's research in five political parties, there is a tendency for young cadres to be used as legislative candidates in order to fill quotas and not to be empowered. This condition is very detrimental to these cadres because the political party explicitly uses them to fill the shortage of legislative candidates in certain

electoral districts. Some of these young cadres do not even know the political issues to be fought for and the culture of the political party environment. This lack of provision increases the barriers for these young women to become active in the political environment. Quoting legislative candidates under the age of 25 interviewed by the author, they believe that “the party has been very good in giving access to young people to experience and enter the party and become legislative candidates in the 2024 elections” (FD and MK from *NasDem* 2023, interviews 12 June). However, further investigation revealed that the political party did not equip these young people with things that should be understood and fulfilled when running for the legislature, such as political costs. According to the author’s research, they assume that “the cost of politics is cheap because it only covers the logistical costs of moving around during the campaign process, which can be paid for by personal expenses, even if they are not from the upper class”. This statement shows that these legislative candidates were not warned that politics is a costly battleground and were allowed to run for office with an almost absolute possibility of defeat.

Some political parties see youth groups as “supporters” so that their cadres can qualify for nomination in each constituency. The activities offered by political parties to young people are very promising, such as social services, leadership training, and meetings with influential party figures. In the end, however, these young people are only used as cadres to fill the final serial numbers. It can be said that the political parties are still capitalising on young people’s lack of knowledge about how politics should be done and exploiting their enthusiasm for politics by providing false opportunities. Some of the young cadres we interviewed ran for DPR RI in highly competitive electoral districts and received last candidacy serial numbers. These young cadres are also unaware of the high political costs involved in becoming a legislator (FD and MK from *NasDem* 2023, interviews 12 June).

Ultimately, young women in the political party have to prove their ability and legitimacy before they can be recognised by male cadres or more senior female cadres. Some of the legitimacy that can bring women recognition are how many votes they can get that will help the party win, how much money they can help with the campaign, whether their family has an important position in Indonesia’s political order, and their closeness to central party figures. For young women, only those with privilege can enjoy the means to actively participate in party and electoral politics.

So far, gender issues have not been mainstreamed in political parties in Indonesia. Based on the interviews conducted, the average political party does not have an integrated programme for women politicians in terms of how to train them, build their capacity, and fully support their candidacy to win in electoral contests. Today, 20 years after the adoption of the affirmative action (zipper) policy in the Political Parties Law, the requirement of at least 30 per cent women in the executive structure remains difficult to meet. Cultural and social challenges are still an obstacle. The party politics we see today shows that political parties in Indonesia are still not used to the contestation of ideas between parties. The battle over an issue, its success or failure, is determined by the lobbying process, not by the battle of ideas and arguments. Political parties tend not to want to run on the same issues as other political parties. There is always a desire to be different. For example, the Domestic Workers Protection Bill (RUU PPRT) is not seen as an issue that responds to the demands of marginalised and vulnerable women, but the party sees it only as an issue and interest that will benefit the *NasDem* party. There was no discussion in terms of public learning and education about the socialisation of which articles were discussed or which components of the Bill proved to be problematic. According to the party, there will be parties that will specifically benefit from the issues they raise, and this will be very linear with the party’s victory in the 2024 elections. With this logic, it is not surprising that strategic issues raised by young people, such as employment, unemployment of educated people, and unaffordable housing prices, will never, or hardly ever, become party issues and will be fought for by political parties.

Bringing Women into the Formal Political Arena

The women’s movement has always faced the dilemma of whether engaging with political parties can change the deteriorating conditions of women, especially women from vulnerable groups, or whether engaging with parties will only provide legitimacy and perpetuate patriarchal power relations (Lovenduski 1986; Sainsbury 2004). Nevertheless, in the context of Indonesian politics, the choice to build relationships and work from within by joining political parties is the strategy of choice for the women’s movement after the 1998 reform.

In the history of the relationship between the women’s movement and political parties in Indonesia after the 1998 reform, according to the data found by the author, women’s participation and the inclusion of the women’s

movement agenda were accepted by almost all political parties in Indonesia after the regulation of the Political Parties Law, which began in 2002, and the General Election Law, which began in 2004. The affirmative action policy in the form of a minimum quota of 30 per cent for women was successfully included for the first time in Law No. 31 of 2002 on Political Parties and Law No. 12 of 2003 on the Election of the House of Representatives (DPR), Regional Representatives Council (DPD), and Regional Legislative Council (DPRD) and was implemented for the first time in the 2004 elections. Since its implementation, the affirmative action policy has become an important mechanism in the fight for women's equality in politics.

When we talk about the relationship between the women's movement and political party, of course the relationship between the two is not fixed and shows a dynamic of ups and downs. The discourse of affirmation for women in political parties has undergone several changes since the 2004 elections. In the run-up to the 2009 elections, Law No. 2 of 2008 on Political Parties and Law No. 10 of 2008 on Elections were passed. Both laws affirm that political parties must include at least 30 per cent women in their leadership. This decision is based on the view that the presence of women in the political party is beneficial in promoting political change and increased mobilisation of women in the party. In addition, this decision also aims to increase the number of women in strategic positions so that they can be positioned as role models to inspire other women to run for different positions at different levels. It is hoped that with this decision, women in parties and active movements will work together to continue to raise the issue of increased representation.

Elections Law No. 10 of 2008 stipulates a structure for candidate lists based on a modified zipper model. This means that there must be at least one female candidate for every three candidates. Experience in various countries has shown that the zipper system can rapidly increase women's participation in the political system when combined with a semi-open proportional electoral system. These improvements in party and electoral laws resulted in an increase in women's representation to 18 per cent (approximately 100 out of 560 members of DPR RI), compared to only 11 per cent in the 2004 elections. Elections Law No. 10 of 2008 has been successful in representing women and increasing their numbers in political institutions, central and local parliaments. It has also had a positive impact on increasing women's representation in political parties as administrators.

In the run-up to the 2014 elections, both laws were revised in Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties and Law No. 8 of 2012 on Elections. Provisions on the 30 per cent party quota appear not only in the party management article, but also in articles on the nomination of women and the establishment of political parties. All of these provisions are complemented by the issuance of Regulation No. 7 of 2013, Article 27, by the General Election Commission (KPU), which states that the KPU will impose sanctions on political parties that do not meet the 30 per cent quota for female candidates. Due to party dynamics in response to the relevant regulations and laws, women's representation in parliament decreased slightly to 17 per cent in the 2014 election.

For the 2019 General Election, the provisions on women's affirmation in Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties and Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections remain substantially unchanged. However, the implementation of the 2019 General Elections has been supplemented by PKPU (KPU) Regulation No. 20 of 2018, which includes sanctions for political parties that do not meet the 30 per cent women's candidacy requirement in certain electoral districts in the form of cancellation of the party's participation in the electoral districts. As a result of the addition of PKPU No. 20 of 2018, the results of the 2019 elections showed that the representation of women at DPR-RI increased to 20 per cent.

The conclusion that can be drawn from the description of the affirmative action policies journey is that the open-list proportional electoral system and the affirmative action policies adopted have been able to encourage women's participation and have a positive correlation with the strengthening of women's position in the political sphere, as shown by the increase in the number of women elected to parliament. As described in the discussion above, from the 2004 to the 2019 elections.

For the upcoming 2024 elections, the provisions of Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections are still the legal umbrella for the simultaneous elections on 14 February 2024. The presence of Perpu No. 1 of 2022 on Elections is more to accommodate the presence of new provinces in South Papua, Central Papua, Mountainous Papua, and Southwest Papua. The provisions of the Elections Law still refer to the same Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections, as well as the Law on Political Parties, which is also unchanged and still refers to Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties.

Young Women Party Politicians

The presence of affirmative action policies for women in political parties and elections has been met with mixed reactions from political parties in Indonesia. The parties' willingness to implement the quota affirmative action policy varies. For large parties, such as *Partai Golkar*, they stated that there were no difficulties in getting female cadres to be nominated as legislative candidates at various levels in the elections. However, for small parties and new parties, they expressed difficulties and felt that the quota would be difficult to meet at various levels, especially at the district/city (DPRD) level. They argue that if the provision is implemented, parties will easily use a cadre's wife, sister or other family member to fulfil the requirement.

All political parties want to win elections. In order to win and not be eliminated, they realise that women who are recruited or nominated must have electoral appeal. That is, these women are advised to be able to attract as many and as wide a range of voters as possible to support them. If the cadre system does not work, the shortcut is to recruit women from outside the party cadre.

Women who are recruited apart from the aim of filling the 30 per cent quota for women can also be used to support, strengthen, and expand the political party's voter base while at the same time not jeopardising the position or becoming a rival to the party's leadership or elite. If observed, more than 70 per cent of female candidates on the political party's permanent candidate list (*Daftar Calon Tetap, DCT*) come from the external sphere consisting of celebrities, public figures, or those who have a large following on social media. For the 2024 Legislative Elections, there are names from the parties' DCT, such as Krisdayanti and Tamara Geraldine from *PDIP*, Reza Artamevia and Anisa Bahar from *NasDem*, Desy Ratnasari from *PAN*, Arzeti Bilbina, Lyeth Bustami, and Zora Vidya from *PKB*, Ingrid Kansil, Arumi Bachsin, and Emilia Contessa from the *Partai Demokrat*, to Venna Melinda from *Perindo*. The same phenomenon is also true of male celebrities, such as Vicky Prasetyo, Jamal Mirdad, Norman Kamaru, and Opie Kumis, who work as comedians, singers, and film players who have a fan base. However, as politicians, their ability to be elected as legislative members is questionable. Are these names capable and have the capacity to carry out effective parliamentary duties or not?

Legislative candidates consisting of celebrities, public figures, or those who have many followers on social media are needed as magnets to attract voters (vote getters)

for political parties. The presence of celebrities, public figures, or those who have many followers on social media as legislative candidates gives political parties an advantage in the competition for media coverage. Based on the author's interviews with legislative candidates who fall into these backgrounds, he was placed in an electoral zone that was hard and difficult for his party. This condition was compounded by the death of one of his party's former ministers, who was also standing in the zone in the 2019 elections. According to him, such a placement is based on the reason of attracting voters who are not too interested in political practices. From the party's point of view, celebrities from the entertainment world have the ability to build relationships and closeness with fans who are far away from them through fan networks (fan clubs).

The party as a gatekeeper plays an important role because the cadres who become legislative candidates should be those who have sufficient political capacity and ability and deserve to be elected. Being a legislator is not an easy role because they will be performing representative duties and playing a political role in DPR and DPRD. Legislators will face various problems. For example, how to develop a political agenda in accordance with the needs of the community, how to position themselves in the debates of the factions and commissions, how to manage the aggregation of the interests of the constituents they represent, and how to make important political decisions that have a broad impact on society.

However, not all legislative candidates with celebrity backgrounds, public figures, or those with large social media followings are of low quality or incompetent. On the contrary, some of the interviewees have ideas and directions that qualify them to participate in politics and become members of the legislature. Some of them also understand their position as linear women with their obligation to fight for strategic issues related to gender equality. According to the interviewees, their ability to participate in politics requires broader support and a deeper "pool" (in this context, a political party) to reflect their ideas in the legislative sphere.

In addition to celebrity candidates, another phenomenon that raises concerns among voters is the presence of candidates who are related to party leaders or elites at the central and regional levels. These legislative candidates usually already have an electoral base inherited from their families and have no obstacles in channelling political costs. They also tend to have an

easier path because party elites support their candidacy. In an office-seeking party system, the centralisation of power in party leaders and elites and the patronage culture are very strong. Therefore, the practice of recruiting family members of party leaders or elites is easy to carry out and difficult to control. Political dynasties are generally integrated with economic power and political capital in electoral contestation.

From election to election after the 1998 reform, dynastic or family politics has emerged in all political parties. The 2024 elections will certainly not be much different. The negative impacts are, of course, hindering fair competition in elections and increasing the possibility of corruption. In most cases, dynastic politics also undermines proper political practices, erodes voter confidence, and leads to apathy towards political activities, and abuses affirmative action policies that should not be allowed to grow.

By having a political network in the government, investments or projects carried out by certain parties will be passed easily. This phenomenon leads to unequal opportunities for entrepreneurs. Political dynasties are also seen as a shortcut to winning the contestation. In the 2019 elections, many legislative candidates with a political dynasty background managed to secure seats. While in office, these lawmakers prioritised policies that benefit themselves and their families. If political dynasties continue to grow and there is no oversight or control, the political system will only become a place to fight for and maintain power. There will be more cases of families of regional heads occupying legislative seats, and more massive cases of families of legislative members "continuing" their positions by participating as members of the DPR RI/DPD/DPRD.

News about female legislative candidates that is discussed in the media is mostly not about their ability to perform political functions in formal political institutions. The news that appears highlighted the colour of lipstick, clothes, make-up of the legislative candidate, the price of shoes, bags, luxury goods, and brands worn by the legislative candidate. This condition plays a role in gathering critical opinions from the public regarding the competence of existing female legislative candidates. The public should be able to know the background,

and mission of the legislative candidates, not their *Dior* or *Yves Saint Laurent* shoes.

More than a few young women elected to parliament have stumbled into cases of corruption, ethical violations, or reprehensible behaviour. The cases against young female politicians such as Angelina Sondakh (*Partai Demokrat*) and Rita Widyasari (*Golkar* Party) are examples that the public and society never forget. This political corruption usually occurs when political decisions are made by abusing authority and manipulating policies, procedures, or rules for the benefit of themselves and their groups. In fact, there are no women politicians with dynastic political backgrounds who have the capacity to act, argue, and make smart decisions in formulating good policy decisions in politics. There are several legislative candidates with dynastic political backgrounds who can effectively and competently formulate appropriate policies and several times go directly to the community to educate them.

If we scroll through the news on social media, the number of conversations about young female politicians is less than or not equal to the number of conversations about a male figure, for example on Twitter. Trending topics tend to be about male politicians, such as Adian Napitupulu, Masinton Pasaribu, Rian Ernesto, Dave Laksono, and Faldo Maldini. When it comes to female politicians, there are a few names that come to mind, such as Tsamara Amany. Other competent female politicians, such as Hetifah, Nurul Arifin and Isyana Bagoes Oka, are rarely mentioned. Statements made by male political figures are also more echoed, discussed, and accepted by Twitter users than statements made by female political figures. The statements of female political figures are usually responded to with sexist remarks and tend not to highlight their competence or way of thinking. Audiences tend to impose their views that women should not be vocal or critical in dealing with political issues.

Descriptive Participation, Substantive Representation

A question often asked is when does descriptive participation become a substantive practice of political representation. Political representation does indeed have a hierarchy and levels, as shown in the illustration below.

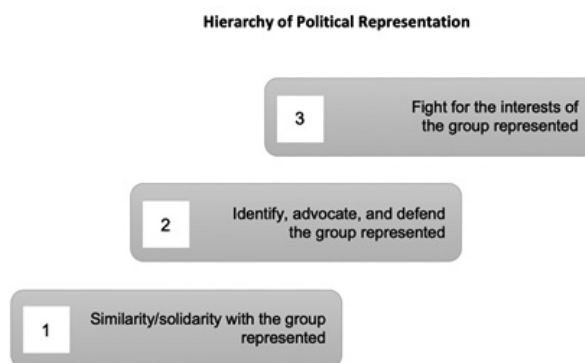


Figure 1: Hierarchy of Political Representation

Source: Processed by the author

In the early stages, a politician generally tends to associate themselves as similar to the group they represent. For example, female legislative candidates also target female voters because they feel they have something in common. In the second stage, there is a higher level of political awareness that encourages a person to recognise the group to be represented and to defend its interests regardless of similarities. For example, you do not have to be a worker to recognise the problems faced by workers and defend their interests against exploitation. The third stage, which acts as the top of the hierarchy, is consistent with the scope of political representation practices that explicitly lead to the struggle to defend the interests of vulnerable and marginalised groups in society (Gaol & Panjaitan 2023). Thus, full representation can only be practised when a representative understands the foundation of his or her work, which provides the prerequisites for sensitivity, responsiveness, and willingness to act in defence of vulnerable and marginalised groups.

A number of studies have shown that descriptive representation (standing for) does not guarantee substantive representation (acting for). This means that if today’s parliament has 20 per cent women out of 580 seats, it does not necessarily guarantee that more legislation will be produced on the issues of marginalised groups and minorities. If only descriptive representation emerges, then the quota is only a roof and an umbrella, not a foundation that will become a solid force for women legislators to transform political life in the future.

Childs and Krook (2014) propose a change in approach in examining women’s substantive representation in two respects: an approach that does not wait for when/if women will make a difference, but how women’s substantive representation can occur; and an approach

that does not focus on what women do, but what specific actors or critical actors do, not critical mass. Not just standing for but acting for. Critical actors are people who act either individually or collectively to bring about policy changes that are favourable to vulnerable groups and minorities, including women. These critical actors then drive the change in women’s representation from descriptive to substantive. These critical actors can be played by women and men who are gender aware.

Despite proposing a shift in approach to critical actors, Childs and Krook recognise that the concept of critical mass is still needed. Critical mass plays an important role in mobilising legislators who belong to the passive critical mass category to support policy reforms that favour vulnerable and marginalised groups. In conclusion, we should pay more attention to what these critical actors do, rather than what women legislators do (Adelina & Soetjipto 2014).

Closing

There are several personal reflective notes that the author has obtained through research on young women of the Millennial Generation and Generation Z as a new generation of women politicians who are active in political party institutions. The roles observed are party cadres, party administrators, and elected legislators in parliament. Their presence must be supported because they are an illustration of the future of Indonesian politics, and in their hands lies the challenge of realising gender justice and equality.

The *first* observation is that political parties remain a challenge for the new generation of women politicians. The challenges of seniority, sexism, patriarchal culture, masculine politics, and multiple barriers with economic and political dimensions are faced by many young women

when entering political parties. There are many challenges and difficulties they face. They take different forms, such as the nomination process to become legislative candidates, the election to the executive committee, and how to increase their political and electoral knowledge and understanding of the issues that they need to learn for the purposes of campaigning to win voters' votes, as well as their performance and work at the parliamentary level. Despite all these difficulties, it is encouraging that Indonesian women legislative candidates are able to compete in the electoral context to win parties and seats in parliament. Quantitative data in the form of increased female representation is irrefutable evidence.

The *second* observation is that women's political quotas are critical to use as a tool to accelerate change. In Indonesia, although provisions on women's political quotas have been included in Law No. 2 of 2011 on Political Parties and Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections with all its derivatives, the challenge of implementing these two legal frameworks remains a problem to date. Dominant groups that have enjoyed a central position of power do not give up easily and continue to try to weaken women's political quotas in various ways and strategies, such as PKPU No. 10 of 2023 on Quotas for Women Legislative Candidates.

The *third* observation is that young female cadres in the political party must first prove that they are better than the existing male cadres in order to be considered. Young women in politics must not only have strong self-confidence, but also experience and knowledge. They are also expected to be output-oriented role models and to be able to deliberate ideas in order to assert their positions and views in faction meetings. Gender mainstreaming in political parties is still a difficult obstacle to overcome. If our parliament cannot produce good policies, this condition can be interpreted as a description of conditions that are highly correlated with conditions in political parties as the main distributors of members in parliament. Unless political parties manage to recruit, regenerate, build capacity, promote, and manage - especially women politicians - the parliament that will produce public policies will continue to have masculine faces like those of political parties. Gender-responsive policies will be difficult to produce.

The *fourth* observation, when we talk about issues related to popularity and political dynasties, the question that is often asked is whether popularity and kinship are guarantees for increasing party votes? It seems that, from the existing cases, this correlation is not entirely correct.

Dynastic politics is a serious problem for both women and men. Therefore, dynastic politics should not and should never be associated with women in politics. Dynasty is a serious issue when we talk about political recruitment in Indonesia, as it is in other continental Asian countries, especially in Southeast Asia. Political dynasties are seen by the author as a reflection of serious disparities in wealth and welfare (educational access gap, economic gap, rural-urban residence gap). Dynastic politics has been around for a long time, and today the practice of dynastic politics has transformed into a high-cost politics that can only be fulfilled and carried out by certain groups in the form of groups with strong financial capital. Political dynasties therefore need to be seen in the context of the political recruitment process. Preliminary data from this research shows that there are a number of women who are identified as dynastic but have good work achievements. They consciously try to prove themselves worthy of being elected and have capacities that are not held hostage by kinship ties. Further research is needed to find out whether this phenomenon also applies to men with political dynasty backgrounds.

In this study, the author's perspective is one of support for women's representation in politics. This paper describes the author's approach to the issue, emphasising that substantive representation is closely related to the realisation of human rights, especially for women. Based on this perspective, the paper has several limitations. Firstly, by looking at the broad issue of women, gender, and political parties from the perspective of institutional liberal feminism, this paper only highlights the internal dynamics in terms of party relations and women within them. Secondly, this paper does not discuss the dynamics of the women's movement and political parties. Thirdly, this paper only discusses formal political activities through political party institutions, so there is no discussion of young people's political activities in informal ways. Nevertheless, this paper offers a novelty in the study of women and political parties by describing women through multiple layers of identity and experience. Writings on the subject usually discuss women as a single identity. In fact, women are individuals with multiple experiences and roles. The findings of this study also show that the role of youth in the formal political arena is limited by a number of barriers to substantive participation. Only a small layer of youth with oligarchic advantages such as wealth, kinship, and status are able to participate in the formal political arena.

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Political Empowerment of Village Women and the Role of Civil Society Organizations

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Abstract

This article reviews the role of civil society organizations (CSOs) in collective empowerment, in order to encourage women to transform their gender roles, especially in the political field. Various studies on women's political empowerment have been carried out, but most of them still focus on the issue of participation and not much has discussed women's collective action. Therefore, political empowerment in this study is seen in a more comprehensive manner by referring to the conception of Sundstrom et al. (2017), namely from the dimensions of choice, agency, and participation. This article is more based on a literature review which is supported by the results of a case study at Yayasan PEKKA, known as a CSO which focuses its activism on women, especially in rural areas. The findings of the study show that the empowerment process in principle begins with strengthening individual capacity, but women's critical power and ability to articulate the interests of women and other marginal groups is still questionable (choice dimension). This is a modality for strengthening group and institutional capacity (agency dimension), so as to be able to encourage the active role of women in various stakeholder forums both at the village and district levels (participation dimension). An integrative and sustainable model of empowerment is needed to strengthen women's political position, including encouraging women's power-within-based leadership, namely leadership that promotes collective action, or what is known as social power.

Keywords: collective political empowerment, women empowerment, civil society organization, choice, agency, participation, power within, bargaining position

Introduction

The importance of women's empowerment, as an effort to promote women's political participation, is a concern on an international and national scale. At the international level, this is included in the fifth point of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) on gender equality through the empowerment of women and girls. In relation to this, the Government of Indonesia has made this issue a priority in the 2020-2024 National Medium-Term Development Plan (*Rancangan Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Nasional, RPJMN*).

Following the issuance of Law No. 6 of 2014 on Villages, the empowerment of women in rural areas requires attention. When villages gain autonomy as a result of decentralisation, it is assumed that democratisation will also take place. It is hoped that village communities in general, including women, will have the space to actively participate in both decision-making and development. Law No. 6 of 2014 states that women have the opportunity to participate in the management of village governance and development, from the planning process to monitoring. This means that this policy

promotes and facilitates women's political participation. Referring to the statement of Tokan et al. (2020) that women's participation in village development needs to be encouraged. According to her, women should be involved in all stages of development so that they can be directly involved in the realisation of their rights.

For some, the Village Law not only reflects an inclusive policy, but is also seen as pro-women. However, according to Diprose et al. (2020), in order to strengthen the implementation of the Village Law, structured support for village women is needed, which can be promoted and facilitated by civil society organisations (CSOs). Since the Village Law is a form of structural intervention, its implementation faces socio-cultural aspects that tend to position women in the private or domestic sphere. Women's participation in politics is still often considered taboo. Stereotypes of domestic roles are still associated with women's participation in decision-making (Lopata 2006; Amponsah & Boateng 2021; Longwe 2000). Even when there are women in public positions - as in Watoone Village, East Flores Regency, where 65 per cent

of public positions (neighbourhood association and BPD members) are held by women - they are perceived as not understanding their position and are less able to play a strategic role. This assessment may be due to gender bias, despite the fact that village women need to be empowered and encouraged to actively participate in village development (Tokan et al. 2020).

According to Seda (2016), the low participation of women in the public sphere is due to: (1) patriarchal values in society, (2) various policies that are not yet women-friendly, and (3) interpretations of religious teachings. There is also a stereotype that women are less capable than men. Specifically in the political sphere, women face challenges or constraints of social structure, institutional constraints, and cultural constraints. Social structural constraints relate to the status and position of women. In general, their socio-economic, educational, and occupational status is lower than that of men. Institutional constraints refer to the political systems and mechanisms in Indonesia. Finally, cultural constraints refer to the values and norms that still dichotomise the public and private spheres. This is the background to the development of cultural perspectives or attitudes in society that view women's public roles as taboo.

CSOs in developing countries play an important role in promoting change, particularly women's empowerment, in part because of their networks (Moser 1993; Odera & Mulusa 2019). In Indonesia, women's CSOs developed rapidly in the 1990s and 2000s (Aripurnami 2013). CSOs not only provide capacity building and improve women's quality of life, but also promote women-friendly policies (Mandinyenya & Nyandoro 2017; Boang Manalu & Aprilia 2022). In addition, CSOs play an important role in promoting women's bargaining power so that they can play an active role as subjects of development (Saptandari 1999).

CSOs are the embodiment of civil society that functions to bridge, fight for, and defend the interests of the people against the domination of capital interests and practical politics. Herdiansyah's (2016) study argues that CSOs are not only a link and counterweight to the power of the people vis-à-vis the state, but also make a positive contribution as government partners in implementing development and efforts to improve community welfare. CSOs themselves are used to interacting with communities, understand policies, and have the networks, resources, and knowledge to carry out empowerment. Therefore, the presence of CSOs is important because they have the capacity and experience to empower women both individually and

in groups. At the individual level, CSOs build capacity by raising women's awareness and enabling them to develop themselves independently. At the collective level, they are encouraged to form groups so that they can voice common interests. Women also feel that they have institutional support to fight for their rights (Diprose et al. 2020; Sherlock 2020).

Research Methodology

This study of women's collective political empowerment uses a qualitative approach, specifically case studies. The case in this study is a single case, which according to Stake (1995) in Creswell (2007) allows researchers to focus on one issue, including setting case boundaries as an illustration. This means that the main issue of this study is rural women and politics, while the case is used as a basis for reflection. PEKKA Foundation, known as a CSO that pays special attention to women heads of households, is used as an illustration of CSO work. In line with Neuman & Robson's (2014) view that one of the strengths of case studies is that they allow researchers to calibrate abstract concepts with real experiences or empirical conditions as evidence. In this study, abstract ideas refer to theories as well as previous studies, while empirical evidence is based on secondary data, including various documents, which are then validated by primary data. The primary data was collected through in-depth interviews conducted at the end of 2022 with seven interviewees selected using purposive techniques. The interviewees were divided into three groups, the first being the programme managers, namely the programme administrators of PEKKA Foundation. The purpose of gathering information from the programme administrators was to get information about PEKKA Foundation, especially in terms of empowering women in the village, from planning, implementation, evaluation to decision making. Interviewees from programme partners are intended to obtain information and validate information about PEKKA Foundation's work in women's empowerment, including the promotion of women's political participation in the village. Meanwhile, the researchers also conducted in-depth interviews with programme beneficiaries to find out about the benefits of PEKKA Foundation's empowerment activities.

Women's Collective Empowerment: Empirical Conditions

Referring to a number of village empowerment studies, such as those conducted by Handy & Kassam (2006), Foilyani et al. (2009), Ruwaida (2016), and

Kotte (2021), it is reflected that women have basically participated in various empowerment programmes, but they have not benefited from the existing programmes. Therefore, empowerment-based programmes need to be studied in depth to analyse their processes and

approaches, including identifying the background and causes of women's weak conditions and positions, such as: discrimination from different fields, economic pressure, inequality, and subordination. This is illustrated in Table 1 below, which is drawn from various studies.

Table 1. Challenges to Women's Empowerment

Challenge	Kotte (2021)	Cahyaningrum (2020)	Ahmad (2019)	Migunani (2017)	Ruwaida (2016)	Foilyani et al. (2009)	Handy & Kassam (2006)
Persistent discrimination against women	x	x	x	x			x
Lack of access to basic services for women		x			x	x	
Social stratification of women below men	x		x	x	x	x	x
Lack of stakeholders support		x	x	x	x	x	
Lack of policies that support women			x	x		x	

Source: Processed by the author from various sources

From the table above, it can be concluded that there are 5 (five) challenges to women's empowerment which, when sorted by the number of study findings, are as follows: (1) social stratification of women below men; (2) discrimination against women that is still entrenched in society; (3) lack of or minimal support from stakeholders, especially the government at both regional and national levels; (4) it is still difficult for women to access basic services; (5) there are still very few policies that support women's empowerment. The findings of these studies at least indicate that the main challenges are more structural, because they are related to gender stratification, which leads to discrimination. This cannot be separated from the way society views the position and role of women (cultural aspects).

Foilyani et al (2009) describe women's empowerment in Samboja Kuala Village, East Kalimantan. The situation of women there reveals the existence of social constructions that exclude and subordinate women, limiting their access to various opportunities, especially economic opportunities. The marginalisation of women in the economic aspect makes them trapped in the poverty line. Nevertheless, women have the will to improve their quality of life. This is evidenced from their enthusiasm to participate in various organisational activities as well as trainings organised by the government. However, the programmes offered by the government are more oriented towards an economic approach without considering other aspects, including cultural ones. The government's empowerment programmes, such as the

provision of capital and grants on a fixed or revolving basis, have not been able to increase women's empowerment. This shows that village empowerment programmes have not been able to keep up with women's enthusiasm to improve their quality of life. In their study, Foilyani et al (2009) found that women need to prove that they have equal capacity and rights to access different types of resources.

Meanwhile, Kotte's (2021) study in Telangana, India, shows that women's empowerment is a necessity and a must. However, the empirical reality shows that women are often undervalued in terms of access to resources, even though in principle they have the right to own assets. The control and management of assets and resources by men keeps women economically dependent and poor. For this reason, empowerment must be carried out in groups in order to promote social change among rural women. Kotte shows that efforts to empower women through self-help groups can promote the strengthening of women's status and role in the village. The strategic steps that need to be taken are to increase women's basic knowledge and awareness of their capabilities. With a strong and positive self-image, women are empowered. Interestingly, in Telangana, India, women who participate in self-help groups are dominated by illiterate women.

Ruwaida's (2016) study in Bima and East Lombok districts reflects that the main problem in women's empowerment is the structure and culture of the community, which does not provide space for women. The unequal structure is reflected in the lack of

optimal government support, including the absence of responsive policies to promote women's empowerment. Moreover, efforts to empower women in the village are still characterised by dominant individual figures as agents of change. The lack of collective representation is due to the fact that most groups are only represented by the main actors (or in this case, the group leaders). Culturally, women's political involvement as members of organisations is still based on economic motivations, as is the formation of groups. However, with the existence of groups, women not only begin to participate in various activities within their groups, but also to build a sense of togetherness.

The importance of women's collective action is also explained by Migunani (2017) as a process towards positive change that is consciously and collectively undertaken by groups. The study finds that collective action is dependent on intergroup relationships, which influence the focus of activities, group identity, models of engagement, and so on. The study also notes that it is difficult to distinguish between individual and collective empowerment. In addition to highlighting the importance of women's collective action in empowering village women, Migunani (2017) also explains that CSOs play an important role in empowering village women. CSOs are one of the main drivers in promoting women's collective action. The study also explains that women's political participation is an important component in empowering women in the village.

Similarly, Handy & Kassam (2006) explain that low self-efficacy leaves rural women with limited opportunities and a less favourable position in society. CSOs are key actors in helping women in the village to increase their self-confidence and decision-making ability. This is done in groups through activities structured by CSO programmes.

The role of CSOs in Women's Empowerment

Several studies confirm that collective empowerment makes women more confident and empowered to face the challenges of discrimination, economic pressures, and gender inequality. Women's collective action is a conscious and collaborative process towards positive change, although in practice this collective empowerment is often still based on the dominant role of individuals and the established forms of social relations. For this reason, the presence of third parties, especially CSOs, is important and strategic, given that the government's approach has so far failed to empower village women both individually and collectively.

Efforts to promote women's political participation cannot be separated from the active role of CSOs. According to the Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2021), the term "CSOs" generally refers to organisations that have the following characteristics: (i) are non-governmental; and (ii) are not for profit. ADB (2021) defines CSOs as non-profit organizations that are independent of government and operate on the basis of common interests. They vary in size, interests, and functions. CSOs include non-governmental organizations (NGOs), youth groups, community-based organizations, independent academic and research institutions, professional associations, foundations, faith-based organizations, people's organizations, and trade unions. CSOs represent the interests of their members or others. The definition of CSOs discussed by ADB is consistent with the definition of CSOs provided by Suharko in Januarti (2015), who sees CSOs as having a primary focus and concern for public rather than private goals. According to Januarti (2015), this concern is a tangible manifestation that is really needed by the community to provide solutions to various areas of life problems they face.

A review of a number of studies on the role of CSOs, including that of Diprose et al. (2020), shows that CSOs play a role in promoting women's collective influence and improving gender equality in villages. This study shows that CSOs are key actors because they have experience in forming women's groups and helping them to build their capacity and promote women's independence in the village. In addition, CSO networks are a strength in fighting for women's basic rights to reduce inequality. In line with Diprose et al. (2020), Sherlock (2020) also explains the success of CSOs in promoting women's political participation in villages through legislative institutions. In doing so, CSOs need different strategies, such as supporting village women to advocate and negotiate with stakeholders, and helping them to develop networks.

The study by Sauki & Hidayat (2022) describes the role of CSOs in strengthening the political efficacy of women in villages in order to increase their public participation. In this study, raising awareness of women's political participation is important. The aim is to reduce the vulnerability of women in the village and achieve inclusion in village development. Strengthening this political efficacy is done by strengthening the capacity and development of community independence through activities/programmes carried out by CSOs, in this case the Institute for the Study and Development of Human Resources (*Lembaga Kajian dan Pengembangan Sumber Daya Manusia, Lakpesdam*) PCNU of Bima District.

Regarding the success of the work of CSOs, it is interesting to note that Sitorus' study (2015) finds that CSOs have not been successful in promoting women's political participation. In her study on the role of *Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia* (KPI) as a CSO, she shows how difficult it is to raise awareness among women in Semarang to participate in politics. One of the reasons is the highly patriarchal culture, which makes women feel

taboo to participate in KPI's activities. Although KPI has developed various training and mentoring activities to promote women's political participation in Semarang, in practice, this work has not been optimal, including in building networks between CSOs.

Referring to the studies described above, the role of CSOs in encouraging and/or facilitating village women in their public roles can be summarised in Table 2 below:

Table 2. Role of Women's CSOs in Women's Collective Political Empowerment

Researcher/Role of CSO	Sauki (2022)	Diprose et al. (2020)	Sherlock (2020)	Tokan et al. (2020)	Bargain et al. (2019)	Sitorus et al. (2015)
Strengthening collective (group) capacities and skills	x	x	x	x	x	x
Development of social and economic independence	x	x	x	x	x	x
Strengthening women's political capacity	x		x	x	x	x
Policy advocacy		x	x	x	x	x
Raising awareness about the importance of women's leadership		x	x		x	x
Assistance in decision-making forums		x	x		x	
Facilitating networking		x	x			

Source: Processed by the author

Referring to Table 2, CSOs generally empower women not only at the individual level, but also at the group level. Interestingly, there are CSOs that empower women politically through economic empowerment programmes. This means that CSOs address women's practical needs, as well as address their strategic needs, especially in terms of strengthening women's bargaining power both individually and collectively.

Various studies have attempted to uncover the role of CSOs in empowering women, including Cahyaningrum's

study (2020) on the role of PEKKA Foundation in Batangan Village, Bangkalan Regency, which finds that PEKKA Foundation as a CSO has become a driving force for women in the village to gain political and economic rights. PEKKA has developed various efforts, including assisting village women to obtain identity documents so that they can access facilities and services provided by the government. PEKKA has also formed women's groups, which have become the main engine of its women's empowerment activities.

Table 3. Benefits of Women's Empowerment

Challenge	Kotte (2021)	Cahyaningrum (2020)	Ahmad et al. (2020)	Migunani (2017)	Ruwaida (2016)	Foilyani et al. (2009)	Handy & Kassam (2006)
Reducing poverty	x			x	x		x
Improving social status	x		x	x		x	
Increasing awareness and knowledge of women's rights	x			x	x		x
Being involved in decision-making	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Source: Processed by the author

The table above shows that the main benefits of women's empowerment are: (1) increasing women's decision-making power; and (2) increasing awareness and knowledge of women's rights. These benefits have an impact on strengthening women's social and economic status. This reflects the fact that women's empowerment is a multidimensional process. In an effort to open up women's access, their skills and abilities must also be strengthened so that they are empowered to compete with male groups. Thus, if we borrow Samperompon & Mahbub's (2021) concept of 3 (three) forms of women's empowerment, namely economic empowerment, social empowerment and political empowerment¹, then all three need to be done.

PEKKA Foundation's Women's Political Empowerment Model

Women's political empowerment is a process that takes place over time, as a transition and an effort to move out of powerlessness. Therefore, empowerment must demonstrate change. Like other definitions of empowerment, Sundström et al. (2017) emphasise women's political empowerment as a process. From this explanation, it can be seen that PEKKA Foundation's goal of increasing women's empowerment is not done instantly, but through a series of long processes. These processes can be seen in the statement below:

PEKKA's initial strategy was to strengthen the head of the family... In 2001, we organised savings and credits activities, some at the village level, some at the *dusun* level. Initially in Aceh, we worked with the World Bank and *Komnas Perempuan*. At that time, many women were widowed because of the Aceh conflict. The conditions were difficult because first we had to overcome their trauma and then we had to help them access the economy through savings and credit activities... we called it the "Widows Project"... from there, it grew into PEKKA group, which expanded to East Nusa Tenggara (NTT)... Then, because what was done was considered successful, the project was transformed into PEKKA Foundation... From here, it continued to grow until finally PEKKA Union Federation can be independent and PEKKA Foundation is no longer the parent organisation (Co-Director of Institutional Strengthening of PEKKA Foundation 2022, interview 17 November).

In the 10 years that PEKKA Foundation has been carrying out empowerment work, many changes have taken place in the lives of women heads of families. These changes were noted in the following interview:

In its second decade, PEKKA saw that women were also facing legal problems. Together with the World Bank, PEKKA implemented a legal empowerment programme

after the Domestic Violence Law was enacted. It was found that women did not have important documents such as marriage books, divorce certificates, and birth certificates. PEKKA shifted to supporting women's legal rights. From here, it moved from economic advocacy to advocating for identity documents for women in the village. This became the entry point for developing groups to gain legality. From helping PEKKA women to access government assistance to working with the Supreme Court to create an integrated service. PEKKA then worked with the Civil Registry (Ministry of Interior) through KLIK PEKKA. The women organised the establishment of legality (Co-Director of Institutional Strengthening of PEKKA Foundation 2022, interview 17 November).

In the context of women's political empowerment, the reflection is based on the definition in this paper, namely: the process of increasing women's ability to make the best choices, their capacity as agents, and their participation in public decision-making. Thus, according to Sundström et al. (2017), the key to women's empowerment is when they reach the stage of independence, namely when they are able to determine their own steps to improve their lives.

Strengthening of Women's Choices

In developing an empowerment programme, the fundamental issue is that programme designers and managers need to ensure that the programme will have an impact on increasing women's ability to make choices. This means that women are able to make choices and decisions based on their rights. According to Sundström et al. (2017), one of the measurements of increased choice is the freedom to make choices and decide what is good for them in their daily lives. One of the interviewees' expressions below shows that increased choice, in the form of freedom to make choices, is one of the characteristics of women's empowerment.

... I was left dead by my husband. But it is as if as women we are weak... we know what is good for us and what is not; we have the freedom to determine our own direction but with the help from CSOs we know what is good (Member of Women's Union in North Lombok District 2022, Interview 23 November).

The interviewees further emphasised:

Alhamdulillah, the impact is great. The good thing is that I am more confident, more able to deal with problems. Before, if there were problems, because we are women, we were quick to take offence and get angry. But after we know how the problems are solved, we know better how to deal with problems (Member of the Union in North Lombok District 2022, Interview 23 November).

...how to teach women to be critical, so that women can (solve problems). Even if we stay at home most of the time, if there are problems, we can solve them. Sometimes women are afraid, if there are problems, they are afraid to say it even if they are right (Member of the Union in North Lombok District 2022, interview 23 November).

Based on the interviewees' explanations, in line with Ahmad et al. (2019), Foilyani et al. (2009), Handy & Kassam (2006), Kotte (2021), Migunani (2017), and Ruwaida (2016), the benefits of women's empowerment are to reduce poverty and improve women's social status. With the knowledge and ability to think critically, women can solve the problems they face independently without the intervention of other parties that make them seem helpless (Sundström et al. 2017; Samperompon & Mahbub 2021).

The various impacts of the programme are felt not only by the women supported by the CSOs, but also by other communities, as expressed by the interviewee below:

Many people then saw that these CSOs were also good, like what Hj Saodah in Woja Dompus says. I am sorry, many people wondered at the time, how did this widow manage to make her son a teacher? It turned out that she joined the union. This means that women must and indeed can choose and determine their own lives. Hj Saodah, for example, founded "*Berkah*" Union, whose activities include savings and credits. The rest is motivation and education to make them see that this is empowerment, so that women can choose their options (Co-Director of Institutional Strengthening of PEKKA Foundation 2022, interview 17 November).

Through the development of autonomous unions, women union members are trained to determine the strategy and direction of the desired change. Finally, the union can become a federation of unions. In this case, PEKKA supports and facilitates the unions and federations.

It can be seen that the programme gives women the ability to make choices. This ability is what Kishor in Sundström et al. (2017) describes as a reflection of women's critical power in making decisions, including those related to their survival.

I joined PEKKA in 2005, I had a husband, but he emigrated. I was invited by a friend who had already joined, but I did not know much about it at the time. In 2006, I got divorced, and in Cianjur there was an administrative data collection programme, so I knew the procedure for getting divorced. I went from not knowing and feeling excluded because of my status as a widow. From there, I helped women to understand how to get a marriage certificate, a divorce certificate... I was given legal training, women's leadership

training... I started as a secretary in Cianjur... Women have to go from not being brave to being brave, from not being confident to being confident (Secretary of the Union Federation 2022, interview 22 November).

According to the interviewees, the programme has led to changes at the individual level, namely the building of self-confidence and courage. There is also a greater willingness and ability to organise. Basically, CSO programmes are aimed at: (1) women's freedom of action; (2) freedom from slavery; (3) property rights; (4) access to justice.

Strengthening of Women's Agency Capabilities

Malthotra in Sundström et al. (2017) states that the second element of empowerment that distinguishes it from other concepts is agency, namely that women must be key actors in the process and direction of the expected change. Agency is the ability to exercise basic rights, interpret, and articulate the interests of the goal. The main principle is that women have the freedom to express their opinions, to participate in civil society organisations, and to be represented in various strategic groups, including the media.

In the case of PEKKA, the programme focuses on building the capacity of members, organisational and leadership development, and policy advocacy. This means that women's capacity as an agency is built through the "academy" programme, which aims to build the capacity of women in the village so that they are able to act as mobilisers. This goal is in line with one of the efforts to empower women described by Sundström et al. (2017), one of which is to increase women's ability of agency in order to realise women's empowerment. With the ability of agency, women become active agents of change through the ability to "determine their own goals" (Kabeer in Sundström et al. 2017).

...*Alhamdulillah* many have succeeded. At first, women were rarely invited to the Development Planning Meeting (*Musyawah Perencanaan Pembangunan, Musrenbang*), but now they are forced to attend because we know such a meeting should be open so that everyone can participate. From there we can communicate what is needed and we also have data on the condition of the community. In Lombok, women, who were previously considered taboo are now champions in the village, who often work with the government. The challenge is that women are sometimes limited by administrative constraints, such as minimum education. The reason for the lack of education is that these women were married off at a young age, especially in regions such as Bali, NTB, and NTT... PEKKA is an influential and dominant group in the village as a mobiliser (Co-Director of Institutional Strengthening of PEKKA Foundation 2022, interview 17 November).

The interviewee's statement above shows that the presence of CSOs with their programmes has brought about significant changes and created women as mobilisers at the village level. In other words, agency is gained through the presence of CSO programmes. This expression is in line with one of the beneficiaries' expressions as follows:

...since 2014, every month we have been visited by facilitators and other cadres from West Lombok about PEKKA's activities... I am proud because I can be more confident and have the opportunity to do many things. At first, I was told to get together and was confused about what to do... It was just a gathering, but it went on and PEKKA explained what it was. Finally, after the meeting, we formed a group, which was difficult at first because people did not believe in joining a group. In North Lombok, PEKKA is in 3 sub-districts, before the earthquake there were 600 members. Some died and some moved away. Now, there are 3 sub-districts, 8 villages, 21 groups, 304 members (Member of PEKKA Union in North Lombok District 2022, interview 23 November).

Based on the above quote, the capacity building of women, especially programme beneficiaries, is inseparable from the existence of PEKKA Foundation as a CSO. Referring to PEKKA's Annual Report, there has been an increase in knowledge and advocacy skills in North Sulawesi, so that they can help people in their neighbourhoods to get identity and social assistance. As mentioned by Sundström et al. (2017), identifying problems and communicating them to relevant stakeholders is part of empowering women as agents so that they can advocate for problem solving for the community. The success of the programme is also demonstrated by the presence of women who have the courage to run for village head.

The contribution of PEKKA programme is significant as it enables women in the village to have the capacity and ability to understand village governance. Formation of special meetings for women, which are socially accountable through KLIK PEKKA activities, can be a bridge between the community and stakeholders. From administrative services to advocacy for complaints of violence against women... With the academy, there are regional networks through unions... they are still operating in Pekalongan, Pacitan, Trenggalek (Senior Manager for the Strengthening of Sub-districts and Villages, KOMPAK Programme 2022, interview 16 November).

From some of the descriptions and reflections above, women's freedom to discuss, women's participation in CSO activities, and the existence of women journalists, have become a means of enabling women as agency. This finding reinforces the various studies that women's empowerment efforts have been able to increase

women's awareness and knowledge of their rights and gain decision-making power (Ahmad et al. 2019; Cahyaningrum, 2020; Foilyani et al. 2009; Handy & Kassam, 2006; Kotte, 2021; Migunani, 2017; and Ruwaida, 2016). According to Sundström et al. (2017), the agency aspect is closely related to voice when women are able to express their needs and build bridges with those who can provide resources (in this case, the government).

Increased Women's Political Participation

Sundström et al. (2017) note that the third aspect emphasised in efforts to empower women is participation. Participation is not only about listening and voting, but also about being involved in the promotion and implementation of governance in the community. In the context of PEKKA, participation is related to the nomination and election of women to political office. This is the ultimate reflection of political empowerment. A member of PEKKA in North Sulawesi, who became the first village head in her village, explained that the *Paradigta Academy* gave her the courage to enter village-level politics. Before joining PEKKA in 2013, she was only involved in domestic activities.

In addition to participating in politics, many female academy graduates participate in village activities. In West Kalimantan, academy graduates, who are active in village activities, contribute greatly to the implementation of village programmes. These alumni are actively involved in the Family Welfare Development (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga, PKK*) activities and the Integrated Service Centre (*Pos Pelayanan Terpadu, Posyandu*). One person becomes a board member of a Village-owned Enterprise (*Badan Usaha Milik Desa, BUMDes*) and 2 (two) people become members of the Village Consultative Body (*Badan Permusyawaratan Desa, BPD*). The participation of women PEKKA members at the village level is not only in the village government (village officials), but also as Heads of *Dusun*, and some even become members of the BPD. In 2019, 42 PEKKA members from different regions were elected as BPD members; 3 became village heads, 21 became BUMDes managers, 64 became village officials; 741 became village mobilisers; and 49 women even ran for parliament (PEKKA Report 2019). This active participation is based on good communication skills and high self-confidence.

Women's participation in government and community activities at the village level has also increased. Women are actively involved in determining the direction and policies that affect their lives (Govindasamy and Malhotra in Sundström et al. 2017). The KLIK PEKKA programme

has empowered women in the village to understand how village governance works. This was stated by an interviewee:

PEKKA's contribution to the programme is significant as it enables village women to have the capacity and ability to understand village governance. Formation of special meetings for women, which are socially accountable through KLIK PEKKA activities, can be a bridge between the community and stakeholders. From administrative services to advocacy in cases of violence against women. PEKKA also has a legacy in *Paradigta* Academy, which was established with KOMPAK. The *Paradigta* Academy is currently being legalised as an informal education programme. With the *Paradigta* Academy, PEKKA can expand the regional network of PEKKA unions still operating in Pekalongan, Pacitan, Trenggalek (Senior Manager for the Strengthening of Sub-districts and Villages, KOMPAK Programme 2022, interview 16 November).

From the above reflection, participation is in the form of women's involvement in village government and various community activities. The ability to express and participate in politics reflects what is conveyed by Bollen in Sundström et al. (2017) as political empowerment. Women, like men, must have the freedom to express their political interests through any medium, including participation in any political group. This is also reflected in the statement below.

...the Village Law sets a quota of women for BPD members, which is usually filled by PEKKA members... After the enactment of the Village Law, PEKKA women became more courageous, especially in becoming members of the village council and even village heads. In the legislature, they compete with other relatives who are running for the legislature... PEKKA members who became village heads were initially only additional candidates, but they won. The women were not confident at first, based on their experiences in the PEKKA unions/groups. PEKKA women face challenges on village funds (Co-Director of Institutional Strengthening of PEKKA Foundation 2022, interview 17 November).

Reflections on the Political Empowerment of Village Women

From various studies on empowerment, as well as reflections on the case of the PEKKA programme, it is clear that empowerment refers to a process that starts from a situation where women or groups are powerless and lack the ability to make decisions, lack the capacity, and are unable to actively participate. In other words, empowerment is a movement in the direction of change and away from powerlessness (Sen & Mukherjee in Sundström et al. (2017).

Referring to the experience of one CSO, PEKKA Foundation, empowerment efforts are carried out through the following process:

Control	Be in a position to negotiate through active networking and participation in forums.
Participation	Members recognise the importance of taking strategic positions to influence policy.
Conscientization	Forming groups and providing leadership training to women through <i>Paradigta</i> Academy.
Access	Civil registry consultation services through KLIK PEKKA.
Welfare	Strengthening of economic movement at the group level through savings and credit cooperatives and other tailor-made activities.

Figure 1: Stages of Women's Empowerment

Source: Processed by the author, adapted from VeneKlasen & Miller 2002

It is reflected that empowerment begins with the strengthening of economic movement at the group level aimed at improving welfare levels. After the strengthening of the economy, the next step is to open access to various government services, ranging from population legality to other issues. The next step is to raise awareness with leadership programmes through education. This is followed by encouraging active participation, on the assumption that women

are ready and able to enter the public sphere. The final stage is control, where women, as beneficiaries, have a high bargaining position and can make decisions independently.

Basically, the process of women's political empowerment is a process that starts from the individual level to the collective level. At the individual level, empowerment is carried out through basic education in the form of equality awareness. The next

process is collective empowerment, which is done by strengthening the group so that the group can run the organisation, such as developing and implementing programmes. Once the group is running, the next process is institutional strengthening through group training,

capacity building, and mentoring. Once the group is considered independent and has formed a union, the final stage is to strengthen political power by helping the union to develop networks and access to stakeholders such as government and other institutions.

Political Power	Be actively involved in decision making forums and be part of the selection of strategic positions.
Empowerment	Participate in and create the necessary trainings, develop networks, build capacity, and receive support from the facilitator.
Collective Consciousness	Form a savings and credits group then create a group structure and programme/ activities to be implemented.
Individual Consciousness	Group members initially consider their poverty as fate, and it was taboo to be active in associations.

Figure 2: Political Empowerment Process

Source: Processed by the author, adapted from VeneKlasen & Miller 2002

The role of CSOs is very important in the empowerment process. Yet, achieving empowerment is highly dependent on the approach and strategy. In the process of empowering women, CSOs also face challenges. Referring to the experience of PEKKA Foundation, the challenges and obstacles faced in women’s empowerment programmes can be divided into 3 (three) sources of challenges, namely:

Participants or Beneficiaries

According to PEKKA’s programme monitoring and evaluation data (2021), about 20 per cent of the participants were unable to complete and graduate from PEKKA’s *Paradigta* Academy. The reasons were that they often left training activities, did not carry out field work, did not develop action plans, and/or did not implement action plans that have been developed. This busyness was usually triggered by domestic tasks that are perceived as time-consuming. In addition, there were participants who receive benefits from other programmes (including from the government), which sometimes required beneficiaries to participate in various activities.

In addition, women’s understanding of problems and needs is still limited, so they have not been able to identify them, let alone prioritise them. Not to mention the perspective of the women themselves who still support values and norms that domesticate women.

Internal and external challenges... Internally, PEKKA women are strongly influenced by values, both formal and non-formal. The most difficult thing is about values, it is hard to

change even if you have been told about gender equality... (Co-Director of Institutional Strengthening of PEKKA Foundation 2022, interview 17 November).

Internal Challenges for Programme Implementers

The internal challenges faced by programme implementers relate to the issue of human resources and the competence of programme managers. Fundamentally, the success of programme implementation and outcomes cannot be separated from the role of facilitators, mentors, and field assistants. Every programme/activity requires the expertise, skills, and creativity of its implementers. Implementers have the knowledge and skills, but they may not always be able to respond to challenges in the field. Therefore, the creativity of mentors in responding to challenges is key to the programme. In addition, mentors’ understanding of women’s issues, gender policies, and policies related to empowerment and women is still very limited.

We have to adapt to local conditions. The basis is not individuals with certain criteria, but individuals who want to. Peer-to-peer empowerment. There should be specialisation. Strong in empowerment and organisation, but not strong in the mastery of a subject. For example, in relation to the Village Law, knowledge of the content of the law is still lacking, so they often lose arguments in the village and in public (KOMPAK Programme Facilitator Brebes District 2022, interview 29 November).

In addition to knowledge and understanding of women’s issues, another challenge is the lack of

networking skills. Although the facilitators are usually local activists, they do not have a wide and strong network, especially with other organisations or the government at the district level. It takes time to build networks, including gaining the trust of stakeholders, especially for coordinative or collaborative work.

In the age of technology, facilitators need to be competent and knowledgeable about information technology. This is because they will be helping the women they support to become technologically literate so that they can keep up with developments quickly.

As the organisation has grown, it has become more complicated, with macro challenges and a dynamic changing environment. The digital age requires women to be able to use mobile phones, even though many women in the group do not have one. In the past, mentoring was done through direct visits, but now it can be done online (Co-Director of Community Organising 2022, interview 22 November).

External Challenges to Women's Political Empowerment in Villages

Efforts to empower women, particularly in politics, face external challenges. One of these is a lack of understanding among stakeholders of the importance of strengthening women's capacity and role. Many do not understand the concept of empowerment, gender issues, and how CSOs work. Not to mention the understanding that programmes are always associated with physical, financial assistance, and even tend to be instant, whereas empowerment programmes require a long process.

... The challenge is to build coordination between these organisations and to understand each other's functions. How to understand each other's mandate and how to collaborate, that is the internal challenge... Externally, the dynamic changes in the environment, the Covid-19 pandemic, inflation, are inevitable, so we need to continue to develop strategies (Co-Director of Community Organising 2022, interview 22 November).

In addition to the challenges above, another challenge is that not all village governments support the programme. There are still a number of village governments that do not have a commitment. In addition, the aspirations of the village communities focus heavily on physical and infrastructural development, resulting in minimal budget allocations for women's empowerment programmes. Moreover, in PEKKA's experience in several villages, the village governments' support for PEKKA's empowerment programmes has created social jealousy among other organisations, such as *Karang Taruna* and

PKK, that have long existed in the villages. This is in line with the findings of Ahmad et al. (2019), Cahyaningrum (2020), Foilyani et al. (2009), Migunani (2017), and Ruwaida (2016) that the lack of stakeholders' support is a challenge in women's empowerment, as is the lack of policies that favour women.

The lack of commitment and support from the village directly or indirectly undermines women's interest and willingness to participate. Women's participation in village meetings and village-level decision-making processes is highly dependent on the political will of the village head. However, community support organisations (e.g., LPSPDM, BPD and others) can encourage village leaders to involve women in village-level activities, such as village development planning meetings (*Musrenbangdesa*). In some villages, women's participation is often only represented by *PKK*, which generally does not understand women and gender issues. As a result, the proposed programmes do not address the needs of women in the village.

Internal and external challenges... Internally, PEKKA women are strongly influenced by values, both formal and non-formal. Talking about values is difficult even though they have been told about gender equality... Externally, the change of leaders (*bupati/kades*) is also a challenge. For example, when the village head changes, the managed *PAUD* is taken over by the new village leader. Change of strategy to approach the technical section instead of the head (section head) (Co-Director of Institutional Strengthening of PEKKA Foundation 2022, Interview 17 November).

Closing

Based on the results of the discussion, it can be concluded that CSOs are very instrumental in empowering village women so that they are able to prioritise collective action in an effort to fight for common interests. This is what this study refers to as women's political empowerment. In this regard, the ideas of Sundström et al. (2017) are used to reflect on the work of PEKKA Foundation - as a CSO - by exploring whether the women supported have been able to participate substantively (participation dimension) and demonstrate their capacity as agents of change. This is possible when women are able to create spaces of choice, at least for themselves (the choice dimension). Ideally, women's empowerment is approached not at the individual level, but at the collective level, up to and including the institutional level. Women's empowerment programmes should not only provide training, but also holistically promote women's leadership that prioritises solidarity-

based togetherness. In other words, women's collective empowerment is a form of social transformation that not only encourages women's active participation, particularly in public spaces, but also has a substantive meaning.

If we refer to Stuart's idea (2019), empowerment encourages women to be able to recognise their potentials and even their capabilities (power to), moreover, they can also recognise their strengths and believe that they can make breakthroughs (power within). In this context, the dimensions of choice and agency can be indicative of both forms of 'power'. Meanwhile, the participation dimension is characterised not only by the active role of women, but also by the existence of women's leadership that prioritises togetherness (collectivity) and solidarity (power with). This is what Stuart calls 'social power', a power that can facilitate the building of 'bridges' between various differences for the sake of common interests in the economic, political, social, and cultural spheres. It also bridges different interests from the village level to the national and even global levels. With these indications, the transformation of women's gender roles, especially in the political sphere, is real. In other words, women's empowerment is not about 'power over'.

In this context, CSOs are positioned as agents of change because they promote women's empowerment. CSOs are therefore called upon to develop gender-responsive programmes in different regions. The existence of programmes that favour vulnerable and marginalised groups, have a participatory approach, are integrated and sustainable must and should be the principle of CSO activism. This is because women's powerlessness is rooted in multidimensional issues, which are sociologically referred to as societal problems. In this context, CSOs are expected not only to stimulate the development of collectivity and solidarity among women (sisterhood) including the promotion of women's leadership, but also to break through structural and cultural challenges. In principle, the work of CSOs faces challenges that are multidimensional and multi-level. On the one hand, CSOs have to deal with a culture that does not allow or even limits women's access and participation, and even marginalises women as beneficiaries of programmes. On the other hand, structurally, various policies and institutions are still not sensitive and responsive to women's issues. In fact, some still reinforce the socio-cultural factors that underlie and cause women's powerlessness.

For this reason, it seems that CSOs also need to develop power-based leadership in their work. CSOs

should not only act as facilitators, but also be able to collaborate by strengthening CSO networks. They are also able to bridge the interests of different parties, especially between women's groups and other strategic parties. The spirit of solidarity among CSOs must colour the work of CSOs so that it is possible to build a common agenda for the transformation of gender roles, especially for women.

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Endnotes

- 1 According to Samperompon & Mahbub (2021), women's economic empowerment includes women's ability to participate equally in existing markets; their access to and control over productive resources; access to decent work; control over time, their own lives and bodies; and increased voice, representation and meaningful participation in economic decision-making at all levels, from the household to international institutions for economic and business growth. Women's economic empowerment ensures participation in household decision-making; encouragement to participate

in politics. While social empowerment includes equal access to education and health care for women. This social empowerment reduces and minimises the gender gap in human development in all countries. Political empowerment includes women's representation in representative bodies such

as legislatures. Political empowerment is the path to women's equality, rights and fulfilment, and participation in political affairs and processes. It is the main route to women's political participation and decision-making (Samperompon & Mahbub 2021).

Participation and Agency: Indonesian Young Women in Advocating Sexual Violence Crime Law

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Abstract

Since a decade ago, the women's movement in Indonesia has consolidated its power to advocate for policies aimed at eliminating sexual violence through legislative advocacy and public campaigns. These efforts were a response to the increasing cases of sexual violence and the absence of a legal framework to address the issue. In the process of policy advocacy, young women have played a crucial role by participating in formal and informal political processes, although their participation has often been overlooked and unrecognized. This research examines the dynamics of young women's activism in various forms at the national level in the advocacy process for Sexual Violence Criminal Law (*UU Tindak Pidana Kekerasan Seksual/UUTPKS*). This research aims to demonstrate the role and forms of activism among young women in advocating policies related to sexual violence. The study utilizes a qualitative methodology through in-depth interviews with eight young women activists involved in the advocacy, lobbying, and campaigning to pass the bill. The research finds that young women face various barriers and challenges, but simultaneously demonstrate their agency in the policy advocacy process.

Keywords: young women, participation, agency, TPKS Law

Introduction¹

After the 1998 reform, Indonesia experienced a new phase in which the struggle of the women's movement focused on the state policy agenda. In this phase, the women's movement has more space to seek justice through policy (Arivia & Subono 2017; Institut Kapal Perempuan 2019). Policy products that were born included the Law on the Elimination of Domestic Violence (PKDRT Law) in 2004, the Law on Crime of Trafficking in Persons (TPPO Law) in 2007, the 30 per cent quota for women in the Elections Law in 2003, the amendment to the Marriage Law to limit the minimum age of marriage for women in 2019, and most recently the Law on Crime of Sexual Violence (TPKS Law) in 2022.

The women's movement, in particular, has long been concerned with the issue of sexual violence - given Indonesia's history of sexual violence. In particular, sexual violence during the Japanese colonial period, when Indonesian women and girls were held as sexual slaves between 1942 and 1945 (McGregor 2016). Later, sexual violence was experienced by *Gerwani* in 1965 and ethnic Chinese women in 1998 (Hikmawati 2022).

Sexual violence cannot be separated from the history of Indonesia and how women's bodies have become the site and symbol of oppression (Pratiwi & Talib 2019). Sexual violence is a political issue that has long been ignored by the state (Irawaty 2016).

Data from Komnas Perempuan's Annual Report (CATAHU) shows that cases of sexual violence continue to increase every year, namely 4,660 cases or 28.8 per cent of the total cases reported to Komnas Perempuan and service institutions in 2021 (Komnas Perempuan 2022). This figure increased compared to 2020, namely 1,938 cases of sexual violence in the personal sphere and 962 cases in the community/public sphere (Komnas Perempuan 2021). Sexual violence increased by 7 percent in 2021, partly due to an 83 per cent increase in cases of gender-based cyber violence (*Kekerasan Siber Berbasis Gender, KSBG*). Previous KSBG cases in 2020 were 940 cases, becoming 1,721 cases in 2021.

Victims of gender-based violence are mostly in the 25-40 age group, followed by the 14-17 and 18-24 age groups. In the case of gender-based violence in the private sphere, the 25-40 age group dominates, while in the

public sphere the age group is 14-17 years. Furthermore, based on the characteristics of victim status, 3,869 victims (35 per cent) were students (Komnas Perempuan 2022). This means that young people are vulnerable to gender-based violence, including sexual violence, in both the personal and community/public spheres.

The concept of sexual violence itself has only been recognised for at least the last 12 years, when Komnas Perempuan conducted case documentation. They found that there was a wide range of sexual violence experienced by women. At least before the passage of Law No. 12 of 2022 on Crime of Sexual Violence (TPKS Law), Indonesia did not have a comprehensive legal umbrella to protect victims of sexual violence and provide them with access to justice (Pratiwi & Talib 2019). The legal vacuum regarding sexual violence in Indonesia can also be seen in the minimal and narrow regulation of sexual violence in the Criminal Code (Niko 2021; Mukarramah 2016).

Looking back at the advocacy process of the TPKS Law, it can be said that this Law took a long way to be passed (CWI 2022; Sinombor 2022). Along the way, the Law faced various challenges, ranging from opposition from conservative groups to the political process in the House of Representatives (DPR) (Pratiwi & Talib 2019; Jones & Walden 2019). Despite the long road and obstacles, the discourse on sexual violence also continues to be constructed and voiced by youth groups through hashtag activism, click activism and various other forms of digital activism (Ramadhani & Arianto 2022; Pratiwi 2021; Candraningrum 2013). However, young people's participation in formal and informal politics often goes unrecognised and undervalued due to their age (Saud 2020; Irdiana et al. 2021).

This paper aims to explore young women's experiences in advocating for the TPKS Law. This research examines: a) motivation; b) forms of participation; c) barriers and challenges; and d) young women's agency in various domains. The research aims to show that young women's participation contributes significantly to the success of the TPKS Law advocacy and demonstrates agency in the face of various barriers and challenges.

Research Methodology

This study uses feminist research methodology with data collection methods based on in-depth interviews.

Feminist methodology is a research approach developed by feminist academics in response to the limitations of traditional methodologies in capturing the experiences of women and other marginalised groups in academic research (Naples 2007). Feminist methodology is an approach that prioritises respect for the experiences of research subjects, especially women, in order to understand the lives of women who have long been omitted and excluded from social research (Letherby 2003, p. 5). In feminist research, it is important to consider the various factors that intersect and cause gender injustice, namely class, race, sexuality, age, ability, geographical location, and other identities (Crenshaw 1989; Collins 2000; Davis 2011).

One way of capturing women's experiences in feminist research is through interviews. Collecting data through interviews allows researchers and readers to understand first-person experiences, thoughts, and memories. This is important in feminist research because for too long women's voices in research have been represented by male voices. When conducting interviews, it is important to use what is known as 'feminist listening' or listening with care and attention. This allows the research subject to share experiences, construct meaning, and use words that match what the research subject wants to say (Reinharz 1992, pp. 19-24).

The research subjects were 8 young women aged 20-35. The selection of the interviewees was done through purposive sampling, which means that the author already knew and assessed their involvement in the advocacy of the TPKS Law. In this research, the names of the research subjects are identified by pseudonyms. The subjects of this research are those who have been involved in the advocacy of the TPKS Law for more than 2 years and have consistently carried out activism individually, organizationally, or through the institutions where they work. The TPKS Law advocacy in this research is also not rigid and top-down (or coordinated by one organization), but sporadic and organic. However, the author has also used the advocacy model developed by Komnas Perempuan and the women's movement in the TPKS Law advocacy process, namely the division of teams: a) substantive; b) lobbying; c) and campaigning.

Table 1. Characteristics of the Research Subjects

Age Group	Total	Background
17-25 years old	2 people	- Female Indonesian Islamic Student Movement Corps (KOPRI)
26-35 years old	6 people	- Komunitas Iteung Menggugat
		- National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan)
		- Hollaback Jakarta
		- Women March Jakarta
		- Jakarta Feminist
		- Book authors and feminist activists
		- Jurnal Perempuan

Source: Processed by the author based on the author’s own interview data

The author’s position in this research is as a young woman who has been involved in the advocacy process of the Law on Crime of Sexual Violence since 2016, through the medium of campaigning. Then, from 2021 to 2022, the author worked at the Law and Policy Reform Division of Komnas Perempuan and was involved in the process of providing substantive input and lobbying at the national level to the government and DPR. From this process, the author reflects that the passage of the TPKS Law cannot be separated from the activism of young women in various domains. This is also in line with one of the definitions of feminist research methods mentioned by Reinharz (1992), namely as a method used by people who identify themselves as feminists or part of the feminist movement (Reinharz 1992, p. 6).

Furthermore, my background above shows that I am an ‘insider’ in this research because she also has an identity as a young woman involved in the advocacy of the TPKS Law. Some of the advantages of being an ‘insider’ in feminist research are at least twofold: 1) the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee is non-hierarchical and 2) avoiding power relations in research (Oakley 1981, p. 2) can capture more in-depth information by using an understanding of the context of the issue being researched (Smith 1987; Mullings 1999; Acker 2000).

The data obtained from the interviews was then analysed using the “Flower of Participation” concept offered by CHOICE (2017), and feminist theories on women’s agency. The concept of the Flower of Participation was used to analyse how women are involved in the advocacy movement for the TPKS Law. Meanwhile, feminist theories of agency are used to analyse young women’s experiences, obstacles,

challenges, and autonomy in advocating for the TPKS Law.

Narrative Finding 1: Why We Mobilise?

The issue of sexual violence is very close to the hearts of the young women advocating for the TPKS Law. The young women interviewed said that their exposure to the issue of sexual violence began when they became aware of issues of gender injustice around them. The research subjects saw, heard, and felt the existence of issues of gender injustice in their environment, namely their home, school, campus, community, and organization.

Santi, who has been studying in a *pesantren* since junior high school, said that the gender division of labour in her *pesantren* is quite equal. Both women and men do domestic work. Men sweep, do the laundry, and cook, while women can do the work of cleaning the gutters, changing the roof tiles, and sweeping the yard. In contrast to Nina’s *pesantren*, the gender division of labour between male and female students is not equal. Female students are responsible for cooking, while men clean the mosque. Nina also felt that, as a woman, she was taught to be passive and obedient in the *pesantren*.

Nina also saw her mother at home always burdened with domestic responsibilities. Nina also saw her friends on campus become victims of sexual violence in dating. Nina then joined an organization to improve her knowledge. Meanwhile, Santi, who was active in the Indonesian Islamic Student Movement (PMII) organization at university, was involved in gender justice workshops and trainings, so they began to realise that there were issues of gender injustice and sexual violence. Here are Nina and Santi’s experiences:

I often heard that A, a friend from college, had been beaten up by her boyfriend. Then I often talked to friends who had also seen it. Not only me, but many other friends. That was when I joined *Jakatarub* [an organization that talks about tolerance that intersects with gender equality]. I wanted my other friends to be more aware of their bodies (Nina 2022, interview 19 June).

I joined *KOPRI*. There, I learned about gender equality, the science of altruism. During the 7th and 8th semesters, I was recommended to join the We Lead training, together with Fahmina, *Kongres Ulama Perempuan Indonesia* (KUPI), and other institutions. I learned about the Mubadallah system [equality between men and women from an Islamic perspective] (Santi 2022, interview 17 June).

Hani and Avi also see the issues of gender injustice and sexual violence through personal experience. Hani said that her mother was a victim of domestic violence. Meanwhile, Avi said that as women, we must have experienced at least one form of sexual violence in public spaces. Hani and Avi's experiences were then reinforced by the knowledge they had gained at university and in the workplace.

I have been familiar with gender issues since my undergraduate studies. I learned about gender equality, women's politics, and domestic violence since my course on Women and Politics. After that, I volunteered at the NGO *Kapal Perempuan*. I have also volunteered at UPR Komnas Perempuan. Also, my mother is a victim of domestic violence (Hani 2022, interview 12 June).

In 2015, I formed a community of people who had experienced sexual violence in public spaces. When we shared our stories with each other, we found that we had similar experiences of victim blaming and not getting help from people who witnessed the violence we experienced... We as women have experienced at least one type of sexual violence (Avi 2022, interview 10 June).

Cyan, Nira, and Ira all recognised the issues of gender-based violence since their activism at university. Cyan said that when she was on campus, she formed a discussion group on women and democracy. It was through this discussion group that she learned about gender equality issues. Through her organization, Cyan developed discussions and educational materials on sexual harassment. At that time, however, she did not know the concept of sexual violence. Nira said that her encounter with the issue of sexual violence was through campus organizations. It was then that she met young feminists who were critically questioning the gender injustice around them.

I learned about gender issues when I was studying in Yogyakarta. In my third semester, I started a discussion

group on women and democracy. From there, I began to see issues of gender equality and feminism. I also joined *Perempuan Mahardhika* Yogyakarta. I distinctly remember making an A-Z book on how to recognise sexual harassment with my friends from the community (Cyan 2022, interview 15 June).

I learned about sexual violence around 2010 when I joined the debate community. It was the first time I met feminist friends and discussed issues of gender-based violence (GBV) and sexual violence. I saw that there were mostly men in the debating community, and I had to make an extra effort to show that I, as a woman, was capable too. After graduating, I joined a legal aid organization as a volunteer and became more serious about GBV, human rights, and the intersectionality of issues, especially the criminal justice system (Nira 2022, interview 15 June).

Ira was also introduced to the issue of gender-based violence on campus. She was a philosophy student who was introduced to feminism "through the university classroom". At that time, she said that her introduction to the issue was not easy. There was an upheaval within her, especially in relation to the natural things she had been taught at home and in educational institutions. Studying in the Department of Philosophy challenged her to see from a new perspective, the perspective of the marginalised groups. However, Ira notes that not all of her friends in the Department of Philosophy necessarily support the elimination of gender-based violence. She hopes that by fighting for gender justice and the elimination of sexual violence, other women will not be harmed in the future.

In the early days, there was a kind of rejection of feminism, as if there were things that questioned the nature of women. Then there was a dialogue with a lecturer and then an understanding of sexual violence. Then I thought, when I was in primary school, the teacher would encourage male students to be the head of the class. Women are never counted for their capacity as human beings (Ira 2022, interview 20 June).

Young women who were exposed to issues of gender equality and sexual violence also realised that these issues intersected with issues of race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and other identities. Ira and Nira said that the issue of sexual violence is one that can be deeply intertwined with other humanitarian issues. For example, Ira said that in the context of work, women domestic workers and labourers are vulnerable to sexual violence. Meanwhile, Nira's work in a legal aid organization made her realise that her advocacy for the rights of marginalised groups, women in prison, and sexual minorities could not be separated from the common thread of gender-based and sexual violence.

There are other issues related to the issue of sexual violence, namely the rights of domestic workers, women workers, and environmental issues. All these issues are closely related to gender-based violence and the struggle against injustice. They are also victims. There are also class issues that need to be looked at (Ira 2022, interview 20 June).

In 2016, in my legal aid organization, I started working on cases with intersections of gender, LGBTIQ and women and drugs. I felt that I could not look at the issue of the criminal justice system in a normative way, because there are also gender issues... I felt that we could fight for minority issues by participating in the fight for the TPKS Law (Nira 2022, interview 15 June).

We [myself and my community friends] felt a sense of urgency towards the presence of this TPKS Law. There was frustration here and there because it seemed that there was no way out to be free from sexual violence; there was a feeling of being stuck and tired (Avi 2022, interview 10 June).

The data above shows that young women see gender-based violence and sexual violence all around them. This motivates them to stress the importance of a comprehensive legal umbrella to protect everyone from sexual violence. Young women feel that there is an urgent need for a law on sexual violence.

Narrative Finding 2: Young Women's Activism in the Advocacy of TPKS Law

The young women in this study undertook different types of activism to promote the passage of Crime of Sexual Violence Bill. The activism undertaken is categorised by the author into 3 groups, namely: 1) formulating the substance of laws and policies; 2) lobbying and dialogue with the government; 3) conducting public education and campaigns - both on social media and at the grassroots level. These three categories of activism are not rigid. In some cases, young women may engage in more than one type of activism based on these groups.

Formulating the Substance of Laws and Policies

The TPKS law is a policy that was initiated by and comes from the women's movement. Therefore, it is very important to ensure the legal substance of each article. The women's movement, which consisted of various institutions, organisations, and government institutions (*Komnas Perempuan*, which is a national human rights institution born out of the women's movement), continued to monitor the substance of the TPKS Law throughout its journey. Monitoring the substance of the Law was part of the activism, because there were several right-wing conservative groups that were trying to

include gender-biased and discriminatory content in this TPKS Law. In addition, civil society also had an interest in ensuring that the substance of the Law is pro-victim and can be implemented based on victims' experiences. Therefore, intervention in the realm of legal substance is important.

Nira, who was a public lawyer at a legal aid organization in 2017, was involved in formulating the substance of the law proposed by civil society. Nira was part of the substance team, which she said was dominated by senior activists who were older than their younger counterparts. Nira also joined Jakarta Feminist in calling for the urgent passage of the Bill during the Women's March Jakarta (WMJ). The WMJ was initiated by *Lintas Feminis Jakarta*, and was held for the first time in 2017 to highlight various policies (Jakartafeminist.com 2022). Nira also had the opportunity to participate in various policy-making forums, including with President Jokowi and the Presidential Staff Office.

In 2017, together with Jakarta Feminist, we organised the Women's March Jakarta, which was also done to strengthen the spirit of young feminists involved in policy advocacy. In 2017, substance, lobbying, and campaigning teams were formed with the support of *Komnas Perempuan*. I joined the substance team together with senior activists. In 2018, we held another WMJ and met with President Jokowi and the Presidential Staff Office to convey our demands on women's rights, including the urgency of passing the Elimination of Sexual Violence Bill (Nira 2022, interview 15 June).

Nira's involvement in the substance team continued until 2019. According to Nira, the involvement of young women in the work of the substance team during 2017-2019, together with older activists, was quite participatory. According to her, there was meaningful participation and good communication in this team. Nira's work in formulating legal substance is manifested in the form of: draft bills, academic papers, problem inventory lists, policy papers, lobby papers, studies, and research.

From 2017 to 2019, together with *Komnas Perempuan*, I prepared the academic paper of the civil society version of the TPKS Bill. In 2017, I felt that there was meaningful participation when I was in the substantive team. I participated in analysing the policies and laws related to the issue of sexual violence in several countries. Then, we divided the things that were important in this Law into six key elements. Usually, we focused on what our current needs were, for example, the need to strengthen the arguments for forms of sexual violence. I prepared a policy paper and a lobby paper. At that time, it did not feel symbolic (Hani 2022, interview 12 June).

Another young woman involved in the substance team was Hani, who worked for *Komnas Perempuan*. Hani said that she was involved in the formulation of the legal substance of the TPKS Law since 2015. At that time, she was involved in the process of finalising the Bill and the academic paper. Until the enactment of the TPKS Law, Hani was involved in many substantive processes, such as the preparation of the Problem Inventory List (*Daftar Inventarisasi Masalah, DIM*), policy papers, lobby papers, studies, and research, and other substantive documents related to her role as an employee of *Komnas Perempuan*.

I have been involved since about 6.5 years ago, when *Komnas Perempuan* was already leading the process of finalising the Bill and the academic paper. When I joined *Komnas Perempuan*, the academic paper and the draft Bill had already been completed. We were discussing the finalisation with several *FPL* partners, building a network in DPR, and building an outreach from *Komnas Perempuan* to several DPR members (Hani 2022, interview 12 June).

The involvement of Nira and Hani in the process of formulating the legal substance of the TPKS Law shows that young people are involved. In addition to Nira and Hani, other young groups involved included young women from legal and policy studies institutions, legal aid organizations, and young women with legal backgrounds.

Lobbying and Dialogue with the Government

A strong political push from civil society and the women's movement was needed for the passage of the TPKS Law. This was because the TPKS Law was not considered urgent - in a populist government. Therefore, *Komnas Perempuan* and civil society, in addition to working on the substance of the law, also carried out lobbying work. This was done with the aim of 1) informing the legislators and the government that cases of sexual violence are common and difficult to prosecute; 2) informing the legislators and the government that the issue of sexual violence needs to be legally regulated; and 3) gaining support from the legislators and the government for the passage of this law. To achieve these objectives, lobbying and dialogue were conducted with legislators and key parties at the executive level. Lobbying and dialogue were based on substantive material prepared or produced by the substance team.

Hani shared that her involvement was not only in terms of substance, but also in relation to dialogue with key actors in DPR and the government. Her involvement in lobbying was closely linked to her status as a staff of *Komnas Perempuan*. In carrying out her lobbying

work, Hani said that she was given space to learn and to contribute in order to make the lobbying process successful.

Her involvement was in line with her role in the Legal and Policy Reform Division; she was responsible for organising all the processes, liaising with technical experts (TAs) and liaising with networks at the national level (Hani 2022, interview 12 June).

Furthermore, Hani said that the effort to lobby members of parliaments (MPs) to provide support and votes for the passage of the TPKS Bill was not easy. What needed to be considered was how to build a common understanding between MPs from different parties to provide mutual support. For this reason, the lobby team developed a special lobbying strategy. The strategy involved building political communication based on trust in *Komnas Perempuan*, NGOs, civil society, and the MPs. According to Hani, this was the reason why the lobby team was dominated by more senior activists, because it was assumed that they have more resources and access to these political institutions.

Lobbying forums with the MPs were helpful to make it easier to convey the substance. The challenge with the MPs was that Party A was not necessarily close to Party B, so we needed to build the chemistry. Bringing women MPs closer together needed to be done in a subtle way, not by criticising or demanding. The lobby team developed political communication based on trust between *Komnas Perempuan*, NGOs and the MPs. Access to knowledge and networks was more owned by the senior activists (Hani 2022, interview 12 June).

Campaigning

Campaigning was dominated by young feminists. The young women in this study shared that each of them carried out campaigning activism in different media - both online and offline. The forms of campaigning network activism were also very diverse: 1) being involved in the campaign team network facilitated by *Komnas Perempuan*; 2) campaigning collectively through organisational or community social media platforms; 3) campaigning individually on their own social media platforms; 4) campaigning offline through discussion forums.

Cyan, a young woman who worked at *Komnas Perempuan* and was involved in the process of integrating the campaign team with a network of youth organizations, said that during the period 2015-2019, a massive movement was formed to encourage the passage of the TPKS Bill. During this period, many youth organizations and communities were involved, including

the Women's March Jakarta (WMJ), *GERAK Perempuan*, the Civil Society Coalition Against Sexual Violence (*Koalisi Masyarakat Sipil Anti Kekerasan Seksual, KOMPAKS*), and *Perempuan Mahardhika*.

In 2015-2019, the campaign movement was already visible. At that time, we did a black umbrella action. We were able to work with friends from WMJ, *Gerak Perempuan*, KOMPAKS. In WMJ, the issues were diverse, but they also had a common thread on the issue of sexual violence. I saw that it was quite good (Cyan 2022, interview 15 June).

Cyan explained that in the 2015-2019 period, *Komnas Perempuan*, through the Community Participation Division, consolidated feminist accounts on social media to conduct joint campaigns. Cyan admitted that the process of consolidating the social media movement was mostly done on holidays or weekends. In the process of consolidating the online campaign movement, several key points were formulated, including: 1) determining the campaign strategy; 2) mitigating risks in the event of an attack; and 3) determining the #hashtag narrative. The consolidation of this online campaign movement eventually escalated into a larger movement and became a black umbrella action movement in 2019 in a series of celebrations of the 16 Days of Anti-Violence against Women (16HAKTP).

Still about the online campaign, Avi explained that she was also involved in the network of the campaign team, which was facilitated by *Komnas Perempuan*. In the campaign team, Avi jointly translated the materials compiled by the substance team into campaign materials. Aside from her work with the campaign team, Avi has a long history of activism against sexual violence with Jakarta Feminist, Hollaback Jakarta, and KOMPAKS. Avi was also one of the young women who organised the Women's March Jakarta action and series of activities.

Avi explained that for the online campaign, there were several strategies that Jakarta Feminist and KOMPAKS used to advocate for the passage of the TPKS Bill, ranging from making releases, social media content, online discussions, Instagram live (remote interactive discussions on Instagram), to conducting research - which was used to create content on social media. Jakarta Feminist Movement, KOMPAKS, and Women's March Jakarta have been consistent in their advocacy for the passage of the TPKS Bill.

As part of the KOMPAKS' strategy, we conducted research with the Safe Public Space Coalition (*Koalisi Ruang Publik Aman, KRPA*) and Jakarta Feminist on sexual violence in public spaces in 2018 and 2022. We used the results of this research as campaign materials. There was also the

Jubaedah programme (online discussion every Tuesday), which was a good strategy (Avi 2022, interview 10 June).

Nira also has a different experience of online campaigning. Previously involved in an interfaith organization, Nira was encouraged to revive *Iteung Menggugat* digital platform to campaign on human rights issues. Nira said she learned about the Bill after attending a training on CEDAW. Nira and five of her friends then used *Iteung Menggugat* Instagram to campaign for the elimination of sexual violence.

I learned about the TPKS Bill when I was working with the SAPA Institute to produce a policy brief on strategies to eliminate sexual violence. At first, I did not like politics. But the more I got here, the more I realised that our only power is in the law, that we depend on the passage of this Bill (Nira 2022, interview 15 June).

The activism that Nira and her colleagues did was to create various contents related to the 16 Days Against Violence Against Women (16HAKTP). In addition, through *Iteung Menggugat*, Nira also encouraged young women on social media to take a chance through the #PerempuanBersuara #BebasBercerita programmes. *Iteung Menggugat* asked its followers to share their experiences as victims of sexual violence. According to NI, *Iteung Menggugat's* campaign activism aimed to bring an understanding of sexual violence to young friends who were unfamiliar with the cultural approach.

Iteung Menggugat targeted ordinary people. Young people should not be afraid of gender issues. Then we slowly talked about sexual violence. We used cultural approaches such as singing, chanting, and reading poetry about local female figures (Nira 2022, interview 15 June).

In addition, young women are also engaging in activism through their personal social media platforms. Kamila, a popular feminist book author and social media influencer, recognises the importance of speaking out about sexual violence. She recognises that her social media platforms, Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter, are important spaces that can be shaped by the women's movement. Kamila's social media content creation is often a departure from her personal interests. Conceptually, however, Kamila does not hesitate to ask other young women and older activists who have different knowledge from her.

I have always been impulsive about creating content, I was a writer before I became an activist. Whenever I read news about sexual violence, there was a need for me to make the news understandable to the reader. I felt it was important to make the readers of my writing understand. I produce

my own knowledge. I transform the language of activism into the language of writing with my style (Kamila 2022, interview 25 June).

Kamila said she wanted her social media followers to understand what she was trying to say. In addition, because of her social media activism, Kamila was then involved by civil society networks in a joint social media campaign for the passage of the TPKS Bill. In 2020, she was invited to consolidate with friends in Jakarta. At that time, she was involved in the social media advocacy team together with KOMPAKS.

Meanwhile, the campaign for the passage of the TPKS Bill was also conducted offline. The young woman, Santi, spoke about sexual violence in discussion forums in Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*) and student communities. According to Santi, the issue of sexual violence was rarely discussed in *pesantren*, religious schools, and public schools, so she educated young friends in *pesantren*, *madrasah*, and high schools. The material presented was about reproductive health and women's bodily autonomy.

I adopted a strategy, when TPKS Bill was still being discussed, I educated my friends on campus, made educational materials for schools and MTs. I also opened a discussion room in *pesantren* where I teach. The material was about reproductive health, which parts of the body are allowed to be held and which are not. The children in *pesantren* did not have mobile phones, so they were not aware of the latest issues (Santi 2022, interview 17 June).

In addition to offline campaign activism, during the pandemic, Santi and his friends at *KOPRI* carried out what they called "thumb jihad". "Thumb jihad" activism was "click activism". This means that at the same time all individuals are consolidated to share, like, and comment in support of a particular topic. Santi said this "thumb jihad" was carried out to encourage the passage of the TPKS Bill - because during the pandemic young people could not take action on the streets/demonstrations.

From the experiences of young women above, campaign activism was dominated by young people. Meanwhile, for activism work in the realm of substance and lobbying, young women were still very little involved. In terms of substance, the involvement of young women was felt to be participatory. Meanwhile, in terms of lobbying, the spaces for involvement were relatively exclusive to the senior generation and the campaigning was filled by young groups. In the realm of campaigning, the forms of activism were diverse and cross-space (online and offline).

Narrative Finding 3: Challenges and Threats Faced by Young Women Activists

In carrying out their activism, both in the process of drafting legal substance, lobbying, and campaigning, young women experience various challenges and threats that come from outside. The challenges and threats experienced are: a) labelling; b) lack of participation; c) online gender-based violence; d) concerns/feelings of insecurity due to the Electronic Information and Transactions Law (UU ITE).

Labelling and Lack of Engagement

Research data shows that in the process of advocating for the TPKS Law, young women were often subject to different types of labelling and their participation was lacking due to age discrimination. Young people were often labelled as "tech-savvy" and adaptable. However, research has shown that the digital skills of young people in Indonesia vary widely (Lee & Hidayat 2019). In addition, young activists are also often labelled as social justice warriors (SJWs) - which has now become negative and a form of attack on individuals (Mead 2018). In addition to labelling, the interviews also revealed ageism, where adults dominated decision-making spaces and young people were seen as lacking the capacity to participate (Schusler et al. 2019; Earl et al. 2016).

This study found that the "tech-savvy" label tended to exclude young people in other advocacy spaces. This was illustrated by how young people were involved in the TPKS Bill advocacy. Young people were seen as more suited to campaigning on social media, while their involvement in substance formulation and lobbying was minimal.

Young people mostly joined demonstrations and actions. It was very logical; it was easier to mobilise the aforementioned young groups because they were exclusive, they lived in Jakarta. They were active social media users (Hani 2022, interview 12 June).

Young women were more involved in campaigning, in the context of advocacy... The problem was that they could not participate in the formulation of the academic paper as the draft Law was only accessible to stakeholders and certain parties (Hani 2022, interview 2 June).

Meanwhile, according to Avi, she felt that the division of labour between the substance, lobbying, and campaign teams was not participatory. Young women were automatically placed in the campaign team and advocacy on social media. Avi said that there were situational conditions that inevitably put young people

in the campaign team. Meanwhile, Nira said that the involvement of young women in the substance team should have been cross-disciplinary, not just those with a legal background.

During the meeting, they were immediately put in charge of the campaign. Yes, we were asked, but it was only a formality to ask us which team we wanted to join. Indirectly, a situation was created that made young people felt uncomfortable. For example, there were words from older activists: I have been working on this issue for 20 years, blah blah blah (Avi 2022, interview 10 June).

There was no process of knowledge transfer between teams. The campaign was very backward, there was no trust. Friends were told to campaign, but they did not know what to campaign for. Young people were excluded from those working on the campaign (Avi 2022, interview 10 June).

Those involved in the substance team were friends with a legal background. This was also a weakness because it only involved young people who have academic or legal backgrounds, whereas we needed other perspectives (Nira 2022, interview 15 June).

Furthermore, Avi and Nira added that the division of the teams, namely substance, lobbying, and campaigning teams needs to be strengthened by an equal knowledge transfer process between teams. Young women said that with this division of teams, young women in the campaigning team were not able to contribute to the process of formulating legal substance. This was a challenge faced by young women in the advocacy process.

Other friends wanted to speak out but were afraid of being labelled "SJW", "very feminist". Those who were very vocal were called "the very feminist" or "the most social justice warrior" (Nina 2022, interview 8 June).

In addition, "tech savvy" label and the lack of involvement of young people were a challenge. Nina said that she also often got labels from her friends and environment. According to her, when campaigning on social justice issues such as the elimination of sexual violence on her personal social media, she was often labelled as the most feminist or the most activist. These labels made Nina and her friends feel worried about continuing their activism.

Online Gender-Based Violence and Concerns about the ITE Law

Young women campaigning on social media both collectively and individually experience vulnerabilities such as online gender-based violence. Avi said that

she experienced attacks on her personal social media accounts, such as rape threats and death threats. She received these attacks through the comments section and direct messages on her Instagram account. Similar to Avi, the young woman Kamila also experienced attacks in the digital space. Kamila said that she experienced doxing, trolling, online gender-based violence, and then her content was edited, and a new narrative was created, leading to hate speech.

Iteung Menggugat Instagram account also experienced attacks. Nina, who is the administrator of the account, said that she experienced attacks in the form of negative comments and negative messages when she posted campaign contents about the TPKS Bill. According to Nina, after the rain of negative comments, she experienced stalking on her personal social media accounts. This means that the perpetrator of online gender-based violence tracked Nina's identity as the administrator of *Iteung Menggugat* account. According to Nina, the stalking has been very disruptive to Nina's personal life.

Then, there are the concerns of young women who are advocating for the TPKS Law in the digital space against the ITE law. In the Indonesian context, digital space as a new civic space is under threat. Digital space, which was originally a space of empowerment for other groups, has been hijacked by patriarchal values (Pratiwi 2021). One of the most obvious forms is the use of the ITE Law, which not only silences the voices of victims of sexual violence, but also threatens women human rights defenders (*Perempuan Pembela HAM, PPHAM*).

The presence of rubber articles in the ITE Law poses a threat to victims, survivors, and feminist activists seeking justice through digital media. The ITE Law can be used as a tool of intimidation by those who disagree with to silence and even stop investigations into cases. This is what Avi and her friends at Jakarta Feminist are worried about. According to Avi, one of Jakarta Feminist's main concerns in carrying out its activism is the fear of being caught under the ITE Law.

Analysis 1: Young Women and Participation

The experiences of young women in the fight for the TPKS Law above illustrate the diverse forms and challenges faced by young women in policy advocacy. In this section, the experiences of young women will be analysed using a concept that uses the metaphor of flower petals called the "Flower of Participation" developed by CHOICE (2017). This concept will then be used to see how

young women's participation in the struggle for the TPKS Law relates to seniors in the women's movement.

The "Flower of Participation" framework is a development of Robert Hart's 1992 concept of the ladder of participation to see the extent of youth participation in development (Hart 1992; Febrianto et al. 2022). The "Flower of Participation" concept explains meaningful Youth Participation (YP) through the metaphor of a flower. In explaining this concept, it is important to understand 3 main categories: 1) environment: air, soil, water, sun; 2) roots: the main core; 3) forms of participation: insects, leaves, and petals (CHOICE 2017).

First, the environment. For a flower to bloom fully it needs the elements of air, soil, water, and sun. Air symbolises inclusivity, which needs to be understood early in the youth-adult partnership process. Inclusivity means recognising the diversity of young women's identities. In this research, the young women involved in advocacy for the TPKS Law come from different backgrounds (social, economic, geographical, political views, religion, etc.). Therefore, it is important to consider these differences in the partnership process between adult and young women in promoting advocacy for the TPKS Law. In this study, it can be seen that young women from different backgrounds can be involved in the TPKS Law advocacy movement, so this inclusive space is available.

The earth element then illustrates the commitment of young people. This commitment means that young women must be committed to be involved in the advocacy process of the TPKS Law. In this research it can be seen that this commitment manifests itself in different forms and activism carried out by young women. This commitment can also be seen in the young women's motivations, including: personal motivations for experiencing and/or witnessing sexual violence, religious motivations, and professional motivations.

The water element refers to the capacity building provided to young people. This study finds that young women received various forms of training to increase their knowledge of sexual violence. These trainings are provided by organizations that focus on women's issues (We Lead) and organizations that are part of the Indonesian women's movement (KUPI). In addition, organizations and communities led by young women also contribute to increasing young women's knowledge.

Finally, the sun element refers to an environment that supports the growth of meaningful participation. The sun element has 6 indicators: a) adult commitment to Meaningful Youth Participation (MYP); b) financial

resources; c) youth-friendly climate; d) safe spaces; e) flexibility; and f) policies. Based on interviews with young women, safe spaces within the women's movement itself are not friendly to young women's aspirations. Young women are often labelled as "tech-savvy" and thus placed in the realm of online campaigns. Meanwhile, the electoral space is still small and does not meet young women's aspirations. Young women would like to see a more participatory division of labour between the substance, lobbying, and campaigning teams. In addition, young women are vulnerable to online gender-based violence (GBV) as a result of their participation in the advocacy for the TPKS Law. However, other indicators could not be explored in depth in this study.

Second, the core of meaningful youth participation through the metaphor of roots. Roots have key elements, namely: a) freedom of choice; b) information; c) decision-making power; d) voice; e) responsibility (CHOICE 2017). These five indicators relate to meaningful forms of participation for young people. In the concept of the "Flower of Participation", the five indicators are seen as either: not present at all, present but vaguely, more or less present, present and felt, or present and strongly felt.

Third, the form of participation consists of the metaphors of insects, leaves, and petals. Insects symbolise the meaningless participation of young people. There are two forms, manipulation and tokenism. Manipulation is when young people are only informed but not given freedom of choice, voice, responsibility, and decision-making power. Manipulation is when young people are used to support an issue and then programme initiators pretend that the chosen issues/campaign objectives came from young people. Tokenism is when young people are given freedom of choice and information, but their voices are not taken into account, and there is no sharing of responsibility and decision-making power. Tokenism is when young people are invited to participate, but only on a superficial level; in reality, young people have no voice, and their opinions are not listened to or respected (CHOICE 2017).

Next, the metaphors of leaves and petals. Both are different forms of MYP. The leaves show 2 forms of participation: 1) young people are appointed a role and informed; and 2) young people are consulted and informed (CHOICE 2017). In the first model, young people are informed, given a choice, and hold limited voice and responsibility. In the second model, young people are provided with information, freedom of choice and strong information, but hold limited responsibility and decision-making power.

The flower petals metaphor consists of 4 models. In the first petals model, adult-led, decisions are made together with young people. In this form, adults lead the programme or activity while young people are involved. Young people have full space to choose and be informed, and sufficient space to have a voice, take responsibility, and play a role in decision making. The second is youth-led, where decisions are made together with adults. In this model, young people have full freedom of choice, information, voice, and responsibility, but decisions

are made with adults. Third, youth-led, adults have no decision-making power. In this model, young people have full control of choice, information, voice, responsibility, and decision-making. Finally, youth-adult partnership. In this model, both young people and adults share responsibility and decision-making. This model provides a space for shared learning between young people and adults, as adults can help to build the capacity of young people and *vice versa*.

Table 1. Results of Analysis of Young Women’s Participation Model

Indicator/Model	Freedom of choice	Information	Voice	Responsibility	Decision-making power
Insects					
Manipulation	Not present at all	Present, but vaguely	Not present at all	Not present at all	Not present at all
Tokenism	More or less present	Present, but vaguely	Not present at all	Not present at all	Not present at all
Leaves					
Young people are appointed a role and informed	More or less present	Present and felt	Present, but vaguely	More or less present	Not present at all
Young people are consulted and informed	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	More or less present	Present, but vaguely
Petals of the flower					
Adult-led, shared decisions with youth	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and felt	Present and felt	Present and felt
Youth-led, shared decisions with adults	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and felt
Youth-led, adults have no decision-making power	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt
Youth-adult partnership	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and strongly felt	Present and felt	Present and felt

Source: Adapted from CHOICE (2017)

The interview results show that young women’s participation in the TPKS Law advocacy movement is still at the level of the leaves, where young people are appointed a role and informed. In terms of freedom of choice, it can be said that young women are given full freedom to carry out advocacy models (both individual and organisational). However, this freedom of choice is also limited by institutional main duties and functions (*Tugas Pokok dan Fungsi, TUPOKSI*) for young women who, because of their work background, carry out advocacy on the TPKS Law. Meanwhile, in terms of information, young women are also provided with information on

the movement of the progress of the TPKS Law advocacy process. On the other hand, young women also feel that they lack information on advocacy strategies from the substance and lobbying teams.

In terms of voice, young women are given space to participate in meetings and express their opinions. In addition, they can take initiatives within their communities on appropriate advocacy models. Young women also said that they were given the opportunity to speak, but only as a formality. For example, in team division, young women are conditioned - labelled as “tech-savvy” - to work in the campaigning team. Such

division, in the absence of knowledge transfer and shared decision-making between youth and adults, excludes them from forums for formulating the substance of the law and lobbying. Finally, access to traditional knowledge and power (such as political parties and the media) is reserved for adults. Finally, the responsibilities assigned to young women are still at a “more or less present” level. For example, young women are often excluded from lobbying forums with policy makers. Ultimately, decision-making is still dominated by adults.

Analysis 2: Young Women and Agency

This research shows that despite the lack of meaningful participation of young women, young women are demonstrating agency amidst the threats to which they are vulnerable. This is demonstrated by three key findings. First, young women are marginalised in decision-making within the women's movement itself because of their age. Second, young women face challenges to their activism, such as negative labelling, threats of sexual violence, and vulnerability to discriminatory policies. Third, young women demonstrate their agency and activism in advocating for the TPKS Law.

In feminist studies, agency is a person's ability to achieve self-autonomy in the context of their relationship with their environment (Davies 1991 & Meyers 2002). The word agency itself is used interchangeably with the words autonomy, freedom, and authority (Davies 1991). In the context of feminist collective action, agency is the ability to organise oneself, voice one's interests, and fight for change amidst challenges to the dominance of masculinity (Eduards 1994).

Diana Tietjens Meyers in her book *Gender in the Mirror: Cultural Imagery and Women's Agency* (2002) specifically examines the relationship between gender discourse, women's identity, and agency. She argues that women have been systematically placed at the lowest level in social structures, so that women's ability to choose and act freely must be compromised by their social environment (Meyers 2002). In this situation, women who are able to achieve self-autonomy are said to have agency.

Agency also refers to the ability of people to consciously direct their behaviour and interactions with others (Bandura 2006). People develop mental representations of desired outcomes or developmental goals to which they aspire, and which guide their actions and behaviour. Such goals may include aspirations to get good grades, go to college, or get a high-paying,

high-status job. These developmental goals are typically influenced by past experiences, current concerns, and anticipated future aspirations (Bandura 2006; Emirbayer & Mische 1998; Hitlin & Elder 2007). The goals that young women want to achieve cannot be separated from their backgrounds and life experiences. In the case of this research, it appears that efforts to promote legal protection are driven by young women's personal motivations. Some of them had been victims of sexual violence and/or had witnessed sexual violence around them.

In asking what motivates a person to do what they do, there is a role for beliefs, expectations and values. Individuals' choices, persistence, and performance can be explained by beliefs about their abilities and the importance of the task to them. Expectations refer to beliefs about 1) one's own abilities (e.g., self-concept, self-awareness, self-confidence) and 2) expectancies of success, i.e., the extent to which individuals believe they can successfully achieve certain goals (Eccles & Wigfield 2002; Heckhausen 2018). These goals, hopes, and choices to continue to move forward and campaign against sexual violence are reflected in the optimism and confidence of the young women. They continued to campaign despite the attacks and threats they received. Some of them felt that what they were doing was a political undertaking and a spiritual struggle. With this view, young women felt stronger and were not afraid of any group that tried to reject the TPKS Law. At the same time, they continued their activism in different forms.

Closing

Young women played an important role in the advocacy work of the TPKS Law amidst the lack of recognition, lack of meaningful participation, and challenges they faced. Young women strived to prove themselves as agents in order to continue to be involved in different forms of advocacy according to their respective capacities. Young women's agency itself was inextricably linked to the personal and intrapersonal relationships young women had with themselves and their environment - including their experiences in the past. This experience moved young women to advocate for the TPKS Law in the public sphere. This experience also made the values of feminism not only theoretical but also practical. This shows that young women are also actors in the women's movement, which in turn cannot be left out of the process of advocating for gender equality. The success of the women's movement cannot be separated from the various forms of young women

activists in different spheres (social media, organisations, workplaces, and communities). Reflecting on the future, the Indonesian women's movement must not exclude the voices and participation of young women. Finally, it is important to increase research on young women's participation in political advocacy in Indonesia.

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The Politics of Hope Synergy: The Intersectionality of Youth Politics in Feminism

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Abstract

Indonesian youth experience age discrimination (ageism) according to the Domination Matrix in the form of legal structural dominance and cultural hegemony. Law Number 40 of 2009 on Youth defines youth as citizens aged 16—30 years, but a number of political positions in Law Number 7 of 2017 on Elections and Law Number 10 of 2016 on Local Elections have conditions that prohibit youth ages. All youths are prohibited from becoming president/deputy which is implied by the existence of a minimum age requirement of 40 years, governor/deputy (30), and members of the General Election Commission/Election Supervisory Body at central (40), provincial (35) and district/city levels (30). Culturally, the ageism which judges youth to be incapable of leading is natural with the fact that youth have never nominated a youth minister and chairman of National Committee of Indonesian Youth (KNPI). It is important for young people to study the politics of hope for feminism, which in history succeeded in removing the ban on women's suffrage and succeeded in obtaining political affirmation of at least 30 percent. As a significant number of citizens, the intersectionality of youth in feminism can be a synergy to achieve a more representative parliament, by recognizing one another's identities within the framework of political expectations.

Keywords: politics of hope, ageism, youth, intersectionality

Introduction

Young people are among the Indonesian citizens who experience political discrimination. The state has legally recognised the specificity of youth identity through Law No. 40 of 2009 on Youth, which defines youth as citizens between the ages of 16 and 30. However, Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections prohibits youth from running for President/Vice President and requires a minimum age of 40 years. The same law also prohibits youth from running for the General Election Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum, KPU*) and the General Election Supervisory Commission (*Badan Pengawas Pemilu, Bawaslu*) at the central, provincial, and district/city levels. Then, Law No. 10 of 2016 on Amendments to Law No. 8 of 2015 on Amendments to Law No. 1 of 2015 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors prohibits young people from running for governor/deputy governor because it requires a minimum age of 30 years. So, with regulations that prohibit the political right to be elected in elections and election-related positions, no matter how great Indonesian youth are, they have no chance of becoming President/Vice President, governor/deputy governor, and members of the election organisers.

In addition to experiencing discrimination in regard to the right to be elected, youth representation in the

legislature is very low. In the 2019 elections, youth representation in DPR was only 12.5 per cent (72/575). In the previous election results, the number of young people in DPR was not even a concern.

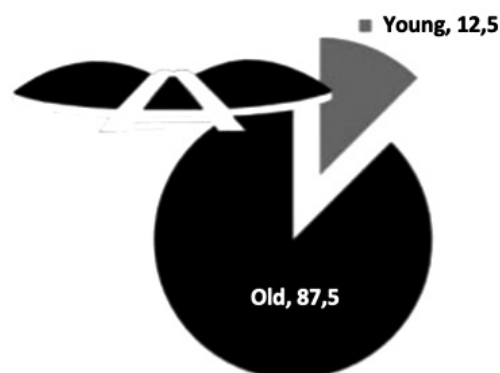


Figure 1. Comparison of Young & Old Members of DPR from the 2019 Elections (%)

Source: Data processed from dpr.go.id

Discrimination against young people in exercising their right to be elected is similar to the historical experience of women in the United States and some European countries before 1920. At that time, women did not have the right to vote or stand for election. Thanks to a long and sustained women's movement, the provision

prohibiting women from voting was removed by the 19th Amendment to the United States Constitution on suffrage (Mangan et al. 2019, p. 58).

This glorious achievement was the result of a long struggle by the women’s movement since the mid-1800s. Women won the right to vote and to be elected in politics. The right to vote and to be elected is part of human rights, which is not only a fundamental right but also a natural right that comes with human birth. When the founders or state administrators enact laws that prohibit women’s political rights, it means that there is a theft of rights that violates humanity. The long struggle and achievement of women’s political rights was part of the birth of the first wave of feminist thought and movement (Mangan et al. 2019, pp. 59-63).

To date, the struggles and achievements of feminism in the fight for women’s rights have become an inspiration and been implemented in many countries, including Indonesia. Since its independence as a state in 1945, Indonesia has never banned women from politics. As a result of women’s political struggle, the post-reform constitutional amendments introduced an affirmative article for citizens. Article 28H(2) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia states: “Every person is entitled to receive ease and special treatment in order to obtain the same opportunity and benefit in order to achieve equality and justice”. This constitutional provision then became the basis for affirmative action for women in political party and election laws in the form of a minimum of 30 per cent women’s representation (Ana et al. 2010, p. 169).

Table 1. Women’s Election Rates in DPR Elections

Election Year	Women in Parliament	Number of House Seats	Percentage of Women in DPR
1999	45	500	9,00
2004	61	550	11,10
2009	101	560	18,00
2014	97	560	17,30
2019	118	575	20,50

Source: Processed by the author from KPU and DPR

However, the existence of affirmative action for women does not mean that political equality and justice have been achieved. Even after five post-reform elections, women’s representation did not reach the minimum level of 30 per cent. The number of women in DPR from the 1999 to 2019 elections successively

resulted in the percentage of elected women being 9 per cent (45 women out of 500 DPR seats), 11.1 per cent (61 women out of 550), 18 per cent (101 women out of 560), 17.3 per cent (97 women out of 560), and 20.5 per cent (118 women out of 575).

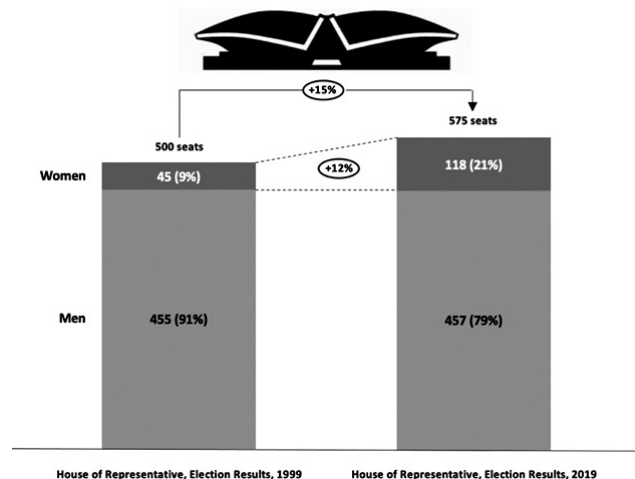


Figure 2: Increase in Women’s Seats and DPR Seats

Source: Processed from KPU and DPR

In fact, the increase in the number and percentage of women in DPR is lower than the increase in the number and percentage of additional DPR seats (1999-2019). In the 1999 elections, out of 500 DPR seats, there were only 45 women, or 9 per cent of the total. In the 2019 elections, out of 575 DPR seats, there were only 118 women, or 20.5 per cent of the total. This means that between 1999 and 2019, the increase in the percentage of women in DPR was less than 12 per cent, while the increase in the percentage of DPR seats was 15 per cent.

The unrepresentative nature of state institutions becomes even more relevant when there are far more victims of violence against women and young people. The results of a survey conducted by the United Nations

Population Fund (UNFPA) together with *Komnas Perempuan* (2021) show that 91.6 per cent of youth (15-30 years old) had experienced sexual violence. 37.6 per cent of them had been forced to have sex and 61.5 per cent had been touched on certain body parts. 75.8 per cent of the respondents were female.

The high number confirms the data in the context of the 2020 pandemic. *Komnas Perempuan* recorded 299,911 cases of violence against women. This includes online gender-based violence (*Kekerasan Berbasis Gender Online, KBGO*). *Databoks* of *katadata.co.id* cites the Statista report that young citizens are the actors closest to social media. This suggests that more victims are likely to be young women.

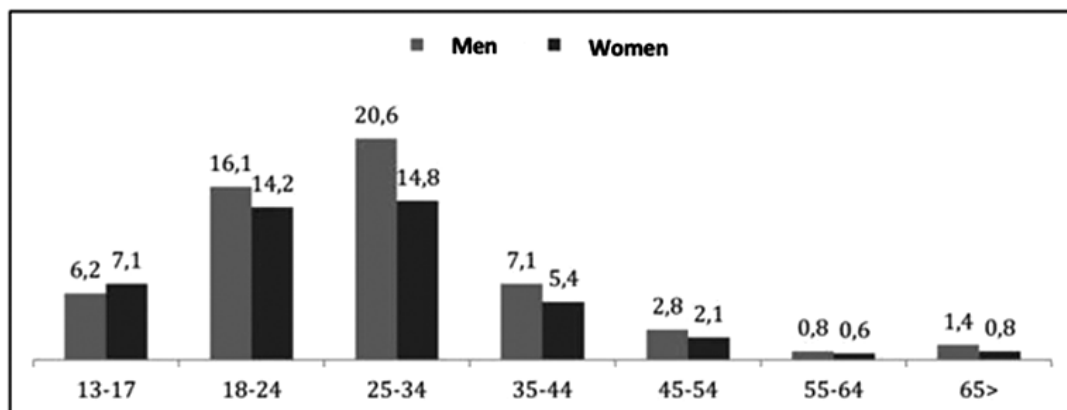


Figure 3. Percentage of Social Media Users by Age Group, (Years) and Gender

Source: *Databoks.katadata.co.id* (Statista) 2020

The fact that young women are victims is paradoxical when they are compared as a demographic force. According to the 2020 census and projections for 2023 by the Central Bureau of Statistics (*Badan Pusat Statistik, BPS*), female citizens make up about 50 per cent of the total population. KPU announces that young voters (17-40 years old) amounted to 107 million voters or more than 55 per cent of the total voters, which means that about 50 per cent are young women (BPS & KPU 2023).

From all the context and explanation of the problem, there are two questions in this research, namely: 1) How can youth groups learn from women’s groups in achieving political rights recognition and be more empowered to include affirmative politics? 2) What is the intersectionality of youth groups to join feminism?

Research Methodology

The research in this paper uses a qualitative research method that includes a legal and literature review. This

research attempts to answer the research questions in stages: First, analysing a number of legal documents on the legal definition and political rights of youth (Law No. 40 of 2009, Law No. 7 of 2017, and Law No. 10 of 2016), as well as other provisions that discriminate against youth. Second, collecting data on youth representation in state institutions. Third, identifying forms of cultural discrimination based on age (ageism) in public offices that stereotype young people.

From the three stages that produce discriminatory legal documents, data and facts of unrepresentative state institutions, as well as the problems of youth and women as two identities that experience domination, the analysis of this research is based on the theory and history of feminism. There are two groups of theories used in this paper. First, the theory of ageism. Second, feminist theory that refers to the matrix of domination, the politics of hope, and intersectionality and is reinforced by other feminist theories such as women’s representation and affirmation. The history of feminism used is the

history of waves of feminism. First, the history of the women’s suffrage movement as part of the first wave of feminism. Second, the history of women’s achievements

in representation and affirmation. Third, the history of International Women’s Day, including Women’s March.

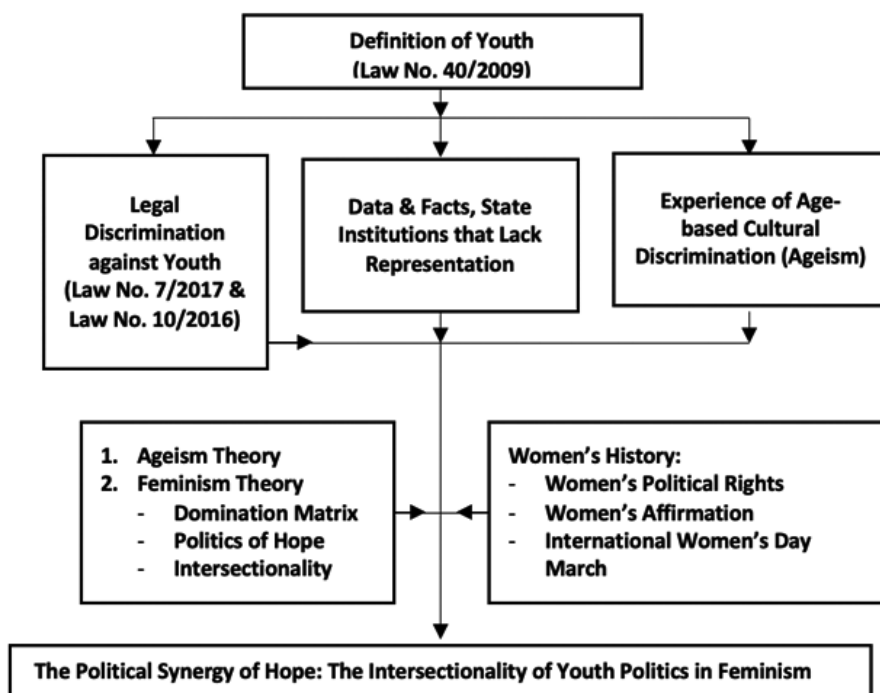


Figure 4. Framework of Thinking

Source: Processed by the author

This research focuses on a number of candidacy requirements for political office in Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections and Law No. 10 of 2016 on Local Elections (*Pilkada*). The discriminatory articles against youth in these laws are linked to discriminatory laws experienced by women, which later gave birth to the first wave of feminism. Drawing on the experiences and achievements of the women’s movement that incorporated the political theory of hope in feminism, this research shows that youth politics must embrace and apply feminism.

The synergy between women and youth’s politics is explained by three similarities. First, the similarity of the experience of domination, by incorporating the matrix of domination theory. Second, the similarity of stereotypes, which is proven by data and facts that patriarchy degrades women, while ageism degrades youth. Third, the similarity of the political spirit of hope.

To deepen the analysis, this research also includes manifestations of the political synergy of women and youth. These include the celebration of International Women’s Day every year on 8 March in the form of Women’s March. This annual march expresses the diversity of demands in which many young people

usually participate, without distinguishing identities based on age, sexuality, ethnicity, religion, and others. The synergy of women and youth groups at the cultural level as a form of politics of hope, which accompanies the increase in the number of masses and their expansion in Indonesia, is expected to be followed up at the structural level to increase the representation of women and youth in parliament.

From the analysis of the theory and history of feminism, there are recommendations for the synergy of the politics of hope between women and youth’s groups. These recommendations can answer two questions in this research. First, they answer the question of how youth groups can learn from women’s groups in the struggle for recognition of political rights and can be more empowered in the pursuit of affirmative politics. Second, they answer the question of how youth groups can participate in the political synergy of hope.

Political Synergy between Women and Youth

The political synergy of women and youth is an attempt to unite the two identities of citizens in an effort to achieve state empowerment for the ideals of justice.

Women and youth as identities can work together by recognising their similarities. From a causal point of view, this makes a lot of sense because both are in a situation of marginalisation and discrimination. In terms of quantity, it is very significant because women and youth make up about 50 per cent of the total population (BPS & KPU 2023). In state politics, where the selection of rulers and their evaluation are centred on elections, the basis of quality and quantity is very important to be converted from mass to votes, to seats of power, then to more equitable policies.

This political synergy is part of the politics of hope. The politics of hope in feminism is a concept that refers to social and political changes that are expected to bring about significant changes in life as a whole. The emphasis on hope is at the heart of the politics of the marginalised. It is a narrative of a strong desire to achieve equality or a better life. The politics of hope believes that political action aimed at achieving equality and justice will lead to a society free from violence and discrimination. Feminism is strongly characterised as a politics of hope because it is underpinned by an idealised motivation to achieve full equality (Coleman & Ferreday 2010, p. 313). Political philosophers Chantal Mouffe (1943-) and Ernesto Laclau (1935-2014) see hope as a desire that is expressed in everyday actions and political activities. In feminism, the belief in hope as desire in daily actions and political activities is the basic foundation of human life to survive in the world and rise from a subordinate position (Zournazi 2002, pp. 112-133).

In order to recognise the common experience of injustice against young people, it is important to start by referring to Law No. 7 of 2017 on Elections. The identity of youth as citizens here refers to Law No. 40 of 2009 on Youth. Youth are Indonesian citizens who are in an important period of growth and development between the ages of 16 and 30. From this definition of youth, there are a number of articles in Law No. 7 of 2017 and Law No. 1 of 2015 jo. Law No. 10 of 2016 that discriminate against young people, including 1) Article 169 letter q of Law No. 7 of 2017 reads: The requirements that must be fulfilled by a Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidate is at least 40 (forty) years of age; 2) Article 21 paragraph (1) letter b of Law No. 7 of 2017 reads: The requirements to become a commissioner of KPU, Provincial KPU, and/or Regency/City KPU is that during registration, at least 40 (forty) years of age for KPU candidate, at least 35 (thirty-five) years of age for Provincial KPU candidate, and at least 30 (thirty) years of age for Regency/City KPU candidate; 3) Article 117 paragraph (1) letter b of Law No. 7 Year 2017

reads: The requirements to be a candidate of Bawaslu, Provincial Bawaslu, Regency/City Bawaslu commissioner or member of Sub-district Panwaslu, Village Panwaslu, or polling station supervisors are:... during registration, at least 40 (forty) years of age for Bawaslu commissioner candidate, at least 35 (thirty-five) years of age for Provincial Bawaslu candidate, at least 30 (thirty) years of age for Regency/City Bawaslu candidate...; 4) Article 7 paragraph (2) letter e of Law No. 1 of 2015 jo. Law No. 10 of 2016 read: Candidates for Governor and Deputy Governor shall be at least 30 (thirty) years old.

Indonesia's legal ban on youth running for political office positions youth as oppressed citizens. D'Ignazio and Klein explain the concept of oppression in Patricia Hill Collins' (1948-) "Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness and the Politics of Empowerment" (1990). In this concept, forms of oppression consist of four matrices. First, the structural domain. Second, the disciplinary domain. Third, the hegemonic domain. Fourth, the interpersonal domain (D'Ignazio & Klein 2020, pp. 24-25).

The definitions of the four domains of oppression are as follows: First, the structural domain is organised oppression. It takes the form of discriminatory laws and policies. The prohibition of women voting in the US law before 1920 is an example of the structural domain.

Second, the disciplinary domain is oppression at the level of implementation or governance. In this oppression, the law may not prohibit an individual or group, but because of errors or irregularities in implementation or governance, this unproblematic law becomes oppressive. For example, while the law and the state budget guarantee access to health services, corrupt actions make these state services inaccessible/difficult to access, affecting the victims.

Third, the hegemonic domain is cultural oppression. This takes the form of the dissemination of oppressive ideas through culture and the media. It is very likely that the laws and their implementation already guarantee that all citizens can access their rights, but because ideas that oppress certain identities are disseminated in society and in the mass media, individuals or groups of related identities cannot even access their rights. For example, while the country's laws and their implementation guarantee women's participation in politics, at the same time there are challenges of sexism in mass media coverage and society's views - indirectly making it impossible/difficult for women to be elected as state officials.

Structural Domain	Discipline Domain
Organising oppression: laws and politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Administering and managing oppression. - Implementing and enforcing oppressive laws.
Hegemonic Domain	Interpersonal Domain
Ideas of oppression: culture and media.	Individual experiences of oppression.

Figure 5. Four Domains of the Dominance Matrix

Source: Patricia Hill Collins (1990)

Fourth, the interpersonal domain is the oppression experienced by individuals. It may be that the laws and their implementation, as well as narratives in society and the mass media, have sought to reinforce an identity, but because of the violence experienced by individuals, they lose or cannot access their rights. For example, people with visual impairments do not want to exercise their right to vote because they are ashamed, feel limited, or are worried about making things difficult for others.

The matrix that explains the oppression of women can also be used for other identities that experience discrimination or marginalisation. Women’s identity struggles exist because of the loss of human rights that should be given by nature. The same is true for other identities such as economic class, colour/race, sex/gender, disability, religion, ethnicity, and others. There is a superordinate identity that dominates other subordinate identities, resulting in discrimination and marginalisation.

Based on the division of domains, there are two dominations of youth that are most relevant in this research. First, the structural domain. Second, the cultural hegemonic domain.

The structural domain is relevant because there are laws that prohibit young people from running for political offices. This ban on the human right to politics has meant that Indonesia has never had a young person as President/Vice President, even at the nomination stage of an election. Indonesia has also never had a young person as governor/deputy governor. Indonesia has never had a young person as an election organiser for either the KPU or Bawaslu.

The hegemonic domain is relevant because young people are indeed victims of discrimination and social violence. One of the forms of violence recorded is sexual violence. UNFPA and *Komnas Perempuan* (2021) data on experiences of sexual violence, both offline and online, shows evidence of the hegemony experienced by youth (15-30 years). Almost all young people have experienced sexual violence. More than 50 per cent have had their body parts touched and almost 40 per cent have been forced to have sex.

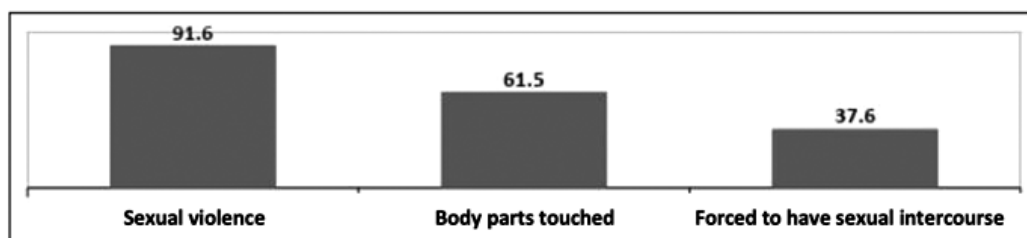


Figure 6. Youth experience as victims of sexual violence (%)

Source: UNFPA & Komnas Perempuan data (2022)

The Youth Movement Needs to Learn from the Political Movement of Women’s Representation

To combat this structural and cultural discrimination, it is important for young people to learn from the women’s political movement. Before 1903, Britain and a number of European countries or colonies still prohibited women from voting in elections. This situation was relatively accelerated by the women’s movement in New Zealand in 1893, which succeeded in obtaining legal guarantees for the right to vote in elections. Women’s solidarity across countries succeeded in overturning the ban on women voting in the US elections in 1920 (Mangan et al. 2019, pp. 45-46).

The women’s movement for political rights was part of the first wave of feminism. Two of those who narrated this struggle were John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) and Harriet Taylor Mill (1807-1858). Both believed that women needed the vote in order to be equal to men. Voting gives people the power not only to express their own political

views, but also to change systems, structures, and attitudes that contribute to the oppression of themselves and/or others. This idea gave rise to the women’s rights movement in the US in the nineteenth century, as part of the women’s suffrage movement (Tong 2018, pp. 20-22).

The struggle of the US suffragette group in the early 20th century successfully raised the issue of women’s suffrage. The history of this struggle was further strengthened by the appearance of Sojourner Truth (1797-1883) at the 1951 Ohio Women’s Rights Convention with her speech entitled Ain’t I A Woman! This speech also made the struggle for women’s suffrage inseparable from the abolition of slavery. Thus, the abolition of the ban on women’s suffrage should include the abolition of the ban on black suffrage. The right to vote is part of the struggle for equality in public life. It applies to all citizens, including women and black people (Tong 2018, pp. 23-24).

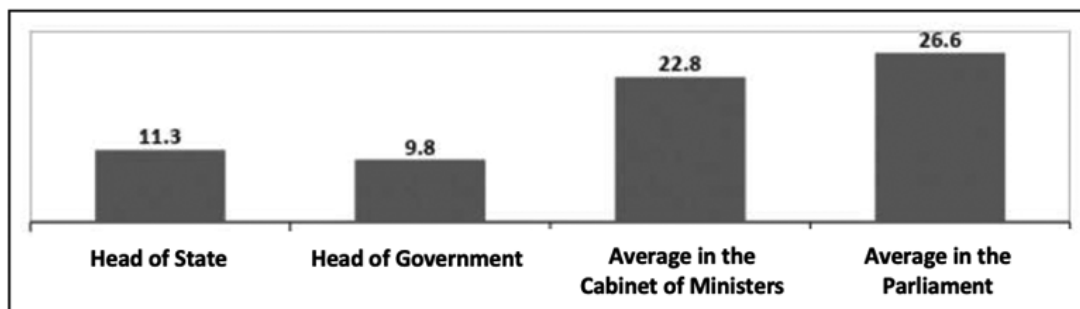


Figure 7: Achievement of Women’s Presence/Representation in State Positions/Institutions in Percentage

Source: IPU 2023 Data

Thanks to the long struggle of feminism, all democratic countries now guarantee women’s participation in politics. Not only the right to vote, but also the right to be nominated and elected to political offices. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), various state institutions and political positions have been occupied by women. In January 2023, relatively positive data was obtained. 11.3 per cent of countries have women as heads of state (17/151). There are 9.8 per cent of countries have women as heads of government (19/193). For ministerial positions, on a global average, 22.8 per cent of women are in government cabinets. For parliamentary institutions, women make up 26.6 per cent of parliament in the average country in the world. (IPU 2023).

The struggle of youth groups to eradicate discrimination and gain political recognition faces a serious challenge. The challenge is that the variable of age, which forms the identity of youth, is a fluid variable. Meanwhile, the gender/sex variable that forms women’s identity is a relatively fixed variable. Some may question the politics of youth. If youth are citizens between the ages of 16 and 30, will the struggle for identity lose its relevance when the age of the fighters goes beyond the notion of “youth”? And what is so special about young people compared to old people, if everyone can be young or has been young? This perspective has led to many community organizations that claim to be “youth” but are led by older people who do not address the developmental needs of the youth experience.

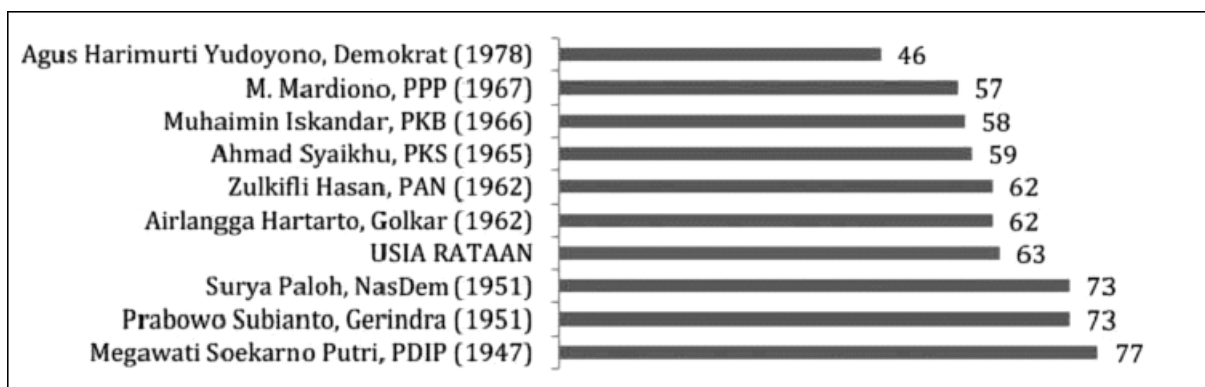


Figure 8: Comparison of Age (Years) of Youth Organization Chairpersons

Source: Processed by the author from Tempo.co (2023), Antara News (2023), Liputan 6 (2020)

According to information from the news, there are no youth community organizations led by young chairpersons in accordance with Law No. 40 of 2009 (16-30 years old). They are all over 30 years old, with an average age of 49.5 years. The youngest is Dzulfikar Ahmad (36), chairperson of *Pemuda Muhammadiyah*. The oldest is Japto Soerjosoemarno (74), chairperson of *Pemuda Pancasila*. For the activists of these organizations, youth is defined as youthful spirit, not age.

Given the fluidity of the age variable and the doubts about the political identity of youth, it is actually necessary for youth groups to learn from the women's political movement. Feminism has an explanation that can strengthen the fluidity of the identity variable to become the identity of the political movement. Feminism, based on the experience of the body, recognises that our bodies, regardless of age, have personal and collective experiences. Discrimination and violence can be felt from an early age, including in the youth age group (16-30 years).

Another challenge for the political identity of young people is the doubt of quality. This doubt is based on ageism (Butler 1969). As the World Health Organisation (WHO) explains, ageism refers to stereotypes (how do we think?), prejudice (how do we feel?), and discrimination (how do we behave?) directed at people because of their age. It can be institutional, interpersonal, or self-directed. Institutional ageism refers to laws, rules, social norms, policies, and practices of institutions that unfairly limit opportunities and systematically disadvantage people

because of their age. Interpersonal ageism occurs in interactions between two or more people. Self-directed ageism occurs when ageism is internalised and turned against oneself (Gutterman 2022, p. 2).

Ageism's view of youth is similar to patriarchy's view of women. Women's political identities have not been accepted in the past, partly because of doubts about their quality. In general, youth are still perceived by many people in Indonesia as an age group that is not yet ready for leadership. The experience of young people is still limited, and their skills are not good enough (Irdiana et al. 2021). This is also part of the consideration of the Constitutional Court (*Mahkamah Konstitusi, MK*) in rejecting the judicial review of the regional head nomination requirements. Based on the decision Number 58 / PUU-XVII / 2019, the judges who protect democracy and the Constitution argue that the determination of the age of candidacy in elections is not within the competence of the Constitutional Court, so it is left to the legislative body - DPR.

If we expect DPR to agree to a minimum age for political candidacy, this is less likely. As a legislative body, DPR has no incentive to grant it. Its members are elected, so it tends to make the requirement exclusive. DPR, which includes factions of political parties, is linked to political parties, all of which are led by old people, so DPR tends to be unwilling to make a young age requirement for candidacy. All the leaders of the political parties want to become President/Vice President and do not want young competitors.

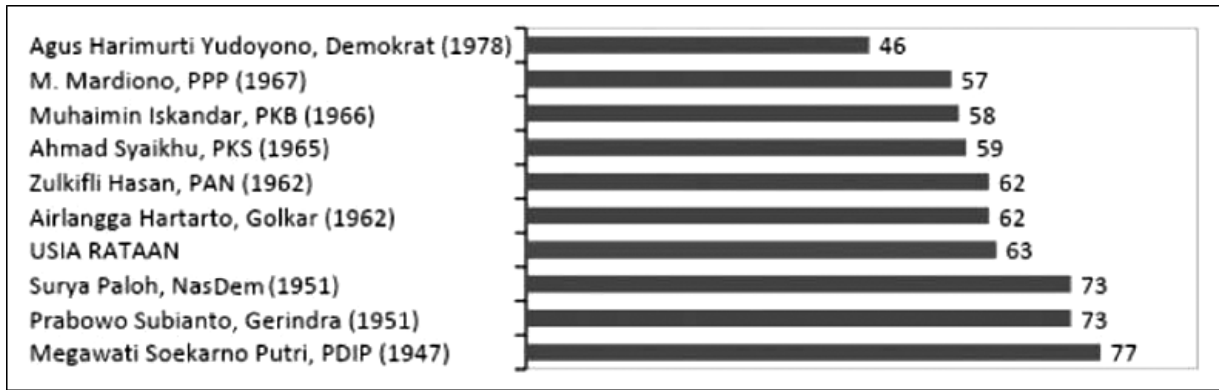


Figure 9: Comparison of the Age (Years) of Political Party Chairpersons of DPR by Year of Birth and Election Year 2024

Source: Processed by the author from Tirto.id

Of the list of DPR political party leaders, none are of an age that meets the definition of youth in the Law on Youth (maximum 30 years old). The average age of political party chairpersons is 63. The youngest chairperson is the chairperson of *Partai Demokrat*, Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (46 years old), who is the son of the former chairperson of *Partai Demokrat*, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (President of Indonesia, 2004-2009 and 2009-2014). The oldest chairperson is Megawati Soekarno Putri (77), chairperson of *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP)*, the party with the most seats in DPR. In order to pass the youth age requirement for the nomination of President/Vice President and KPU/Bawaslu members, more than 50 per cent of DPR seats are needed, which unfortunately is dominated by old members and old leadership in political parties.

The dominance of old people in the leadership of political parties is linked to the Law on Political Parties, which imposes very strict requirements for their establishment. This has an impact on the institutionalisation of political parties away from the youth. These requirements create a tendency that only old people can establish a political party, and its membership is much more filled with old people. The dominance of old people in political parties has an impact on the difficulty for young people to join political parties because they are considered to be qualitatively and financially powerless.

The underestimation of youth is also reflected in the position of youth minister. In fact, this position in the government cabinet can be based purely on the will and authority of the President. Unfortunately, this prerogative is not used by the President in a positive way to empower youth.

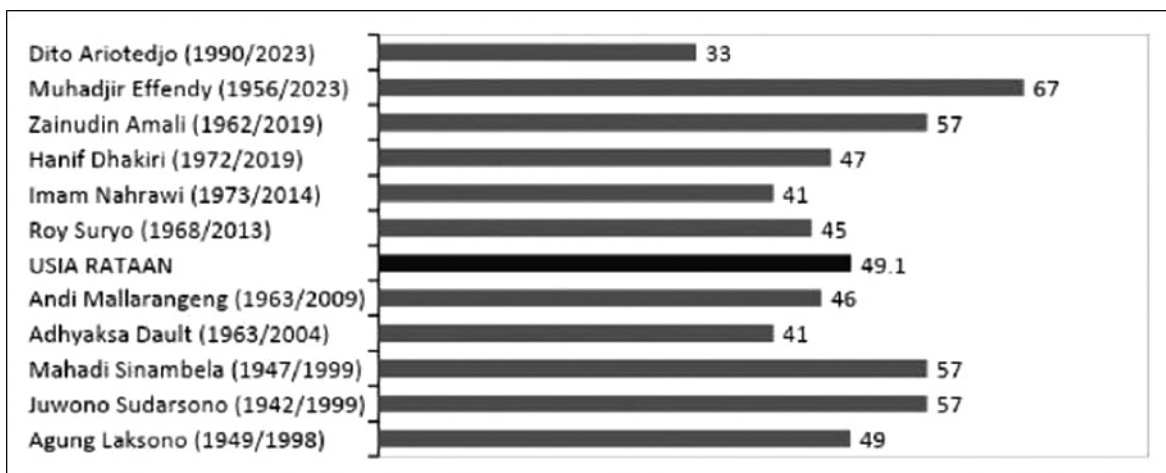


Figure 10: Comparison of Age (Years) of Youth Ministers Based on Year of Birth and Initial Year in Office

Source: Processed by the author from Ministry of Youth and Sports Data

On the list of youth ministers above, none of the youth ministers are of the age that corresponds to the definition of youth in the Law on Youth (maximum 30 years old). The average age of youth ministers is 49.1 years. The youngest youth minister is Dito Ariodtedjo (33 years old), who serves in the last term of the Joko Widodo-Ma'ruf Amin government (2019-2024). The oldest youth minister is Muhadjir Effendy (67 years old), who instead became the first minister of the Reform Government Cabinet (*Kabinet Pemerintahan Reformasi*) following the 1999 elections, the result of the overthrow of Soeharto by students and young people.

There is not a single woman on the list of youth ministers. It is as if youth minister (not female youth) is an exclusively male position. In fact, the head of this ministry seems to be the binary opposite of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment. The bias that youth is male is compounded by the physical bias that the name of the ministry is the Ministry of Youth and Sports. Thus, instead of the position of Minister of Youth in the Ministry of Youth being an affirmative position for young citizens, this position is an addition to male dominance in state positions and institutions.

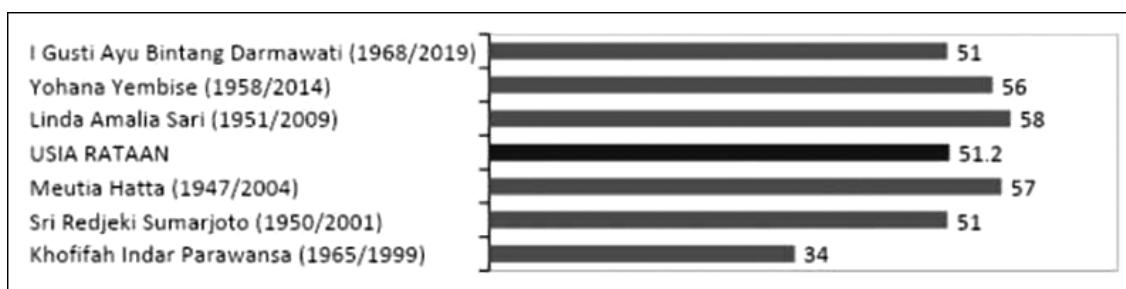


Figure 11: Comparison of Age (Years) of Ministers of Women's Empowerment Based on Year of Birth and Initial Year in Office

Source: Processed by the author from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Data

None of the ministers responsible for women's empowerment are young. The average age is 51.2 years, older than the average age of youth ministers (49.1 years). The youngest is Khofifah Indar Parawansa (34), Minister for Women's Empowerment in President Abdurrahman "Gus Dur" Wahid's Reform Cabinet of 1999. The oldest is Linda Amalia Sari (58), Minister for Women's Empowerment in the 2009 election Cabinet of President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. The lack of youth among the women in the Ministry of Women's Empowerment reinforces the maternalist bias of a state institution called the Ministry of Women's Empowerment. It also contributes to the underestimation of women in public office as only suitable for children and domestic matters.

The underestimation of women in politics and their lack of economic security is also evident in the reporting of corruption cases. If there is a corruption case against a female politician, the public's opinion is stronger than against a male politician (Novita 2016). Conversely, when a male politician is arrested for corruption, the wife or woman around the perpetrator is often blamed (Erry et al. 2013).

In fact, male politicians are far more corrupt than female politicians, according to DPR corruption cases in

the period 2009-2014 as processed by *rumahpemilu.org*. Only four women in DPR, or 3.9 per cent, were arrested for corruption. The rest, out of a total of 34 members of DPR arrested for corruption, 30 were men.



Figure 12: Comparison of the Number of Female and Male Members of DPR 2014-2019 as Corruption Offenders

Source: *rumahpemilu.org*

Clarifying the quality of youth can be a counter-question. If youth are required to be qualified, why is

there no demand for quality from old DPR members who dominate the parliament? The Global Corruption Barometer (2020) ranks the parliament (DPR/DPRD) as the most corrupt institution, which is a picture of state institutions controlled by old people (Transparency Indonesia 2021).

The Intersectionality of Youth Politics in Feminism

After learning from the feminist movement, it is important for youth politics to join feminism. This is done by positioning youth political identity as part of intersectionality within feminism. By definition, intersectionality in feminism is an approach within feminism that recognises that gender inequality cannot be separated from inequalities based on race, class, sexual orientation, religion, disability, and other identity factors, including youth. Intersectionality seeks to understand and address the ways in which systems of power interact and influence each other. When youth politics incorporates the intersectional perspective of feminism in its activism, it can play a role in creating more inclusive and equitable change for all groups in society. This enables the realisation of shared goals for gender equality and social justice (Runyan 2018).

In addition to women’s political identity, with feminism having experiences and ideological concepts about the subordination of bodily identity, women’s political identity has also become an umbrella for the struggle for the ideals of freedom, equality, and justice. All kinds of bodily identities that experience violence, marginalisation, and discrimination come under the auspices of the women’s movement (Zournazi 2002). This is in the same way that feminism encompasses the identity groups of labour, economic disadvantage, disability, indigenous peoples, orientation/change, sex/ gender, minorities (including men), environmental issues, and others.

Youth politics, based on the awareness of discrimination and oppression and the hope for an equal and just life, has the same political hopes as women’s politics. Hence, the combination of these two subordinated body identities is not a contradiction. In fact, the two are interdependent, because women’s politics, overshadowing youth politics, will increase the mass and extend the reach of the political influence of equality to achieve justice.

Women’s March can be a testament to the intimate intermingling of women and youth’s political identities. The celebration of International Women’s Day on 8 March

not only aims to communicate the women’s agenda each year, but also to show the strength of the mass of political identities. If we look at Women’s March in Indonesia every year, many of the marchers are young people. This colossal action on the streets is not only massive offline, but also online through social media. For example, Women’s March Jakarta Instagram account has more than 17,300 followers as of 26 July 2023.

Surprisingly, Women’s March is not only organised in Jakarta. Based on local Women’s March accounts on Instagram, there are also initiators and masses of the International Women’s Day March in a number of regions in Indonesia. These include Yogyakarta Women’s March (2,554), Malang (1,452), Kupang (1,347), Lampung (892), Cirebon (572), Serang (578), Jember (460), and others. All are highly youth-driven, interconnected, and communicative.

The synergy of women’s and youth identities merging into young women’s identities is also evident in the International Women’s Day March. This makes us realise that within women’s identity there is youth identity and within youth identity there is women’s identity. Within women’s identity, the young outnumber the old. The number of women is relatively balanced with the number of men within the youth identity.

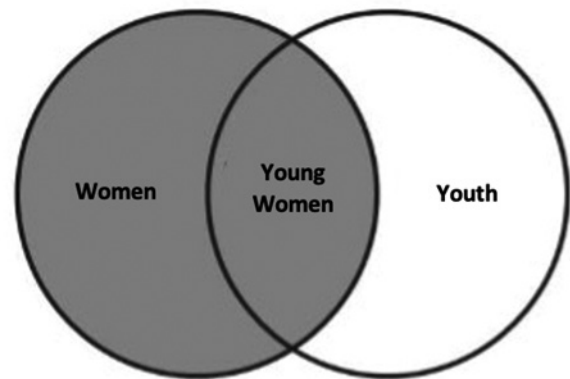


Figure 13: Young Women’s Identity as a Slice of Women and Youth’s Identities

Source: Processed by the author from the comparison of elections voter data, KPU (2024)

The phenomenon of the synergy between women and youth in the Women’s March that accompanies the digital activist base is also happening in many countries. This global trend was not even present in the dynamics of the second wave of feminism. Younger gender activists are returning to some of the fundamental concerns of the second wave, including issues of sexual harassment

and violence, sexual freedom in the broadest sense, capital distribution and labour organisation (Kauppert & Kerner 2016, p. 6). The difference is that these gender activists have new practices in the form of social media. Lucy Mangan and other feminists argue in *The Feminism Book* (2019) that the fourth wave of feminism is online feminism.

The vibrancy of feminist activism and thought automatically refutes the judgement of outsiders a decade or so ago. Feminism was declared obsolete. Some even spoke of a “post-feminist age”. The Women’s March, which continues to draw large numbers of participants, including campaigns and education on social media, proves that feminist activism is experiencing an extraordinary revival in many regions, countries, and the world, demanding bodily autonomy in freedom of expression, reproductive health and resistance to sexual violence, as well as victim assistance and protection, so it is not wrong to say that a new wave of feminism is taking place (Molyneux et al. 2021, pp. 32-33).

Interestingly, these different forms of social media practice can connect groups of women and young people. The common goal of achieving equality and justice broadens their connections by including individual actors and groups. It looks more like an alliance because it is not always looking for fellow feminist activists or women’s organisations but is open to being involved and even visited by different groups from different sectors. These include youth groups, LGBTIQ groups, environmental issues, and others (Kauppert & Kerner 2016, p. 7).

With this positive new trend, it is necessary to include a wider range of consciousness. Firstly, women’s political movements, together with youth, should not pursue a single gender agenda, but rather fight for diverse aspirations and against discrimination for the benefit of diverse marginalised groups. Secondly, because of this diverse and participatory agenda, feminist approaches no longer return to the emphasis of the second or first wave of feminism, but to the third wave of feminism with its intersectional approach (Kauppert & Kerner 2016, p.7).

The political synergy of women and youth at the cultural level is very important to be followed up at the structural level. The alleged dominance of the young masses in the Women’s March is important to prove through the tradition of recording numbers. How many people participate in the Women’s March every year, both in Jakarta and in other cities? How many are usually the initiators/ organisers? How many participants? How many people donate money or buy Women’s March

products? How dominant is youth in the organisation and participation of the Women’s March? It is important to record all of this in quantitative terms, including names and locations.

Significant numbers of women and youth are important to combine to represent the politics of hope in representative institutions. The level of women’s representation in parliament is illustrated by the balance of gender (and other) identities in legislative power. Women, who make up half of the country’s population, have four important reasons for representation (Phillips 1995, p. 62), namely 1) to provide role models of successful women politicians; 2) to demand the principle of gender justice; 3) to identify the special needs of neglected women; and 4) to improve the quality of political life.

If political participation is defined as the presence of political actors, it is important to discuss the concept of women’s representation. The principle of the role of representation does not only aim at the representation of certain groups. The concept of women’s representation in parliament is to emphasise the function of protection and state services that are responsive and accountable to all citizens (Soetjipto 2011, p.71). Women’s representation will fulfil the meaning of representation in parliament. First, pictorial representation with the meaning of representatives who must resemble those they represent. Second, theatrical representation, in the sense of representatives who must speak and act for the party they represent. Third, legal representation means that the representative acts on behalf of, with the consent of, and/or in the interests of those they represent (Suseno 2014, p. 16).

Women’s representation is not just about numbers. A significant number is important as a starting point for breaking through the marginalisation of women. More than that, women’s representation also means substantively advancing marginalised groups and being able to articulate their interests (Soetjipto 2011, p. 21). The political achievements of women, who are already aware of the importance of numbers with a minimum representation of 30 per cent, need to be continued with the integration of women’s and youth identities. This will increase the number and scope. It is important that more women and young people are empowered to participate in the governance cycle. During the election, this should be linked by constituency to the electorate to formulate a political contract based on the women’s and youth agenda. A significant number of people will strengthen the political bargaining power of hope and incentivise the election of candidates and political parties. After

the election produces politicians who are officials in the government, it is important for the mass base of women and youth to control policies to keep them in line with the contract of politics of hope.

Then, women's identity, which already has affirmative provisions in the Political Parties Law and Elections Law, must also be fought for and achieved by the youth identity. We must realise that women's affirmation uses the legal basis in the Constitution that can also be used for youth identity to strengthen its political empowerment. Article 28H (2) of the 1945 Constitution states that every person is entitled to receive ease and special treatment in order to obtain the same opportunity and benefit in order to achieve equality and justice. If women can get a minimum of 30 per cent, why cannot youth?

Closing

Based on all the discussions in this paper, answers to two research questions have been obtained. Firstly, youth groups can learn from the politics of hope of women's groups who are gaining political recognition of their rights and are more empowered to engage in affirmative politics. The age identity of young people experiencing ageism is similar to the gender identity of women experiencing patriarchy. It is important for youth groups to have a collective awareness that they, like women, experience structural and hegemonic domination of political rights discrimination in elections. Youth groups can learn from the first-wave feminism, which united to remove restrictions on political rights in electoral laws and local election laws through legislative revisions in DPR and judicial reviews in the Constitutional Court. The achievements of youth politics in the revision in the DPR/ judicial review to the Constitutional Court are followed up with affirmative politics in laws and regulations.

Secondly, youth groups can come together as part of the intersectionality of feminism. Women and youth can work together by recognising each other's identity within the politics of hope. Women's groups need to be consistent that feminism, as an umbrella for the politics of hope that accommodates all kinds of marginalised identities, must also recognise that youth are part of the politics of hope. The same goes for youth groups. The mutual need to unite significant masses of people can increase the political empowerment that can be linked to political parties and electoral participation. If women and youth work together, the number and reach of the politics of hope will be significantly strengthened, starting from the mass base, candidacy, and political electability. State institutions that are representative of women and youth

will be more likely to produce laws and policies that protect and equalise their citizens to achieve justice.

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Agency and Inclusive Citizenship for Women with Disabilities: A Case Study of the Role of HWDI in Handling Covid-19 in Jakarta

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Abstract

Persons with disabilities experience vulnerability in fulfilling their right to protection in a pandemic situation. This study aims to examine the participation process of groups of persons with disabilities, namely the Indonesian Association of Women with Disabilities (*Himpunan Wanita Disabilitas Indonesia — HWDI*) through the struggle for disability protection during the Covid-19 period in DKI Jakarta. This study uses the perspective of inclusive citizenship to see efforts to involve active participation of citizens in encouraging the fulfillment of rights by the government. This study uses a descriptive qualitative method with narrative analysis techniques. The results of the study show that although HWDI has been able to influence the DKI Jakarta provincial government in several policies, there are rights that still need to be fulfilled in the dimension of inclusive citizenship. These rights include social, civil, and political rights which have not been fulfilled by the government, which has implications for persons with disabilities not being further involved in handling the Covid-19 pandemic.

Keywords: persons with disabilities, inclusive citizenship, disability protection rights from disasters

Introduction

Women with disabilities during the Covid-19 pandemic were more vulnerable than women in general. This vulnerability was a result of the double situation of being a woman and a person with a disability. Gender stigma has become a barrier for women, and women with disabilities face double discrimination and subordination, and are vulnerable to becoming victims of violence and marginalised from various disaster management efforts (Probosiwi 2013). Women with disabilities are particularly left behind in disaster management, including when the Covid-19 pandemic hit the world and Indonesia (Dzulfikar 2020). Coble (2022) highlights the disproportionate impact of Covid-19 on persons with disabilities in thirteen countries, including disparities in health services and poverty. In the Indonesian context, Covid-19 has a significant impact on the lives and well-being of people with disabilities. This is consistent with many studies that generally focus on how groups of people with disabilities were left behind or marginalised in Covid-19 disaster management (Rahmat et al. 2020; Aziz 2020; Suryawati 2020; Laia 2021; Limbong & Rosdianti 2021).

This article discusses how the mitigation of the Covid-19 pandemic was pursued through the

participation of the Indonesian Association of Women with Disabilities (*Himpunan Wanita Disabilitas Indonesia, HWDI*), an organization of women with disabilities in order to ensure an inclusive citizenship and a fulfilment of the rights of women with disabilities during the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020-2022 in the Special Capital Region (DKI) of Jakarta Province. The DKI Jakarta Provincial Government issued several regulations related to the management of the Covid-19 pandemic in its region. One of them was DKI Jakarta Governor Regulation No. 33 of 2020 on the Implementation of Large-Scale Social Restrictions (*Pelaksanaan Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar, PSBB*) in Covid-19 Management in DKI Jakarta. The DKI Jakarta Governor Regulation (*Peraturan Gubernur, Pergub*) regulates the technical implementation of PSBB in more detail, including the implementation of PSBB, which regulates several things from the rights and obligations of citizens during PSBB, the scope of PSBB implementation, exceptions to the implementation of PSBB in various sectors, to personal health safety standards. This regulation had a major impact on persons with disabilities, especially women with disabilities. Such restrictions made it difficult for persons with disabilities

to access protective services and to be involved in various policy-making and implementation processes.

Persons with disabilities in this research refer to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) on the rights of persons with disabilities, namely those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual, or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others (UNCRPD 2006). With reference to Law No. 8 of 2016, persons with disabilities mean any person with long-term physical, intellectual, mental, and/or sensory limitations who may, in interacting with the environment, experience any barriers and difficulties to fully and effectively participate with other citizens on the basis of equal rights (Law No. 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities).

Indonesia currently has a special law that regulates the fulfilment of the rights of persons with disabilities, namely Law No. 8 of 2016, Part Sixteen on the right to protection of persons with disabilities from disasters. Article 20 of the Law states that the rights to Protection from Disasters for Persons with Disabilities include the rights to: 1) get easily accessible information about a disaster that is important for health and safety; 2) gain knowledge on the reduction of disaster risks, including information on the needs of persons with physical, speech, hearing, or visual impairments; 3) know about potential disasters and how to protect themselves, including understanding the risks that exist, so as to be able to take steps to reduce these risks; and 4) be prioritised and receive facilities during disasters - persons with disabilities receive assistance so that they can continue to carry out their activities as before. However, these rights are not included in Pergub No. 33 of 2020 on PSBB or other Covid-19 pandemic response policies.

According to the Central Bureau of Statistics (*Badan Pusat Statistik, BPS*), the number of persons with disabilities in Indonesia in 2020 was 22.5 million. This data was the estimated number of persons with disabilities affected by Covid-19 in 2020. DKI Jakarta had 14,123 persons with disabilities (Jakarta Open Data 2019). The number of persons with disabilities was broken down by types of disability. There are 2,781 people with physical disabilities, 2,697 people with visual disabilities, 1,799 people with hearing disabilities, 1,974 people with speech disabilities, 3,896 people with multiple disabilities, and 976 people with mental disabilities (Jakarta Open Data 2019). DKI Jakarta was the province that ranked first in the spread of Covid-19, with more than 1,300 cases

per day (BBC News 2020). The results of the Indonesia Corruption Watch's (ICW) survey found that from an economic perspective, persons with disabilities in DKI Jakarta experienced a decline in livelihood and income during the Covid-19 period. In addition, information about social assistance and Covid-19 was not equally accessible, friendly, complete, and easy to understand for persons with disabilities (Anggraeni 2020).

Persons with disabilities generally did not have access to information on Covid-19 disaster risks and access to health facilities (Laia 2021). Even when they did, access to information on Covid-19 was provided in a format that was not accessible to persons with disabilities. For example, written information that could not be read by the visually impaired, or oral messages that could not be understood by the deaf. This was not in line with the indicators of the World Health Organisation's Covid-19 mitigation guidelines (WHO 2020) on information that includes sign language and images that is easily accessible to persons with disabilities, and cooperation with disabled people's organisations.

Persons with disabilities also faced difficulties in accessing Covid-19 social assistance because the data collection of the disability population was not inclusive; to receive Covid-19 social assistance, persons with disabilities had to confirm their data with the village government (*kelurahan*) (Limbong & Rosdianti 2022). The top down PSBB policy of DKI Jakarta Province did not favour persons with disabilities. The issuance of the PSBB policy was not in line with the operational implementation of good regulations. The DKI Jakarta Provincial Government should have made careful plans, organised all elements of society in the development of regulations, trained regional working units, and applied PSBB procedurally. Effective education and socialisation should have also been provided to the wider community, both offline and online.

Due to the lack of good management of the issuance of regulations, Pergub PSBB had a derivative impact on groups of persons with disabilities (Laia 2021). The implementation of the PSBB was further extended from 13 March 2020 to 2 August 2021, which increasingly restricted the mobility of persons with disabilities to access basic needs (LBH Jakarta 2022). Mobility restrictions have resulted in multiple vulnerabilities for persons with disabilities, such as difficult access to various facility services such as health, information, economic, and social assistance.

Even before the Covid-19 pandemic, women with disabilities have experienced difficulties in accessing

their rights. This was due to barriers in terms of accessibility, availability, acceptability, and quality. Persons with disabilities continued to rely on the support and assistance of others, especially during emergencies such as the Covid-19 pandemic (Devandas-Aguilar 2020). The vulnerability of women with disabilities during the pandemic was inextricably linked to the lack of involvement and participation of disability groups in the pandemic response process, resulting in many disability needs not being addressed. In fact, the Regulation of the Head of the National Disaster Management Agency (Perka BNPB) No. 14 of 2014 on the Handling, Protection and Participation of Persons with Disabilities in Disaster Management, Article 109, mandates the involvement and participation of persons with disabilities in the implementation, monitoring, and evaluation phases of disaster risk reduction. Involving people with disabilities in disaster management planning is important because persons with disabilities are more aware of their own needs due to their different disabilities, whether physical, speech, hearing, or visual (Probosiwi 2013).

Women with disabilities in particular experience multiple and gendered forms of marginalisation. Historically, gender stereotypes that characterise women as weak, naive, passive, and dependent have been increasingly applied to women with disabilities (Fine & Asch 1988; Belser 2015), rendering them socially invisible or subordinate (Barranti & Yuen 2008; Foster & Sandel 2010). These incapacitating stigmas are often reinforced in post-disaster narratives that naturalise cultural narratives of “helpless victims” due to biophysical limitations (Belser 2015). “Tragically disabled people”, who are objectified and constantly suffering, pitied, and stripped of their human rights and dignity (Fjord 2007; Belser 2015). For Belser (2015, p. 52), this narrative “masks the existence of social injustices and structural inequalities and intensifies the actual risks borne by women with disabilities in the Covid-19 pandemic situation”. During Covid-19 pandemic, women with disabilities continued to be narrated as a priority for social assistance, but no space was given to their own aspirations, for example in relation to their needs for economic training and employment after Covid-19. The root of social injustices for women with disabilities is the lack of skills and opportunities to improve their economic level.

Social injustices against women are worsening, with the phenomenon of “shadow pandemics” identified by the United Nations Population Fund during Covid-19 (UNFPA 2021). One of these showed that women with disabilities around the world faced increased risk factors

for gender-based violence (GBV) - including greater barriers to accessing violence support services, such as police and judicial mechanisms. *LBH Asosiasi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan (APIK)* noted that 313 cases of violence against women were reported to LBH APIK from March to June 2020. When women with disabilities were confined to their homes with their families (in situations where they were vulnerable to violence), it was more difficult for them to access safe house support systems, legal assistance, psychologists, and health services. This could even lead to physical, sexual, emotional, and psychological violence against them. Family and friends who were responsible for caregiving, or who did not get a break from such responsibilities, sometimes withheld needed support or used disability to demean or belittle women and girls with disabilities.

At the same time, access to GBV support services became increasingly difficult due to quarantine, such as PSBB in Jakarta. The role of the police was also shifted from investigating GBV to enforcing Covid-19 restrictions. Judicial mechanisms have also slowed down, leading to impunity for perpetrators. In addition, women and girls with disabilities - often because of their disability status - are cut off from needed health services, lose access to employment and education, lose access to disability-related support services, and face significant barriers in obtaining and accessing food, clean water, housing, sanitation, and other basic needs (UNFPA 2021).

These various vulnerabilities have led to the desire of civil society groups to participate in efforts to achieve disability rights, especially for women. The Indonesian Association of Women with Disabilities (HWDI) was one of the groups that actively advocated for the implementation of disability rights during Covid-19. HWDI, which is led by several women with disabilities and includes members from civil society and disabled people, carried out a number of initiatives to ensure inclusive citizenship during the pandemic. This movement was not limited to Jakarta, but also extended to many other places in Indonesia. In civic politics, the forms of participation undertaken by HWDI demonstrate the agency of marginalised groups in promoting inclusivity and democracy. Specifically, we start from these questions: 1) How did HWDI agency and participation bring about inclusive citizenship; 2) Did the conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic provide space for sustainability for marginalised groups such as persons with disabilities? This paper builds on the argument that the form of participation presented by HWDI Jakarta has not been sustainable because the short-term goal has been to reduce the vulnerability of persons with

disabilities during the Covid-19 pandemic and has yet to focus on efforts to bring about justice and change more broadly. This research finds that the actualisation of the role and participation of HWDI still focuses on two dimensions of rights, namely civil and social rights, but does not include political rights. The realisation of political rights is a strategic step to ensure the protection and fulfilment of the rights of persons with disabilities.

Research Methodology

This research is conducted using a qualitative approach. The authors use in-depth interview methods to explore and understand the meaning of individuals or groups of people on social or humanitarian issues. This research process involves efforts such as asking questions and procedures, collecting specific data from participants, analysing data inductively from specific themes to general themes, and interpreting the meaning of the data (Creswell 2016, p. 24). The analysis is inductive, starting from the facts, realities, indicators, and problems obtained through observations and interviews. Inductive analysis means that the data is not intended to prove a hypothesis, but is an abstraction from the parts that have been collected.

Data collection is carried out using the data/source triangulation method, which combines different data analysis techniques and existing data sources, namely observation, document study and in-depth interviews with HWDI members and administrators. The analysis technique used is a narrative description of HWDI's organisational experience in promoting the fulfilment of women's disability rights in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Inclusive Citizenship and Participation of Women with Disabilities

In discussing the participation of HWDI in this paper, citizenship is used as a starting point. The citizenship approach sees persons with disabilities as citizens who deserve the responsibility of the state to participate in the realisation of their rights. Citizens are members of a political community defined by a set of rights and responsibilities. Heywood (2013) explains that citizenship is a relationship between individuals and the state, both of which are bound by reciprocal rights and responsibilities. Citizenship is both a legal status and an identity, so there is an objective dimension of citizenship, which includes the special rights and responsibilities that the state confers on its citizens, and a subjective

dimension of a sense of loyalty and belonging. However, objective citizenship does not in itself guarantee the existence of subjective citizenship as members of groups who feel alienated from their country, whether due to social disadvantage or racial discrimination, cannot be considered "full citizens", although they may enjoy a range of formal rights (Heywood 2013).

Citizenship has four dimensions: legal status, rights, participation, and membership. The legal status dimension is inclusion in the law or formal rules. The rights and participation dimensions are the rights that come with citizenship status and the responsibilities that come with inclusion (Hiariej & Törnquist 2017). This research focuses on aspects of rights and forms of participation of persons with disabilities, particularly women, and the participation of HWDI, especially in dealing with the Covid-19 pandemic. Participation is an active activity to fight for common interests. Participation is also defined as taking part, being involved, or taking part in a common activity. Citizenship as participation is defined as a set of obligations that arise when citizens experience exclusion or are in a situation where their rights are not fulfilled. The context of citizen participation is to be active and contribute to public affairs (Hiariej & Törnquist 2017).

Although the citizenship approach has been popular in political science in recent decades, some critics argue that citizenship should be able to understand the relationship between the state and its citizens beyond formal and informal normative aspects. Similarly, feminists argue that it is not enough to limit citizenship to formal rules and their implementation. It is more important to ensure that those who are excluded are able to exercise their rights as citizens. Young (2000) emphasises that inclusive citizenship is about creating space for marginalised groups to receive the same services and rights, not about the formal and informal process of fulfilling them (Young 2000). The starting point is to show how to move away from claims to universalism. According to Young (2000), existing concepts of citizenship are built on patterns of male subject experience. This implies that the exclusion of women (and the uneven nature of their inclusion) is integral to citizenship theory and practice. Women's experiences are seen as private and therefore irrelevant to be included, let alone considered, in public life. The critique of the public/private dichotomy therefore frames feminists' reinterpretation of citizenship, particularly in relation to the status given to unpaid "care work" and to the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and the division of domestic labour.

Inclusive citizenship can only be achieved if a number of core values are met. Kabeer (2005, pp. 3-4) in Lister (2008, p. 5) identifies four values of inclusive citizenship. First, justice, which is when a person feels that they are treated fairly in the same way as other people. Second, recognition, which is the intrinsic value of citizens having their rights and needs recognised and fulfilled by the state. Third, self-determination, which is when citizens already have the capacity to manage and control themselves individually. Fourth, solidarity, which is the emphasis on ensuring opportunities for citizens as a group to act together to achieve justice, recognising and respecting each other on the basis of social or cultural similarities, as well as with other communities.

Furthermore, feminists emphasise the importance of political agency to avoid vulnerabilities that position them as excluded groups, passive victims of structural forces, and the agency of others. This suggests a link between the concept of citizenship as an active participatory practice and as a set of rights that are objects of struggle (Lister 2008; Siim 2000). This agency is also the focus of our discussion, which looks at the role and involvement of HWDI in general and specifically its involvement in the Covid-19 pandemic in DKI Jakarta to ensure the protection and fulfilment of the civil rights of persons with disabilities.

Marshall in Heywood (2013) divides civic rights into three aspects, namely social rights, civil rights, and political rights. Civil rights relate to individual security, justice, freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and property rights. Political rights are closely related to participation in the public sphere and involvement in the political process, whether elected or not. Social rights relate to welfare, such as access to social security, health, pensions, income, education, and the right to compensation for low income and certain disabilities, such as persons with disabilities.

HWDI's participation and organising is the focus of this paper because it is an actualisation of citizens' civil rights. HWDI's participation promoted and fought for a range of social rights that persons with disabilities needed during the pandemic, including access to health, income, disaster-related information, and safety from forms of violence. However, political rights were not specifically fought for by HWDI. The authors interpret politics as a means for persons with disabilities to be able to fully represent themselves in public affairs through political rights, both to be elected and to vote, and through the freedom to express ideas, and this is noted in the final section of this paper.

The Handling of the Covid-19 Pandemic Disaster in Jakarta and the Participation of *Himpunan Wanita Disabilitas Indonesia*

"Nothing about us, without us". This statement on the HWDI's website refers to the need for persons with disabilities to be involved in various matters concerning their lives. As part of civil society, HWDI is one of the non-governmental organisations active in empowering persons with disabilities and educating the general public about persons with disabilities.

HWDI was established in 1997 as the first organization of persons with disabilities (OPD) with a mission to advocate for the needs and interests of persons with disabilities, particularly women. HWDI was born out of global calls for the protection and empowerment of women with disabilities who experience multiple discrimination. Initially established under the name *Himpunan Wanita Penyandang Cacat Indonesia* (HWPCI), it then changed its name to HWDI in 2006. They focus on providing means of empowerment, independence, and access to community resources for persons with disabilities (Lockley et al. 2020). HWDI has 33 branches across Indonesia. HWDI is present in all cities to empower persons with disabilities and solve problems faced by persons with disabilities. For disability organizations such as HWDI, the structure, mandate, and strategy of provincial organizations can focus on participation according to the issues and opportunities in their respective regions, as long as they are in line with the vision and mission of the organization. Each regional disability organization also seeks to raise its own funds as national support is only for soft skills and organisational capacity building.

HWDI's vision is to "gather, unite, and empower persons with disabilities throughout Indonesia to fight together for the rights and protection of persons with disabilities". To achieve this vision, HWDI has a mission: 1) To promote the solidarity of disabled people in defending the dignity of women with disabilities and in seeking the realisation of the social welfare of persons with disabilities; 2) To socialise and strive for the implementation of laws and regulations related to persons with disabilities, especially Law No. 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities and Law No. 19 of 2011 on the Ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) and the National Action Plan on Human Rights (RANHAM); and To promote the ASEAN's Persons with Disabilities agenda, the Asia-Pacific (Incheon) Strategy, and the ASEAN Enabling Masterplan 2025 on mainstreaming the rights of persons with disabilities to serve as the policy rationale

for programme implementation at the national and regional levels (HWDI News 2018).

HWDI Jakarta is one of the active components of HWDI. The organisational structure of HWDI DKI Jakarta for the period 2020-2025 consists of a Chairperson, Deputy Chairperson, Advisory Board, Board of Trustees, Secretary, and Treasurer. The organisation has 6 departments, namely 1) Organisation and Development Department; 2) Youth Disability Development Department; 3) Advocacy and Awareness Department; 4) Education Department; 5) Support Department; and 6) Disaster Department (Berita HWDI 2018). The current management of HWDI Jakarta is quite active and highly committed to the organisation. This is reflected in the regular meetings that the administrators attend at the HWDI Jakarta secretariat and the involvement of each administrator in the project being managed and in every activity that HWDI Jakarta is invited to.

The implementation of PSBB in Jakarta by the provincial government has raised a number of criticisms from HWDI Jakarta. According to them, the implementation of PSBB policy in relation to the handling of Covid-19 by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government has been carried out in a top-down manner without the involvement of persons with disabilities. They also believe that the socialisation of PSBB was lacking, not only for persons with disabilities, but also for all elements of society without exception (Berita HWDI 2020). Pergub on PSBB in Jakarta shows that there is a lack of regulations on what obligations the government has to fulfil in order to deliver the basic rights of its citizens, such as the right to health services, the right to basic needs, the protection of the rights of vulnerable groups, etc. (LBH Jakarta 2022) – hence, the affirmation and fulfilment of the rights of persons with disabilities does not appear at all in policy or implementation.

At the implementation level, various studies show that this policy also faces a number of problems, including the marginalisation of persons with disabilities. This issue relates to access to disaster information, access to health facilities, and access to social assistance and social security (Pair Australian Indonesia 2021). This has also been identified by HWDI for PSBB in Jakarta.

In terms of access to information, in general, persons with disabilities did not receive information and were not the main target of information dissemination both in relation to Covid-19 and government policies. At the national level, access to information related to Covid-19 was through the Covid-19 hotline and the official

government websites. However, there was no form of dissemination that complied with the Covid-19 mitigation guidelines published by the World Health Organization (WHO 2020), such as information that includes sign language and images that is easily accessible to persons with disabilities, and cooperation with disabled people's organisations.

Access to disaster information about Covid-19 was difficult for persons with disabilities. In general, persons with disabilities did not receive information directly. They received information from other parties, such as their relatives. BR, one of the interviewees in this study, did not even receive information until he tested positive for Covid-19.

As a person with a disability, when I was diagnosed with Covid-19, it was very difficult for me to access information. It was difficult to get information, I relied on my closest relatives to get the latest information about Covid-19 (BR 2023, interview 13 February).

In line with BR, RS, an interviewee from the Regional Disaster Management Agency (*Badan Penanggulangan Bencana Daerah, BPBD*) confirmed this information limitation. Although the agency continued to provide information, especially on social media such as Instagram and Facebook, as RS herself acknowledged, this dissemination was not sufficient as there were still many people with disabilities who did not have social media accounts.

BPBD recognised information limitation for persons with disabilities, so we were involved in providing socialisation around Covid-19 on Instagram and Facebook; how to prevent Covid-19, including encouraging social distancing, wearing masks, and vaccination. However, there were still few people with disabilities who have social media accounts (RS 2023, interview 13 February).

Not only in terms of information, but also in terms of access to health services and social assistance, people with disabilities were often marginalised. All were still inadequate in terms of access and health services, facilities, and supporting technical regulations. Special protection for groups with disabilities, such as the provision of temporary housing or quarantine facilities for people with disabilities like the Kemayoran Athlete's Village health facility were lacking and did not accommodate positive Covid-19 infected patients with a history of multiple disabilities. In addition, mobility restrictions prevented persons with disabilities from travelling to the nearest health facilities, forcing them to stay at home. Even today, health insurance is still relatively limited,

and existing assistive devices are still not adapted to the conditions of persons with disabilities. Limited access to health increases the risk of deterioration in the health of persons with disabilities.

The availability of services for persons with specific disabilities, such as intellectual disabilities, was also very limited. This was because people with intellectual disabilities need companionship when health facilities were full of Covid-19 patients. This special need means that persons with disabilities were often not taken to hospitals or other health facilities but remained in their own homes. MAR, an interviewee from HWDI, explained how this increased the vulnerability of persons with disabilities in care facilities. Disabled people who tested positive for Covid-19 were not treated quickly enough, and so the virus was transmitted to other residents in the care facilities.

If one person had Covid-19, it did not take long for a room of 5-8 people to be infected. Persons with disabilities that we referred to the Athlete's Village were often rejected on the grounds that health nurses found it difficult to treat Covid-19 patients with disabilities, especially those with mental disabilities, because they needed more attention (MAR 2023, interview 23 February).

For women with disabilities, in addition to the issues mentioned above, there were specific impacts that they experienced as a result of their multiple identities. The increase in domestic violence against women and children during Covid-19 received considerable attention in the literature on Covid-19, such as the *Komnas Perempuan's* Annual Report (CATAHU 2020). This condition became a global phenomenon, as according to Huber (2020) in the World Vision's report, the increase in domestic violence occurred in almost all parts of the world (Huber 2020). In Indonesia, *Komnas Perempuan* reported 77 cases of domestic violence during the first months of the 2020 pandemic. A survey conducted by the Indonesian Women's Coalition (*Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia, KPI*) and HWDI found that 80 per cent of respondents who were women with disabilities had experienced sexual violence during the Covid-19 pandemic. The lack of community support for the condition of women with disabilities also made it difficult to eliminate various existing discriminatory policies (Hidayah & Nurhadi 2022).

PSBB and other mobility restriction mechanisms, as well as the economic impact on families through loss or reduction of income, have been shown in several studies to increase the risk of violence for women with disabilities who are already vulnerable to violence (Kourti et al 2023; Mas'udah et al 2021; McCrary & Sanga 2020; Peraud et al

2021). Forms of violence included violence by husbands or partners. Reports from Australia, America, Europe, and Asia in the above studies show that women with disabilities who experienced domestic violence during Covid-19 found it difficult to seek help due to the lack of social services during the pandemic (UN Women 2020).

The Provincial Government has not done much to address this situation. An interviewee from DKI Jakarta Social Services acknowledged the limitations in fulfilling and protecting persons with disabilities because different types of disabilities required different health care facilities (HW 2023, interview 27 February).

With regard to social assistance, the distribution of basic necessities was not equitable and did not target groups of persons with disabilities. 41 complaints received by HWDI and the findings from its monitors were related to allegations of reduction or withholding of social assistance, extortion, double assistance, and failure to provide social assistance to persons with disabilities in DKI Jakarta (MAR 2023, interview 2 July). The main problem was data collection. Persons with disabilities found it difficult to register for government assistance programmes and were often rejected by the village on the grounds that the registration had been closed - even though they had previously been registered at the *Rukun Warga* (RW) level as poor persons who were eligible for assistance. Similar complaints were made by persons with disabilities because they were not included in the Jakarta Provincial Government's food aid programme (LBH Jakarta 2022). This was confirmed by an interviewee, BR:

The last data collection of residents in my area was carried out four years ago. Even after Covid-19, the data submitted to the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government was still based on disability data collected two years before Covid-19. In fact, the number of people with physical disabilities has increased as a result of accidents. This data should have been recorded, but it was not (BR 2023, interview 13 February).

The Jakarta Provincial Social Service identified persons with disabilities based on the Integrated Social Welfare Data (*Data Terpadu Kesejahteraan Sosial, DTKS*), which includes the number of confirmed disabilities. However, the Provincial Government admitted that there was still a lot of data that was not included in the DTKS. Therefore, the Provincial Government also coordinated and provided opportunities for *Rukun Tetangga* (RT) and *Rukun Warga* (RW) to verify and confirm existing data (HW Jakarta Social Service 2023, interview 27 February). It was difficult to determine the number and proportion

of women with disabilities because even this limited data was not disaggregated.

In practice, persons with disabilities also experienced difficulties and limitations in confirming or registering with local authorities, especially in the context of PSBB. At the national level, the data collection of persons with disabilities was carried out by the Ministry of Social Affairs through the creation of a data collection system for the identification of persons with disabilities in the form of a special card. With this system, it was expected that persons with disabilities will not only be registered but also easily identified (Republika 2020). However, just like the DTKS data collection or *the RT/RW* one, this method did not make it easier or more accessible for persons with disabilities to register themselves.

This lack of clarity in the data and the inability of persons with disabilities to register themselves had also led to a mismatch in the target recipients of social assistance provided by the Provincial Government. The main indicator used for the distribution of social assistance was generally income below the regional minimum wage (*Upah Minimum Regional, UMR*) and did not take disability into account. BR explained that persons with disabilities who received social assistance were only those with low incomes. The assistance received also varies, ranging from rice and cash to discounted electricity payments. There was no clear information or transparency regarding the inconsistency of assistance (BR 2023, interview 23 February).

Inclusive Citizenship and the Realisation of the Political Rights of Women with Disabilities in the Context of the Pandemic

HWDI's active participation in various initiatives and collaborations shows that the agency of women with disabilities was capable of being an agency and dealing with adverse conditions, including the pandemic. However, Young (2000) argues that citizenship goes beyond formal and procedural. Citizenship must provide space and agency for excluded groups. In the context of DKI Jakarta during the pandemic, the aspirations and contributions of disability groups, in this case that of HWDI, were a good start. There were spaces for HWDI to influence and empower its members. To what extent did HWDI bring an inclusive approach to its activism? There are four values of inclusivity, as outlined by Kabeer (2005).

First, in terms of recognition. Some of HWDI's initiatives were aimed at formal recognition by the state of the existence and protection of persons with

disabilities. HWDI participated in public processes to draft the Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 4 of 2022 on the Implementation of, Respect for, Protection of, and Fulfilment of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. This regulation was derived from several related laws, in particular Law No. 8 of 2016 on Persons with Disabilities and Law No. 19 of 2011 on the Ratification of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. It provides a definition and recognition of the rights of persons with disabilities and details the obligations of the Provincial Government in ensuring the respect for, protection of, and fulfilment of the rights of persons with disabilities. A number of articles also provide detailed explanations on women and children with disabilities and their rights. Although this regulation is quite detailed in regulating various governmental obligations and processes, in terms of data collection and distribution of disaster assistance, it shows that persons with disabilities, especially women with disabilities, are still not registered.

Recognition through policy is the basis for politics of redistribution to ensure justice and the fulfilment of disability rights as citizens. The existence of HWDI in the recognition effort requires redistribution. Recognition through policy is the basis for politics of redistribution to ensure justice and the fulfilment of the rights of persons with disabilities as citizens. The existence of HWDI in the quest for recognition requires redistribution. Redistribution was achieved by using HWDI as a representative of persons with disabilities to pressure the government to fulfil disability rights in the Covid-19 pandemic so that persons with disabilities obtain their rights such as social security, subsidies, and Covid-19 assistance. Representation of disability identity is important because politically it is the basis for policy making. Including representation from disabled people's organisation was the best way to ensure that policies during the pandemic were as equitable as possible (Fraser 2010). The issue of disability as a public issue leads to the fulfilment of justice by providing different opportunities or special treatment to people with disabilities. Special treatment can be provided by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government by paying attention to the vulnerability of all types of persons with disabilities (Stokke 2017).

Second, justice. Justice is understood as articulating 'when it is fair for people to be treated equally and when they should be treated differently' (Lister 2007, p. 3). HWDI has done much to ensure that persons with disabilities have the same access and benefits as other groups in society. Issues with data collection and registration with local authorities mean that persons with disabilities could

not access support from the Provincial Government, or that the provision of support was not transparent. This adds to the long list of injustices experienced by persons with disabilities. HWDI did not have the capacity to address this as it can only be controlled or exercised by the Provincial Government.

There is also no justice for women with disabilities who are victims of violence, both GBV and domestic violence. There is no report that mentions the development of cases of violence experienced by women with disabilities in Jakarta. This shows a lack of commitment on the part of the local governments to respond to and resolve these cases in a fair and legal manner.

Third, self-determination, or 'the ability of a person to exercise control over his or her life' (Kabeer 2005). This value also features strongly in disability theorists' interpretation of citizenship, which describes the very specific barriers to self-determination and participation faced by disabled people (Lister 2007). Persons with disabilities in DKI Jakarta during the Covid-19 pandemic did not have the ability to determine their own destiny. During the PSBB period, persons with disabilities were very dependent on others to access to information, health services, and social support. Dependence on others often makes women with disabilities vulnerable as objects who are seen as useless in the family or community.

Fourth, the last value of inclusive citizenship is solidarity. Solidarity is understood as a process in which individuals and people engage in open dialogue try to understand the social resources of their powerlessness and see the possibility of acting together to change their environment (Young 2000). Based on this definition, the importance of joint efforts to achieve goals is emphasised. The HWDI's collaboration in building collective solidarity during the pandemic was very limited to civil society coalitions, including the HWDI.

HWDI Participation Challenge

There were a number of issues or conditions that hindered the effective participation of HWDI. Our findings suggest that there were both internal and external aspects of HWDI's participation that contributed significantly to this. Externally, HWDI's participation often was often challenged by government's lack of preparedness to identify and reach out to persons with disabilities. Although the protection and fulfilment of the rights of persons with disabilities and their recognition have been formally provided for in various legal products for several years, the state's commitment has not been

fully present in their implementation. This is evidenced from the lack of budgeting and priority programmes for the government to ensure the fulfilment and protection of the rights of persons with disabilities. This situation is exacerbated by weak coordination and communication between agencies at the local government level, and also between local government and central government. The lack of understanding and awareness among most policy makers that disability issues are a shared priority is a major problem. Disability issues are seen as the sole responsibility of the social affairs department or ministry, rather than a cross-agency issue. One of the impacts most felt by HWDI and civil society groups was the unsystematic disability planning and disaster information that was always abruptly provided by local and national governments.

Internally, HWDI's participation continued to focus on the fulfilment of civil and social rights. The pandemic had opened up more space for the fulfilment of civil rights in the form of active participation in public spaces, albeit constrained by mobility restrictions. However, the scope of this participation was more focused on the fulfilment of social rights of persons with disabilities, such as the rights to information, health, employment, and income, as well as safety and gender-based violence. These were indeed issues that were critical during the pandemic. In addition to these, political rights should be a strategic agenda for the participation of HWDI and other civil society groups. These political rights include the rights to vote and be elected in the formal political system in Indonesia.

In every election in Indonesia, the participation of groups of persons with disabilities has always been low; persons with disabilities are only a target number in political elections in Indonesia. As a result of the low participation of persons with disabilities in politics, the interests of persons with disabilities are not reflected in the political representation they elect. The issue of persons with disabilities is still marginalised in Indonesia. In order to achieve inclusive citizenship, it is important for HWDI to be more strategic in strengthening the implementation of the political rights of persons with disabilities in the electoral system. This will be prioritised to build a long-term agenda to raise the disability discourse to the level of public discourse - including bringing the aspirations and needs of persons with disabilities to life. This will have implications for the prioritisation of persons with disabilities in the fulfilment of rights during pandemics and similar disasters, so that disability is no longer undermined.

Conclusion

HWDI's participation in the struggle for the fulfilment of the rights of persons with disabilities from a civil society perspective is an important part of ensuring an inclusive and fair democracy for minority groups. Research shows that the pandemic is not effective enough to be a catalyst for inclusiveness, but instead becomes a Pandora's box that opens the reality of the structural marginalisation of groups of persons with disabilities in Jakarta and in Indonesia in general. In this context, the participation of HWDI was not enough to bring inclusivity because of internal and external aspects. The external aspect was the unpreparedness of the government and the lack of awareness of the state apparatus to prioritise the fulfilment and protection of the rights of persons with disabilities. While the internal aspect was more about the choice of participation strategies of HWDI and other groups of persons with disabilities who needed to be more strategic in realising the political rights of women with disabilities through the official political system in Indonesia, both to exercise the right to vote and the right to be elected as a way to ensure the fulfilment of inclusive citizenship rights in Indonesia.

The political rights of women with disabilities, if properly actualised, can encourage the long-term discourse of women with disabilities on their needs and aspirations to be well articulated by government and state policies.

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Men as Allies of the Feminist Movement: Men's Involvement as a Strategy for the Advocacy Movement Carried Out by Civil Society Networks in Encouraging the Ratification of the Sexual Violence Crime Law

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Abstract

This research discusses the advocacy strategy carried out by the Civil Society Network (JMS) by involving men to push for the ratification of the TPKS Law. By referring to the theory of the strategic capacity of gender equality policy advocates by Htun and Weldon, JMS has used organizational capacity through strategies of (1) framing demands; (2) building networks, and (3) lobbying policymakers. This study uses a qualitative method by conducting in-depth interviews to obtain primary data and collecting secondary data through a study of documents including regulations, news, and previously existing scientific papers. The findings from this study indicate that JMS involves men in advocacy strategies that are carried out by utilizing the privileges of men. For instance, the involvement of male religious leaders to counter the narrative of rejection of the TPKS Law which considers the TPKS Law to be inconsistent with the religious and moral values of the Indonesian people. Apart from that, JMS also involves male legislators who have a strategic position as Chairperson of the TPKS Law Working Committee to help lobby other members of the Indonesian Parliament.

Keywords: advocacy strategy, JMS, allies, sexual violence

Introduction

Sexual violence is one of the most common crimes against humanity in Indonesia. The number of sexual violence cases continues to increase over time. Based on *Komnas Perempuan* data in its Annual Report (CATAHU), there were 2,645 cases in 2010, 4,335 cases in 2011, 3,937 cases in 2012, 5,628 cases in 2013, 4,452 cases in 2014, 6,499 cases in 2015, 5,785 cases in 2016, 5,649 cases in 2017, 5,509 cases in 2018, 4,898 cases in 2019, and 3,714 cases of violence in 2020. The data of the Central Bureau of Statistics (*Badan Pusat Statistik, BPS*), based on the 2016 National Survey of Women's Life Experiences (*Survei Pengalaman Hidup Perempuan Nasional, SPHPN*), also shows that 1 in 3 women aged 15-64 in Indonesia have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by partners and others (BPS 2017). It should be understood that the report is a collection of recorded data and does not exclude the possibility that it does not holistically capture the issue of sexual violence.

Despite the high rate of violence, including sexual violence, legal protection for victims of sexual violence in Indonesia has not been fully addressed in existing legal instruments. In addition, the Criminal Code has not

been able to recognise the diversity of types of sexual violence and has not included efforts to fulfil the rights of victims, thus failing to address this problem from upstream to downstream, which includes the process of prevention, protection, treatment, and rehabilitation. Due to the limited definition and scope of the problem, the criminal offences in the Criminal Code related to sexual violence only include rape and sexual abuse. In light of this, the passage of the Law on Crime of Sexual Violence (UU TPKS) (which at that time was still called the PKS Bill), which has been proposed since 26 January 2016, has of course become very important for the Indonesian Government. It is hoped that the Law can suppress and control the number of sexual violence cases. The existence of the TPKS Law is expected to provide a legal umbrella for all issues of sexual violence, which are still common in Indonesia. It is also expected that this Law will truly side with the victims and provide changes to the legal system that will open up access to justice that can genuinely be realised (Media Indonesia 2022).

Before it was finally passed into law on 12 April 2022, the TPKS Law also underwent various changes

and rejections, especially on the substantive side, from various groups with different views. In August 2019, the Chairperson of the Indonesian Ulema Council (*Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI*), Ma'ruf Amin, sent a letter to President Joko Widodo asking him to postpone the discussion of the bill on the elimination of sexual violence (RUU PKS). Ma'ruf Amin said the bill needed to be discussed at length to consider the teachings of Islam and other recognised religions in Indonesia. In the same year, the Islamic Defenders Forum (*Forum Pembela Islam, FPI*) strongly rejected the bill because they believed it contained anti-religious Western feminism. They believed that Western feminism is very destructive because it positions the relationship between women and men as enemies ready to fight each other (Detik News 2019). In addition, the PKS faction in DPR-RI also rejected the passage of the TPKS Law in parliament.

The rejection by the community and the factions in DPR-RI influenced the slow passage of the TPKS Law, so that more and more people mobilised themselves into a movement to push for the passage of the TPKS law. Students, lecturers, activists, workers, and even victims and their families were also involved in supporting the passage of the TPKS Law. They participated in the weekly *Aksi Selasaan* in front of DPR, joined the Women's March, and continued to use the #MeToo hashtag on social media. The existence of online social movements, such as the #MeToo hashtag, provides a space for anyone to make public the sexual violence they have experienced. There is also the 16 Days of Activism Against Violence Against Women campaign, which takes place every year from 25 November to 10 December to promote efforts to end gender-based violence. Even The Body Shop, a cosmetics company, is involved in this campaign through its "Shoes in Silence" campaign. This campaign collects shoes of different types, ranging from children's shoes, high heels, to sports shoes, symbolising that anything and anyone who uses them has the potential of becoming a victim of sexual violence (Parhani 2020). Many activities, such as discussions held in different agencies and academic spaces, were aimed at spreading the understanding about the urgency of passing the TPKS Law. In addition, a number of feminist activists were involved in advocacy, for example, in the process of preparing the academic text of the TPKS Law. The participation of feminist women in activism was an attempt to influence the substance of the policy in order to make it better.

Meanwhile, the participation of men in the social movement to pass the TPKS Law (Dirgantara 2020) was

minimal. This was due to the social perception that sexual violence is a women's issue. It is assumed that only women are the most disadvantaged victim group. Although many studies show that the majority of perpetrators of sexual violence are men, men themselves are also vulnerable to being subjected to sexual violence. Data shows that 1 in 10 men have experienced harassment in public spaces (IJRS 2021).

The lack of male participation in movements against sexual violence is unfortunate. If only women are involved in the anti-sexual violence movement, men, who are also potential victims of sexual violence, will not gain more insight into the issue. As a result, men will not be able to change their attitudes and behaviours to help reshape existing gender norms. Several studies have shown the urgency of involving men in advocacy movements against sexual violence. Having a significant proportion of men in an anti-sexual violence movement can lead to a greater and more effective change (Flood 2001).

Basically, the involvement of men in the movement to eliminate sexual violence in society is very important. This cannot be separated from the fact that the current social construction is very patriarchal, which ultimately gives many advantages to men. For example, the social status of men is higher than that of women, both at home and in the public sphere. The number of strategic positions held by men can be used to help the advocacy movement achieve its goals, including the movement to promote the passage of the TPKS Law. Thus, the urgency of engaging men as allies in social movements on "women's issues" such as the TPKS Law is quite high. Efforts are needed to engage men more strategically in advocacy for the elimination of sexual violence.

The strategy of engaging men as allies has also been adopted by the Indonesian feminist movement. One of the Indonesian feminist movements that has consistently defended the passage of the TPKS Law is the Civil Society Network for the TPKS Law Advocacy (*Jaringan Masyarakat Sipil untuk Advokasi UU TPKS*). This Civil Society Network (*Jaringan Masyarakat Sipil, JMS*) is a network of different feminist organizations and movements that were also pushing for the immediate passage of the TPKS Law. The actors who are members of this JMS come from different backgrounds such as human rights activists, gender activists, students, lecturers, lawyers, and artists. Although JMS is a feminist movement led by women, many men are also involved and are allies of JMS. The men involved in JMS movement were men who have expertise, strategic positions, and the ability to influence people's views

and lobby in parliament for the passage of the TPKS Law. JMS also allied with legislators and male clerics to help build a counter narrative that the TPKS Bill could legalise adultery. This was expected to support the community movement in pushing for the passage of the TPKS Bill.

To analyse the above issues, the authors use Htun and Weldon's theory of the strategic capacity of Gender Equality Policy (GEP) advocates. Htun and Weldon in Goetz & Jenkins (2016) mention that the most important factor that can influence the success of GEP efforts is the power of the feminist movement (Goetz & Jenkins 2016). They find that the best driver for a country to seriously adopt GEP, such as policies against violence against women, is the power and autonomy of the feminist movement itself. In addition, transnational struggles for the realisation of women's rights are also among the factors that influence the state's decision to conform, such as the push for the ratification of CEDAW and progressive policies at the regional level. But again, the state's decision to implement such norms will only be implemented if there is a strong and autonomous feminist movement. Therefore, the existence, decisions, and actions of the feminist movement will be very important. It is what can ultimately influence how the issues they are fighting for are perceived and ultimately increase their chances of being resolved by advancing women's interests.

To support the feminist movement in bringing about change, political skills are one of the important things that they need to achieve their goals. Htun and Weldon mention that there are three strategies that can be used by GEP activists (Goetz & Jenkins 2016). By using these three strategies well, activists can create a more effective movement in overcoming structural and other barriers to the success of their demands. The first strategy is framing and claiming. This strategy is a process of placing the goal of advocacy in a cultural context to gain support. In addition, a key question to be answered is the extent to which feminist policy advocates are able and willing to exploit the ambiguities that exist in the dominant group's ideology in order to achieve incremental change. It is therefore important to be able to frame feminist issues in terms of their contribution to the social interests of society, political and economic interests, and even the state in general.

The second strategy is forming and managing alliances. The feminist movement must be able to assess the strengths of its allies and develop structures to manage relationships with its partners. This strategy is necessary to use alliances to support feminist policy

demands. In choosing allies, the movement in support of the GEP must also gain the support from the community and socio-political leaders so that women can act and move. In recent decades, feminist movements have taken the initiative to build coalitions with lawyers, activists, doctors, educators, and other civil society actors to work with elected legislators and state officials to develop policy platforms and strategies to pass the GEP. This strategy of forming and maintaining networks allows activists to take advantage of resources such as funding, skills, and access that activists in the coalition have. The third strategy is engaging with the state. The strategy of engaging with state actors aims to have a significant impact on the defence and success of feminist policy initiatives. In order to embed feminist priorities in the work of state institutions, more women need to be able to occupy strategic positions as members of both the legislature and the executive. This research will further explore how JMS, as a feminist movement, independently situates the role of male allies in the three strategies above.

Furthermore, the authors will also use the concept of the Privileged Allies to support the use of the previous theory. Messner et al. (2015), in their article entitled "Some Men Feminist Allies and the Movement to End Violence Against Women", provide an explanation of the role of men as privileged allies for the feminist movement. Messner et al. (2015) mention that feminism exists because of injustices that are very harmful to women. In the early decades, the feminist movement was very exclusive to women's groups. They even included victims of rape, domestic violence, stalking, and even murder. The vulnerable position of women as victims and as the driving force of the feminist movement can be seen as a result of men's privileges. Men are so dominant in both domestic and public life that they do not feel obliged to do the work that women do, such as housework and childcare, and even men feel entitled to sexual access to women's bodies.

As it developed, men began to take action and try to change the subordinate position of women. They even began to empathise with women's experiences. This was possible because men interacted and received a feminist education, as well as men's specific experiences when they saw inequalities experienced by women (Casey & Smith 2010). As such, men must also come to terms with the privileges they have been given for free, simply because they are "men". Engaging men as allies in the feminist movement is expected to accelerate the feminist movement's achievement of its goals. After all,

one way to end violence against women is for men to decide to take responsibility and end it (Messner et al. 2015). In fact, men can be part of the rebuilding of social constructions that have been detrimental to women by being understanding to children. In this way, a feminist movement that is inclusive of both men and women can be seen and created. The portrayal of men as “allies” with privileges is meant to emphasise two things. Firstly, no matter how much commitment and effort men put in, it is undeniable that the movement to end gender-based violence will not be achieved without women’s awareness of their experience as a problem to be solved. Secondly, men’s activism is at odds with their own privileges.

Methodology

This study uses a qualitative methodology. Primary data was collected through in-depth interviews with respondents and secondary data through a literature review in the form of scientific articles, media news, and regulatory documents. The authors used a purposive technique to identify the interviewees. This technique allows the authors to determine who can become an interviewee according to the required criteria and who can certainly provide answers to the phenomena raised. Two criteria were used to select interviewees: those who are actively involved in organising and representing the position of JMS, and those who contribute directly and indirectly as allies of the JMS from different positions and backgrounds. For the second criterion in particular, the authors took into account the recommendations of respondents from JMS. The number of respondents was also chosen with a deliberate gender balance. The categories of respondents included JMS activists, religious leaders, community members, academics, and various elements of civil society. In writing up the findings of the interviews, the authors did not record the names of the respondents so as not to diminish the advocacy work of the TPKS Law, which was essentially carried out by many actors and individuals. As mentioned above, there were various actors formed by community from different backgrounds to support the ratification of the TPKS Law. However, the authors will limit this research to a discussion related to the strategy of the Civil Society Network (*Jaringan Masyarakat Sipil, JMS*) in advocating for the TPKS Law. However, the author will limit this research to the strategy of the civil society network (JMS) in advocating for the TPKS Law. Meanwhile, the movements are certainly more diverse and numerous, and have significant contributions that are most likely not represented in this research. In addition, JMS and

various movements are still monitoring the regulations derived from the TPKS Law (*Perpres and PP*), which are full of dynamics in terms of advocacy and lobbying that are not captured in the research because the process is still ongoing. Also, advocacy within JMS itself is carried out by many individuals and is not limited to the respondents. Furthermore, this research adds to feminist research on men’s involvement in policy advocacy at an empirical level. More specifically, this research uses the perspective of the feminist movement as a key actor in pushing for gender equality policy reform by using the privileges that men possess from the patriarchal structure that is still rooted in society.

Civil Society Network

Civil Society Network (*Jaringan Masyarakat Sipil, JMS*) was one of the advocacy movements for the passage of the TPKS Bill that was introduced in 2016. This network is a network that initiated and advocated for the TPKS Bill until it was passed in 2022 (YAPHI 2022). JMS was established with the aim of bringing together groups and individuals who support the passage of the TPKS Law. Bringing together supporters of the TPKS Law into one movement will strengthen and facilitate coordination between one group and another. JMS also sought to include individuals and groups who had not previously been part of an alliance, but who were advocating for gender justice or other minority rights. The network was also formed to ensure that advocacy on the TPKS Bill was not exclusively women’s and Jakarta-centric (YAPHI 2022). By 2020, JMS consisted of 110 institutions and 32 individuals, both nationally and regionally (AJI 2020). The institutions that are members of JMS are not only women’s organisations, but also come from different elements of society, namely women’s organisations, human rights organisations, victim support organisations, campus organisations, disability organisations, interfaith groups, traditional groups, and many others (Koalisi Perempuan 2022).

In monitoring the TPKS Law, JMS has undertaken a series of advocacy activities, ranging from research, case documentation, case collection, and dialogue with the government and members of the Indonesian parliament, and even political party leaders. JMS also conducted campaigns and public education to support the process of passing the TPKS Law in favour of the victims. To support its advocacy activities, JMS had three working teams, namely substance team, lobbying team, and campaigning team (Adpenalia 2022). First, the substance team consisted of legal

experts and several activists with experience in the field of law and monitoring sexual violence cases. The substance team focused on formulating the TPKS Bill, making proposals derived from the aspirations of the community, and analysing the substance of the TPKS Bill. The second is the lobbying team, which focused on lobbying and holding hearings with stakeholders for the immediate passage of the TPKS Bill. They also tried to get the TPKS Bill debated and passed. They tried to influence stakeholders such as Commission VIII, *Baleg, Panja, KemenPPPA*, the President, and *Kemenkumham* to discuss and pass the TPKS Bill. Third, the campaigning team worked to promote what the substance team had formulated to the public. They also informed the public about the progress of the discussions in *Baleg, Panja*, and Commission VIII. Finally, they gathered public support by influencing public opinion in favour of the TPKS Law.

JMS' Strategy in Framing the Policy Demands of the TPKS Law: Narratives and Counter Narratives

One of the obstacles to defending the TPKS Law was that there were still many different interpretations of the Law. Conservative groups said that the TPKS Law contradicted Indonesia's Eastern and religious values. In response to these accusations, JMS developed a strategy to massively promote the TPKS Law as an urgent policy because it can provide protection and recovery for victims of sexual violence. This effort was carried out through various activities to show the public the urgency of passing the TPKS Law. JMS, together with all members of its network spread from national to regional level, carried out various activities ranging from campaigns, publications, webinars, to demonstrations to fight against the rejection of the TPKS Law. Public awareness activities included discussions on the definition, types, and impacts of sexual violence itself.

In its strategy of formulating political demands, JMS did not only pay attention to what narratives were being disseminated in the public about the TPKS Bill. JMS also paid attention to who was communicating, what was being communicated, and what perspective was being used to oppose the TPKS Bill. By identifying these three points, JMS could then adjust its strategy to counter opposition to the TPKS. If the opposition came from groups in the name of religion, JMS would also use religious narratives, but still based on a gender perspective. For example, opposition from the Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) and male clerics such as Ustaz Tengku Zulkarnain. In his speech, Ustaz Tengku Zul,

who was also the Deputy Secretary-General of the Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI), rejected the passage of the TPKS Law. Ustaz Tengku Zul said that by passing the TPKS Law, the government would be legalising adultery and making contraceptives available to young people. Although he admitted that the lecture notes on the TPKS Law were a mistake because there was no article on providing contraceptives to young people who want to have sex, it did influence other scholars. In Banyuwangi, Ustaz Supriyanto gave a lecture using Ustaz Tengku Zul's material on the TPKS Law. In addition, Ustaz Tengku Zul also considered marital rape in the form of forcing one's wife to have intercourse to be normal (Ariefana & Bhayangkara 2019).

In response to the many narratives of opposition to the TPKS Law coming from male religious leaders, JMS felt that it was necessary to counter these narratives. For this reason, JMS invited male clerics with a gender perspective to participate in campaigns in favour of the TPKS Law. The involvement of men was also done because there was still a patriarchal culture in society, which made it difficult for JMS to reach out to men. For this reason, JMS allied itself with male scholars such as the feminist Ustaz from Fahmina who have long tried to ground gender issues in an Islamic perspective.

In the past, one of our strategies was to ask religious leaders to speak out. So those who spoke about the adultery story were not JMS, but they had to be figures who were heard and respected by the community. Like Ustaz, Kyai. We also had a mainstay Kyai, yes. Kyai, but a feminist. So, we were looking for strategies like that. Because if we are urban, modern people, and it is not clear whether we are religious or not, then it will be difficult to be heard by the community. So, there was a strategy of asking respected religious figures to help us counter narratives around morality and religion. At that time, there were also many meetings, campaigns, and actions involving religious and traditional leaders who were willing to work together. They were also the ones who explained that the TPKS Law protects victims. Because if it came from our mouths, these people would not listen because they were still labelled as Western feminists. The TPKS Law is always associated with feminism because it is seen as containing Western values (Female JMS activist from the campaigning team 2023, interview 8 May).

The feminist scholar from Fahmina argued that the many objections raised by religious conservative groups were not actually caused by the TPKS Law, which contradicts religious and moral values. This was due to the misinterpretation of those who had not even read the substance of the TPKS Law itself. In fact, the legal substance of eliminating sexual violence is in line with the interests of victims and legal protection (Baharudin

et al. 2021). This feminist lecturer from Fahmina said that the substance of the TPKS Law is in line with Islamic teachings of respect for all creatures, including women and men. Therefore, all forms of harassment, humiliation, and even violence in any form against women and men are acts that are very contrary to Islam (Misbahudin 2022).

JMS often encouraged men to increase support from other men for the TPKS Law. For this reason, JMS involved men from the Rifka Annisa Jogja Foundation and Pulih Foundation who were also part of the New Men Alliance (*Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru, ALB*). ALB itself is a movement that promotes harmonisation and synergy between men and women in order to build gender justice and equality. JMS often involved men from ALB in seminars or webinars to explore toxic masculinity, which also harms men to become perpetrators of sexual violence, such as webinars organised by JMS partners. While not directly using the title or theme of the Law, these webinars were used to correct public misconceptions about feminism and that men can be allies to women in fighting all gender discrimination and injustice.



Image 1. Webinar Publication

Source: Instagram Kalyanamitra

As noted by Htun and Weldon in Goetz & Jenkins (2016), this framing is done to exploit ambiguities in the dominant group's ideology. For this reason, JMS included men in order to correct the religious group's mistake in understanding the purpose of the TPKS Law itself. This was also done to take advantage of the privilege that male voices or views are more likely to be accepted by society, especially by other groups of men. In this strategy, JMS

allied with feminist Ustaz from Fahmina as male clerics and also with men from the ALB to encourage men to support the passage of the TPKS Law. Both were often involved in the socialisation of the TPKS Law, in seminars and even in the mass media.

JMS' Strategy in Building and Managing Networks: Inclusive and Open

Since the inception of JMS, it was recognised that advocacy for the TPKS Bill could not be done in isolation. Consolidation was needed to bring together individuals and institutions supporting the TPKS Bill into a greater force. When individuals and institutions joined a network, they were more likely to influence the policy-making process. In addition to demonstrating power to policy makers, this consolidation was also done to gain a variety of perspectives and experiences from the members of the network. It was also possible to share information and resources within the network. This ability was referred to by Htun and Weldon as a strategy for forming and managing networks to leverage alliances in support of gender equality policies (Goetz & Jenkins 2016). It is this awareness that led JMS, which included service providers, women's organisations, legal institutions, public policy, religious, environmental and indigenous communities, to push for the passage of the TPKS Bill. The diversity of these institutions contributed to an enrichment of information and resources, including lobbying skills, networking, knowledge of criminal law, constitutional law, human rights, and more.

bell hooks mentioned that it is important to build a feminist movement that is mass based, involves grassroots groups, and shares with everyone the positive meaning of the feminist movement (1984). This can help the feminist movement to be seen as relevant not only to the women who join the movement, but to everyone. This is why JMS is made up of organizations not only at national level but also at regional level. JMS recognises that the voices of local institutions are still not strong and are often overlooked in the TPKS Law advocacy process. Institutions in these regions need to be involved to hear stories of advocacy on sexual violence cases on the ground, so that all members who have joined JMS actively promote JMS and invite institutions in the regions to become part of JMS. The trick is that institutions that have joined JMS will invite institutions that have the same background. For example, service provider institutions will invite regional service provider institutions, and community organizations will invite community organizations. The involvement and strengthening of

institutions in the regions was also carried out to identify the target members of DPR RI that could be lobbied. If JMS has members in the region, they will look at the members of DPR RI who are in the constituency and then encourage them to support the TPKS Bill.

With members from different regions, JMS held regular forums to discuss advocacy developments in their respective regions, what activities were relevant to undertake together to support advocacy for the TPKS Law, and what gaps still needed to be filled, for example in relation to data needs. JMS also maintained the collectivity of all the movements carried out by its members. The activities of JMS were supported by all JMS members and the activities of JMS members were also supported by JMS as a network. For example, when there was a case of sexual violence in Maluku, JMS also supported the petition of the movement in Ambon. Thus, JMS did not only focus on advocating the content of the TPKS Law at the national level, but also supported the work of members in the regions, which was still relevant to the advocacy of the TPKS Law itself (Female JMS activist from the substance team and lobbying team 2023, interview 9 May).

In addition to institutions, JMS also included individuals who did not carry the identity of an institution, such as academics who have a long history of advocacy for the TPKS Law and even for women's issues. The members of the JMS were also not limited to binary or non-binary gender identities or to religious identities. JMS also involved men, LGBT groups, and even atheists in its advocacy. Support for the TPKS Bill and no history of violence, including sexual violence, were required for membership of JMS.

The importance of consolidating the power of all parties in favour of the TPKS Law, and the persistence of resistance to feminism in Indonesia, meant that JMS ultimately did not use the identity of the feminist movement as its own identity. One of the reasons often cited for the persistence of problems was that feminist ideas or thoughts, and the movements that followed them, were seen as having no cultural and social roots in Indonesian society or, conversely, as being Western in origin or having Western connotations (Arivia & Subono 2017).

In principle, JMS is a feminist movement, although it has never declared itself a feminist movement. This was done as one of the strategies to gain more support from other individuals, organisations, or institutions who wanted to join JMS, as there were still many members who did not want to be called feminists. This awareness

was inseparable from the advocacy of the TPKS Law, which also required the perspective and support of other members who did not want to be called feminists. This strategy of not identifying as a feminist movement was also intended to make JMS acceptable to outsiders who were not directly part of the movement. There were still many Indonesians who did not fully understand feminism. Even in DPR, JMS was often rejected when it used the term "feminism". When a feminist identity was attached and feminist terms were used, the rejection was even greater and had the potential to hinder the advocacy process of the TPKS Bill.

De jure, yes, we are a feminist movement. But why have we not claimed publicly that this is a feminist movement? Because we have to strategise; one, Feminism is being made into a problem in... being made into... a substance that is more of a problem when we process it. So, we cannot force it either. But that is it, the way of thinking, the basis, the purpose, the way of looking at the problem, analysing it, using the indicators, that is how we absolutely use a gender perspective in JMS (Female JMS activist from the 2023 substance team and lobbying team, interview 9 May).

JMS itself is a form of inclusive feminism that includes men, LGBT people, atheists, other vulnerable groups, and individuals and institutions at the local level whose interests are often overlooked. JMS includes men as allies in its movement, further demonstrating that the feminist movement is not anti-male or against men, but against gender inequality. This is in line with contemporary feminism, with the idea introduced by bell hooks (2000), who describes feminism as a movement that seeks to address sexism as the root of gender oppression. Men also need feminism to free themselves from the shackles of patriarchy because men are also vulnerable to sexual violence. The involvement of men in the feminist movement is also to remove the image of exclusivity of the women's movement and that the movement that has been built is to confront men (Hasyim 2009). It is this image that ultimately gives rise to resistance from male groups, who use the cloak of religion or culture to reject the transformation carried out by women.

Based on the Gender Equality Barometer Quantitative Study Report launched by Indonesia Judicial Research Society (IJRS) and INFID in 2020, 33 per cent of men had experienced sexual violence, especially in the form of sexual harassment. A survey by the Coalition for Safe Public Spaces (*Koalisi Ruang Publik Aman, KRPA*) of 62,224 respondents finds that 1 in 10 men had experienced sexual harassment in public spaces. The absence of men and boys as victims of sexual violence does not mean that men cannot be victims. The stereotypes and patriarchal

demands that see them as the dominant and masculine group contribute to the neglect of their experiences of sexual violence. This can also make men reluctant to report their cases (IJRS 2021).

The existence of pro-women men is a reaction to the existence of the women's movement itself. There are two types of reaction from men: opposition because they think the women's movement has weakened men, or support for the women's movement to create equality and gender (Hasyim 2009). The emergence of support and even the pro-women's movement itself cannot be separated from its proximity to the women's movement. However, it cannot be denied that there are men who have concerns about issues of women's injustice that stem from their individual experiences or intersections with women's issues around them. We need to start believing that not all men commit acts of sexism, violence, or the like. As Romeo B. Lee, a psychologist from the Philippines, stated in Subono (2010): "Men are not a homogeneous group. There are men who are willing to change, and that society should give willing men the opportunity to change".

Women can also become privileged when they gain economic power within the existing social structure. When this happens, they stop thinking about a revolutionary feminist vision. It is ironic when women manage to gain power and maximise their freedom within the existing system, but sexism never ends (hooks 2000). For this reason, hooks offers the idea of an inclusive feminism to improve the lives of all people, not just women. Furthermore, feminism can be seen as a collective movement to overcome oppressive structures that lead to dehumanisation and an unjust environment.

JMS' Strategy for Advocacy with Policy Makers: Male Allies with Strategic Political Positions

As mentioned by Htun and Weldon in Goetz & Jenkins (2016), the feminist movement is key to policy reform, especially gender equality policies. Therefore, the feminist movement must be able to read the political situation and use it to advance their interests. In its advocacy work, JMS was well aware of the importance of the existence of the TPKS Bill in the National Legislation Programme (*Prolegnas*) so that this Bill could be discussed and then passed by the Indonesian Parliament. Each year, JMS lobbied members of DPR-RI to ensure that the TPKS Bill was included as a priority bill of DPR-RI and that the debate could be concluded.

In 2019, JMS reflected on the advocacy work that was done to promote the passage of the TPKS Law. One of the issues that JMS saw as a factor hindering the passage of the TPKS Law was the significant difference in the gender composition of DPR-RI members. So far, the TPKS Bill has been discussed by many female members of DPR-RI. Meanwhile, the number of male and female members of DPR-RI is not balanced. So far, women represent only 20 per cent of DPR-RI members and have not yet reached the critical 30 per cent, which could lead to women's issues and policies being marginalised in political decision-making. Although women's representation in DPR-RI will reach the critical 30 per cent mark, this does not necessarily make gender issues a priority agenda. As Hooks (2000) argues, both women and men have been socialised into the actions and thoughts of patriarchy (another way of saying institutionalised sexism). Women can be just as sexist as men, which ultimately has the potential to push gender issues further away from the priorities of policy makers. Therefore, it is important to encourage more women who have a good understanding of gender issues to become part of state actors - especially legislators - so that they can have a significant impact on the maintenance and success of feminist policy initiatives such as the TPKS Law.

Until the 2014-2015 DPR-RI period, there were three female DPR-RI members who actively promoted the discussion of the TPKS Law and networked with women's networks, namely Diah Pitaloka (PDIP), Gusti Putri Agung (PDIP), and Rahayu Saraswati (Gerindra). These three members of DPR-RI have a deeper understanding of women's rights and how to push for the TPKS Law. In 2019-2024 period, old names such as Diah Pitaloka from PDIP were re-elected, as well as Luluk Hamidah from Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (PKB), who pushed for the passage of the TPKS Law (Erwianti & Aprimayanti 2022).

Recognising that the TPKS Bill had been championed by female members of DPR-RI, while the composition of DPR-RI itself was predominantly male, JMS had to devise a new strategy. There were striking differences in what was done to push for the passage of the TPKS law during this period. Moreover, Rahayu Saraswati, who was a critical actor in the passage of the TPKS Law, was not elected as a member of the DPR RI during this period. JMS then developed a strategy to lobby male members of DPR-RI. In this context, JMS lobbied male members of DPR-RI who later emerged as critical actors pushing for the passage of the TPKS Law. Moreover, both of these figures are from *Partai NasDem*, which was the main proponent of the TPKS Law.

In addition, these male members of DPR-RI held the strategic positions of Deputy Chairperson of the Legislative Body of DPR-RI and Chairperson of the Working Committee on the TPKS Bill. In addition to lobbying, JMS also strengthened the capacity of these male DPR-RI members. For example, what answers should be given when discussing the TPKS Law so as not to be attacked again by the public or other DPR-RI members. So, JMS sees the involvement of men as a solution to the long discussion of the TPKS Law in DPR-RI.

I... how to prevent this Law from being thwarted, we considered not including sexual consent. Because for them it was a ghost. They saw sexual consent as a form of access to free sex and LGBT. "That was it", I said. That was why we studied it. That was why we changed the name. So, it was not sexual violence, so it could be replaced. There was a need for tactics or ways to keep the goal, but the substance was not lost (Male Legislator & Chairperson of the Working Committee on the TPKS Law 2023, interview 26 May).

In addition to taking into account the views of DPR-RI members, the positions of male DPR-RI members also helped the TPKS Law advocacy movement to ensure that the substance of the TPKS Law was maintained. Moreover, these male members of DPR-RI came from an activist group, so they already have good relations with activists who support the TPKS Law, so that the needs of the movement could be easily accommodated in the TPKS Law. As a result of the dialogue between the male DPR-RI members and the activists, the TPKS Law will protect not only women but also groups with disabilities. It was these groups' rights that the TPKS Law was fighting to accommodate. This closeness was also evident from the involvement of male DPR-RI members in movements to promote the TPKS Law, thus reducing the distance between movement actors and DPR-RI members as policy makers. This closeness to those involved in the movement was also used by male members of the DPR-RI to revive the fighting spirit needed to pass the TPKS Law.

The last one was about disability; Dini Rosa was an old friend. So, it was not just about women, it was also about persons with disabilities. A friend who was truly a comrade from the past. I told them to go straight to "the kitchen". Whatever they wanted, they arranged it themselves. So, there was almost no gap (Male Legislator & Chairperson of the TPKS Law 2023 Working Committee, interview 26 May).

From this discussion, it can be seen that female DPR-RI members, although disproportionately represented, have long and actively tried to lobby and mobilise champions from different factions in support of the TPKS Law. These female DPR-RI members are

important milestones that cannot be separated from the process of passing the TPKS Law. Not only women DPR-RI members, women activists and communities also have an important role to play in engaging male DPR-RI members in advocating for the TPKS Law. This is in line with Htun and Weldon's strategy of engaging with the state. The feminist movement needs to have political skills, including being part of, or getting closer to, state actors in order to embed gender equality policy priorities in the priorities of state institutions.

Men as Allies of JMS

In an article titled "Men as Allies of the Women's Movement", Nur Hasyim (2017) mentions that the involvement of men in the feminist movement cannot be easy. Their privilege and position as the dominant group raises concerns that if men join the feminist movement, they will once again dominate the spaces that women have just tried to build. For this reason, Nur Hasyim creates a roadmap for the men's movement as an ally of the women's movement in order to maintain the direction and values of the movement. First, the stage of opening the veil of male privilege and power. Second, transforming the concept of patriarchal masculinity. Third, implementing new ways of being a man that reflect equality and justice. Fourth, becoming an ally of women to achieve justice and the elimination of violence against women.

The support and involvement of men as allies in the feminist movement certainly does not come out of nowhere. There is a process of sensitisation or awareness of the oppression experienced by women and other vulnerable groups that feminists have been fighting for. Casey and Smith (2010), in their article entitled Men's Pathways to Involvement in Anti-Violence Works, mention that the awareness-raising process is the earliest process for men to become involved in the feminist movement. Firstly, men have experiences that ultimately sensitise them to perceive issues of violence in a more "real" way. This can happen when men directly witness violence against their mothers, siblings, or relatives. This sensitivity can even be created by witnessing violence during childhood.

The sensitivity of the sister's experience was also one of the reasons why JMS allies became involved in JMS' advocacy of the TPKS Bill. A male member of DPR-RI, who chaired the Working Committee on the TPKS Bill, witnessed his cousin's sexual violence. Due to the lack of a legal framework for victims of sexual violence and the culture of Indonesian society that still

considers the experiences of victims of sexual violence to be taboo, this male member of DPR-RI witnessed his cousin not receiving justice for the crime of sexual violence she had experienced. The sexual violence his cousin experienced was committed by a neighbour who was the closest person to the victim. However, the crime of sexual violence committed by the cousin of the male member of DPR-RI was not validated and was instead considered a disgrace by the family. The family preferred to cover up the case and instead put the victim in a boarding school. Not only did the male DPR-RI member witness his cousin's sexual violence, but he and his friends also experienced sexual violence in the school dormitory. This sexual violence has become a culture to show seniority so that it is not seen as a crime against humanity (Interview 2023, Male Legislator, 26 May).

Secondly, in addition to seeing the experiences of violence of their female relatives, this sensitisation process can also occur through their own experiences of marginalisation, exposure to issues of violence, awareness of social justice, learning opportunities, and feminist education from women around them. It was this experience and knowledge that ultimately increased men's support for the TPKS Bill, so that they also supported JMS as allies in advocating for the passage of the TPKS Bill. The male allies of JMS have a long history of working on issues related to marginalised groups, so the issue of sexual violence is not new to their struggle. This is similar to the male members of DPR-RI who have fought for issues of gender equality, minorities, and human rights, and who have even been involved in the formation of the Pelangi (LGBT) organisation (Male Legislator & Chairperson of the Working Committee on the TPKS Law 20023, interview 26 May).

As Casey and Smith (2010) argue, knowing that you are an oppressed group and being educated in feminism is one of the processes of raising awareness of the oppression of women so that men eventually decide to become JMS allies. Initially, the men from ALB, who are currently working for *Yayasan Pulih* and the National Coordinator of ALB understood the issues related to oppressed groups. At that time, however, ALB men were still part of a group that propagated that Islamic groups were currently being oppressed and needed to be fought for. When he wanted to recruit his female relatives to join the group, the men from ALB were given an understanding of new feminism and books that discussed gender issues, such as *Jurnal Perempuan* and *Rahima* magazine. The ALB men also participated in

discussions and seminars on gender injustices, such as domestic violence cases.

Through these readings, discussions, and seminars, the men of ALB came to understand that the real oppressed group is women. Women suffer as long as they live in a patriarchal social structure. Although women have gained some rights, such as access to education, they still face the obstacle of not being able to become leaders because this position is only held by men. ALB men also analysed and discussed intersectionality, or the experience of oppression of women with other identities. For example, the oppression experienced by Chinese women as a minority group, women with disabilities, and women without a home. It was this understanding of oppression and the knowledge of feminism gained from feminist friends that eventually led the men of ALB to join the struggles of feminists, including the JMS movement in support of the TPKS Bill.

Closing

The analysis of the strategies used by the civil society network (JMS) in advocating for the passage of the TPKS law shows that the feminist movement is no longer a movement that focuses only on women as the driving force and the group to be fought for. This also breaks the assumption that the feminist movement is an anti-male movement. More than that, the feminist movement has become an inclusive movement by not excluding the fact that men also have the potential to experience sexual violence and by including men as allies in the movement.

JMS as a feminist movement shows that they have the ability to strategise to increase their power to advance their interests, namely to push for the passage of the TPKS Law. JMS has made men allies of their movement by using the privileges that men still have, even though they have declared themselves allies of the feminist movement. JMS involved male allies in its strategy, starting with the formulation of demands, networking, and lobbying policy makers. As allies, men can act as peer educators to encourage more men to support the feminist movement. As allies, men can also contribute to the feminist movement with their knowledge, experience, and networks.

Men can use their position as leaders of institutions to increase public support. The construction of a patriarchal society and the establishment of gender norms that are biased against women's positions have made it easier for men's voices to be accepted in influencing people's

views on an issue. The position of men as policy makers, such as members of the Indonesian Parliament, can also be used as allies for the feminist movement in advocating for gender equality policies such as the TPKS Law. The support of male DPR-RI members and the passage of the TPKS law is also inextricably linked to the role of female DPR-RI members, who have long lobbied across all factions of DPR-RI. Therefore, it is important to ensure greater participation of women in politics, such as female DPR RI members, to ensure that voices and interests are not marginalised in political decisions. It is also important to encourage the presence of men who have a good understanding of gender equality as policy makers. This is important so that gender policies can be more inclusive and not just seen as a women's issue.

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Learning from Young Women Activists: A Way to Influence Early Political Awareness

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Abstract

This research emphasises the importance of involving young women in various activism. Problems arise when young women are often considered immature to be involved in social and political movements. Apart from being supported by a patriarchal mindset that tends to subordinate women's experience, there is an intersectional problem where young people need more knowledge to make changes. In fact, one way to encourage active representation of women in political space is to encourage involvement from a young age. This research explores the activism experiences of young women who influence their respective communities. Data was collected through Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and strengthened through literature studies. The data is managed using a political participation theory approach, as well as the influence of affect theory in digital activism. The findings in this research show that young women's knowledge is just as essential in the political space. Their advocacy is full of the spirit of the times, so they can have a strong influence on other young women through the community they have built.

Keywords: youth community advocacy and networking, young women activists, young women's political participation

Background

Indonesia is currently preparing for the 2024 elections. Many campaigns and socialisation of legislative candidates are dominated by men. The representation of women is still minimal. Several efforts have been made. One of them is through Law No. 12 of 2003 on the Election of the House of Representatives (DPR), Regional Representatives Council (DPD), and Regional Legislative Council (DPRD). The law requires a minimum participation rate of 30 per cent for women. The law reinforces Presidential Instruction (Inpres) No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming (*Pengarusutamaan Gender, PUG*). The Inpres also states a similar figure of 30 per cent female participation. Law No. 22 of 2007 on the Conduct of Elections is another regulation that also emphasises women's participation of at least 30 per cent in the General Election Commission's (KPU) list of candidates for each political party (Mulyono 2010). In addition, the statutes and bylaws of the 10 political parties that participated in the 2014 election included a narrative on women's participation in the party (Pratiwi 2019). Efforts are made to meet the 30 per cent requirement through the provision of women's wing organisations by the political parties.

Affirmative policy in various regulations is inclusive in nature and has the potential to help achieve the goal of increasing women's participation in political activities (Fitsum 2017). This is evident from the passage of Law No. 12 of 2022 on the Crime of Sexual Violence (TPKS), which was successfully passed on 9 May 2022. The participation of women in the decision-making process successfully supported the enactment of the Law, which had been fought for about 10 years. The collective experience of women, who still dominate the number of victims of sexual violence, also triggered the passage of the TPKS Law.

It turns out that there are still many who abuse this affirmative policy. Often, women are only given the opportunity to participate in politics in order to meet the 30 per cent quota. But when it comes to decision-making, women's opinions are not necessarily heard, let alone taken into account. This justifies that women have so far only been used as a complement and their interests have not been the main political agenda (Margret 2019).

The main obstacle to women's participation in the political sphere is the patriarchal values in society. There is a marginalisation of women in the private sphere that makes it difficult for women to enter the political sphere

in the public sphere. Even in the public sphere, there is a feminisation of women's work that alienates women from male-dominated work (Izzati 2019).

Women's marginalisation in the political sphere is exacerbated by sexist media construction and dissemination. Sexist media labelling that focuses on physical appearance, such as 'beautiful politicians', often distances women from the good image of their past achievements (VOA Indonesia 2019). In order to prove that women have the same capabilities as men in the political sphere, opportunities and spaces are needed for women to be substantively involved and have their opinions taken into account in decision-making.

Various advocacy efforts have been made to overcome the discrimination faced by women in the political sphere. Thanks to these efforts, we can see an increase in women's participation in the political sphere. One of them also targets the participation of young women. The acceleration of information technology in the current generation has proven to play a positive role in encouraging young women to realise the importance of being involved in practical political activities in the public sphere. We need to pay attention to several issues: 1) the existence of gender stereotypes that are rooted both in the family and in each woman's environment; 2) the differences in treatment due to these stereotypes that make more men have early access to training in both social and political activities; 3) the lack of support for young women who decide to pursue a political career. Efforts can be made to encourage the participation of young women in order to increase the progress of women's involvement in the political sphere.

The importance of promoting young women's political participation has been addressed by Plan International in 2022. *Equal Power Now, Girls, Young Women & Political Participation* (2022) presents research from different countries on what is understood about participation and how young women influence and strategise in the political space. The diversity of issues and the use of new technologies have encouraged young women to explore different social and political issues. We have further explored these findings, in addition to various other supporting literature, to make the stories of young women activists a body of knowledge. The awareness of these young women activists can have a powerful impact on equitable change in their communities and neighbourhoods.

We began this research with the central question of the importance of learning from young women's experience

and engagement in the political sphere - in particular, the ways in which they use strong feminist understandings to engage with social and political issues. The definition of political space itself stems from the understanding that events in public space are a confluence of social phenomena (Kuljiš 2017). In general, efforts are made to separate public space from private space. But when we talk about the organisation of private space, there is a lack of clarity about the definitive distinction. Ultimately, activities in the private sphere become political because they are about how the reproduction of life is considered in one setting (Kuljiš 2017). There is a political interplay in the relationship between public and private spaces. What is interesting about this understanding is that for Nancy Fraser (1947-), the understanding of political space is not just about the state, so that conversations about experiences outside public institutions - in this case including experiences in private space - can balance the relations formed in public space (1990). When we arrive at this definitional agreement, young women's experiences become one of the important variables that need to be heard.

We are demonstrating that the issue of women's political participation is not just a means to another end. Often conversations about the 'importance of women's representation' are linked to the need to address specific issues. We recognise that it is important to put women's experiences first and to listen to them. But within this framework, we often lose sight of the substance of the importance of promoting women's participation and representation as a standalone issue. Based on this logic of thinking, we agree with what Iris Marion Young (1949-2006) said about gender seriality (1994). When we universalise the understanding that all women's experiences are the same - as a group - we lose recognition of the diversity of each individual woman's experience within that group. This collection of women's experiences will lead to an understanding in the form of support for each (different) experience. Each issue in the different experiences will intersect with other issues.

We used this formulation as a guide in the research process. Collecting and documenting young women's experiences in the political sphere became our way of telling their stories. There is also something important about the way young women approach their advocacy. Their digital activism and use of colloquial language makes the issues they raise easy to understand. This is what we learn from our research. There is a positive impact of their participation in the political sphere. The involvement of young women in policy-making and

decision-making can bridge the gap between regulations and policy-making, build the potential of women and young people in political activities, strengthen the empowerment of women and young people, reduce poverty, build women's and young people's participation initiatives through different media, bridge different groups and communities, and sharpen the agenda of women's issues, peace, and security (Mindzie 2015).

Research Methodology and Theoretical Framework

We build our framework for political participation through Iris Marion Young's set of political theories. She begins by critiquing the dominance at work in society as an obstacle to democratic inclusiveness (Young 1990). Treating everyone the same leads to the manipulation of universalist norms that force the dissolution of each individual's unique experience. In this position, Young offers the concept of a politics of difference that fights for the equality of groups with different identity backgrounds. This inclusivity will also lead us to offer solidarity in the politics of difference (Young 2000).

This inclusive approach underlines the message of equality in difference. Young does not seek to eliminate differences, for she believes that what we need to develop is an attitude of recognition and respect. This attitude will lead to an inclusive dialogue in democracy (Young 2000). Difference is not seen as an attributive function, but rather as a bridge between groups and the interaction between groups and institutions (the state) (Young 1990). The aim of the politics of difference is to reformulate the meaning of difference and intersubjective and institutional relations. Young's politics of difference offers a relationship with a spirit of solidarity. This solidarity support links the issue of difference to justice. Young's concept of difference presupposes an openness to the possibility of the emergence of attributes of each individual and group. However, these attributes are not seen merely as material descriptions, but have functions that unite individuals, groups, and state institutions (Young 1990).

The nature of this connection is also reinforced by Young in her understanding of gender seriality (1994). She distinguishes this understanding of seriality from what Jean-Paul Sartre (1905-1980) called group in his 1960 work *Critique de la raison dialectique*. Young rejects Sartre's understanding of group (1994). For Sartre (quoted in Young 1994), a group is a set of individuals who consciously acknowledge their existence in a relationship to carry out a common project. There is a recognition of a common purpose within the group.

Meanwhile, for Young, seriality has a different meaning from group because it describes a level of social existence - a condition that arises because of the limitation and direction of the circumstances and material conditions that shape it (Young 1994). This collection of individuals in seriality is passively united by objects, routines, and habits - as orientations for joint actions. In the case of gender, our sameness as women makes us believe that we belong to the same group. In fact, for Young, the 'sameness' present in this sense of being female arises because of the seriality that makes us understand a common action. This can be illustrated by understanding stereotypes, which then determine our thinking and behaviour as women. While each individual can consider her own behaviour without being bound to the same goal. This seriality also provides a space of recognition for individuals to see experiences with intersectional issues.

We then draw on Young's understanding of solidarity. The basis of solidarity is a mutual understanding of the interconnectedness of life between individuals (Young 2000). Cultural differences and social structures at work in society challenge conceptual and spatial boundaries between individuals, groups, and institutions. Ultimately, any difference in seriality will give rise to a form of communicative expression in an effort to reciprocate and recognise each other's identities (Young 2000). Conflicts that are often expressed as a result of cultural differences arise for political reasons related to the domination of power. The interaction of cultural differences needs to be understood as a framework that actually overcomes the differences themselves - again, it must be emphasised that this is not an attempt to make every individual or group the same, but rather to bridge the interaction of differences. Young offers a concept of structural difference, formed on the basis of gender, race, class, sexuality, and so on - differences related to physical, psychological and social status aspects (2000). It is these structural differences that address issues of injustice and inequality in society. Understanding structural differences is how we see seriality in groups as a form of recognition and appreciation of individual or group identity.

The line of thought we developed in this research was then managed through the initial stages of data collection and observation. The data and information in this research were explored in depth through focus group discussions (FGDs) with 10 participants. Our respondents were drawn from communities supported by Plan International Indonesia with an age range of 18-25 years old. FGD itself is a form of qualitative interview method that uses group discussions led by the researcher

to collect data (Given 2008). This method helped our research process to manage data coming from the voices of young people who are socially and politically active. All interviewees were women representatives from different communities who represent the interests of women and marginalised and vulnerable people to those in power in their advocacy environments. The FGDs were conducted in June 2023. In order to protect their privacy and create a safe space, the names of the ten respondents will be kept anonymous - based on the agreement reached during the FGD process.

The selection of women respondents aimed to see the implementation of the politics of difference that has alienated them from men in their respective groups or communities. The research looks at the extent to which the respondents are involved in decision-making or influencing policy-making in relation to the issues they raise. It also looks at the different ways in which the respondents have been treated in their advocacy. The successes of the respondents in advocating for the groups they represent will also be explored in this research to see what successes and good work have been achieved so far.

The recording of data from these young women's experiential narratives highlights their unique embodied and everyday experiences as subjects. The experience of each source becomes valuable knowledge that can be methodically managed using a feminist approach to analysing women's political representation. Some previous research data and literature are also used in this research. We sorted the collected data based on the objectives built in this research to achieve analyses, conclusions, and recommendations that strengthen the importance of women's participation in politics from a young age. The combination of theory and method in this research also shows our efforts to articulate and reflect on young women's participation in the political sphere in Indonesia based on the experiences of the respondents who represent communities that voice the interests of women and other marginalised and vulnerable groups.

Stories of Young Women Activists

In the first stage, we categorised each respondent's story in terms of the motivations and obstacles experienced during the process of social and political activism. The stories of these young women activists are our way of highlighting the ontological issues that exist as a seriality of categories of experience. This way of thinking will help us to escape the trap of understanding that categorises women as a group (Young 1994). The

search for commonalities will normalise oppression that applies equally to every woman. In reality, there will be many other variables that differentiate each woman's experience.

This political endeavour makes room for the possibility of thinking of women as a series of experiences. Each individual experience will provide many stories that we can turn into knowledge. The collectivity of young women's experiences in this research allows us to see each woman as a unique individual, so that any learning we get cannot be used as a conclusion that flattens the solution to any problem. The collectivity of young women's experiences challenges the concept that often generalises their experiences. In each storytelling, it is clear that there are many factors that influence the differences in their perceptions in each activism.

There are many differences in the backgrounds that influence why they became activists. Even if the issues are similar, each respondent's background will certainly influence how they perceive each issue, including how they respond to the obstacles they find. From our findings, it seems that each respondent cannot be separated from their family background and environment. In fact, the influence of their daily lives is a strong reason for their activism. This reason also underlies each respondent's interest in the issue. In this initial exploration, we first describe the motivational background and obstacles experienced by the young women activists who became our sources.

Activists' Motivation

Efforts to meet the 30 per cent target for women's participation in politics are not always without obstacles. We can also understand political activity as a form of public advocacy on various social issues. The passion for raising issues is usually born out of an interest in the subject, either because of personal experiences that are closely related to the issues raised, or because of the experiences of others who are victims of injustice. In this section, we will look at the backgrounds and motivations of women activists in taking up the issues they are fighting for in the political sphere.

In the FGDs, ten young women who are active in the political space gathered with us in the virtual space of Zoom Meeting. Based on the data we collected, out of the ten, one of the respondents had already obtained a bachelor's degree and another was about to start her studies. The other eight were still in college, demonstrating the desire and opportunity for them as

young women to pursue higher education. In addition to the opportunity to learn through higher education, the respondents' activism was also motivated by their personal experiences.

There were similarities in the experiences of Respondents 1, 4, 6, and 9. All four young women started their activism because they were triggered by the child marriages taking place around them. Not only the children in their neighbourhood; Respondent 9 even witnessed her cousin becoming a victim of child marriage. The respondents understood that the forced marriages meant that the children they saw or recognised, especially girls, had to drop out of school. In contrast to these four respondents, Respondent 2 experienced family pressure to marry her ex-husband. Despite her divorce and motivation to advocate for victims of gender-based violence, Respondent 2 was still in the process of overcoming the effects of her trauma.

Respondents 5 and 8 were motivated by the sexual violence they experienced. Respondent 5 experienced sexual violence and also witnessed her mother becoming a victim of forced marriage. Meanwhile, Respondent 8 experienced sexual violence in the school environment, which was accompanied by discrimination against female students. This unpleasant experience led her to voice her demands through advocacy, which she started at a young age. It was not only sexual violence that motivated one of the respondents, but also the issue of sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR). Respondent 3 started her advocacy after a family member did not get medical help for her reproductive health because she was afraid to speak out. The silence was caused by the taboo of discussing SRHR issues, although the aim was to seek help.

The experience of witnessing discrimination was also experienced by Respondent 10, whose mother was a civil servant. Initially, her mother was not given the opportunity to become a village head by the local government. This was because women were considered incapable of leadership due to the burden of domestic work.

It was interesting when we asked about Respondent 7's motivation. She came from a different experience because she was motivated by the results of her interview assignment during high school. From this assignment she saw that many young people in the political sphere, especially women, were discriminated against in expressing their interests and aspirations. Respondent 7 then joined the local youth community to advocate for women's rights.

The collectivity of the respondents' stories about the motivations behind their activism shows that the reasons for participating in social and political activities are not always the same. Either the same issue or the position as a (direct) victim of injustice. This can be seen in the motivations of Respondents 10 and 7, which stemmed from experiences outside of themselves. The motivations to engage in social and political activism came from the discrimination of the experience of oppression - both when directly experiencing and seeing the injustice that occurred in front of their eyes.

Diversity of Issues and Barriers

In this section, we begin to categorise the problems and obstacles faced by the respondents. The problems and obstacles in the respondents' stories are transformed into a series of problems that collectively strengthen their role in social and political advocacy. The context in which the seriality of problems and obstacles is presented becomes a tangible form of the reason why we move away from the argument that the issue of women's representation in the political sphere is necessary. Their presence actually makes the specific issues raised visible - and the obstacles experienced can be part of the seriality of knowledge from which we can learn. The respondents represented five different organisations. They were BeWithYou, Youth Coalition for Girls, State Youth Sukabumi, Ceria Indonesia, and Sexdugram.

BeWithYou (BWY) is the political space of five respondents. All five were involved in BWY in five different regions. Founded with the main aim of promoting body positivity, Respondent 5 founded BWY to promote the rights of children and persons with disabilities. The issue of sexual violence is also her advocacy with BWY Indonesia, which is also the most challenging. In her activism against sexual violence, social stigma is still an obstacle for Respondent 5. Victims are still often blamed and cases lead to the withdrawal of reports due to the social pressure they experience.

We have gone through the legal process several times, but no one has ever got to the stage where they actually went to court because usually friends who reported it immediately withdrew and ended up saying, "I don't think I can do it. I don't think I can do this. I don't think I can go on". This is a reminder for me personally, for those of us who are on the outside, it is really easy to say, "you have to report, you have to demand justice". But for people who experienced it, it must have been difficult to be at that stage. So, if someone reported and then withdrew, we could not force them. We can only accompany them and give them awareness; even if it goes to court, we will help them (Respondent 5 2023, FGDs 23 & 28 June).

Barriers were also experienced by Respondent 6 from BWY Sumatra. She and other activists in BWY were often targeted by male-dominated perpetrators of verbal abuse. She experienced this because she spoke out about the importance of men's role in speaking out against sexual violence. Respondent 8 from BWY Bandung experienced barriers not only from outside, but also from within her own family. Coming from a religious family, those closest to her still found it difficult to accept that she was a feminist who was seen as oppressing men. Ageism also occurred when her activism was not recognised because of her young age, and she was seen as incapable of making decisions. Often the events she organised were only advertised to women because it was assumed that male audiences were not interested in attending.

Respondents 2 and 7 experienced slightly different barriers. From a technical point of view, Respondent 2 experienced problems with volunteer engagement. She often found volunteers who were enthusiastic at the beginning and only interested in the certificate of participation. Only 5 to 10 per cent of volunteers were able to help with the BWY programme. Respondent 7 experienced a similar barrier in that it was difficult to ascertain volunteers' participation. This was because some applicants were attracted because they admired BWY's founder, which led to bias in the interview process.

In another affiliate, State Youth Sukabumi, Respondent 1 also experienced ageism. As a young activist who began her activism in the Bogor Regency Children's Forum, the local government often did not give her and other activists space in discussions and decision-making. Other affiliations that became central to more than one respondent's activism was the Youth Coalition for Girls (YCG). YCG advocates for the issues that Respondents 4 and 9 focus on, children's rights, such as education and child-friendly open spaces. Being in different locations, the two respondents faced similar barriers. Respondent 4, who was active in the Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi (Jabodetabek), had faced phishing through group chats, so the threat of spreading sensitive information related to her advocacy often hindered her activism.

Respondent 9's activism in Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara, had to deal with a society with a strong patriarchal mindset. It was very difficult to educate the local community to allow women to go to school. According to her, religious path, which was also strongly patriarchal, was the right way to approach and

deconstruct people's thinking.

The next two respondents, 10 and 3, were associated with Ceria Indonesia and Sexdugram. Both had to face stereotypes and stigmas from society in their activism. Respondent 10 had to witness her mother being discriminated against when she ran for village head. This happened because the government and the local community believed that women were not capable of being leaders. They were worried that women would be distracted by domestic work. Through Ceria Indonesia, she not only promotes women's participation in politics, but also women's education. Meanwhile, Respondent 3 experienced discrimination because of the issue of sex education that she advocated through social media. She often received advice that the topic was inappropriate for young women, especially those with a religious appearance, such as Respondent 3. However, these obstacles did not stop her from educating the wider community about SRHR through her social media account, Sexdugram.

In the experience of the ten respondents, the barriers were dominated by the sexist judgement of the community, which then complicated their involvement in the political sphere. However, the activists have not given up. Instead, the barriers were used as a basis that strengthens their struggle to advocate for issues that were considered important for women's empowerment. The different experiences of the respondents illustrate Young's (1990) point about the importance of understanding the politics of difference. The respondents' efforts to raise issues of injustice through advocacy on each of their issues of interest show that there is an effort to recognise differences in experience - including how these experiences lead to inequality. The different solutions implemented by each respondent are a form of recognition of differences in situation - as a seriality of identity. Moving away from the issues raised, we can confirm that the relationship between "women's participation in politics and women's issues" does not always have to occur.

In Respondent 1's story, the issues raised were more related to young people's involvement in environmental issues. Although the majority of the other respondents made a connection between issues and women, we cannot generalise that women's participation in politics is always related to women's issues. If we allow this line of reasoning to work, then there is a leap of assumption that women activists are synonymous with specific women's issues. When we offer the umbrella of feminist politics, however, we must be able to see that the relationship

between each issue arises from a seriality of background experiences and knowledge.

Novelty, Influence, and Solidarity of Young Women Activists

We found interesting things in the respondents' advocacy experience - as young people. They took advantage of the development of information technology through the use of the Internet. Digital activism, also known as cyberactivism, is a form of activism that uses the internet and digital media as a platform for mass political mobilisation (Fuentes 2023). This activism uses digital networks to respond to social and political issues.

The internet is used as a means of disseminating information that can reach a large number of people, regardless of distance or time. The use of digital activism is a form of using digital space to advocate for various issues of inequality and injustice (Salsabila & Diera 2022). The inclusion of advocacy on social and political issues, especially women's issues, shows that the digital space provides easy access to disseminate issues. We no longer need to rely solely on mass mobilisation on the streets. Online activities can even involve more groups to learn about issues at the grassroots level. Awareness of the issues will be easier to convey through this online political movement.

There is no denying that the way the digital space works is like two sides of a coin. On the one hand, the use of digital media can help advocacy work, and on the other hand, it can be a negative backlash - attacking issues and even the personalities of young women activists. However, we need to recognise that the struggle for digital space can spread gender issues and feminist perspectives more widely and quickly (Salsabila & Diera 2022).

The efforts to conquer this digital space were also made by our respondents. In spite of the various obstacles experienced - as a form of wild ball reaction from other users of the digital space - there is something we must appreciate: the novelty of advocacy methods that are creative and closer to the spirit of the current era.

The novelty of this advocacy method helps young women activists to creatively generate empathy for other individuals and groups. In affect theory, we go beyond a single emotion to understand our ability to influence, or be more deeply influenced by, other people or issues (Ahall 2018). Affect is distinct from personal emotional experience - also known as feelings. Feelings are

perceived and understood in the realm of consciousness, whereas affect is in a state beyond consciousness. Sara Ahmed (1969-) sees that affect theory would reinforce the way we act in political spaces - that the emotions we feel are also political (2004).

There is a resonance that weaves an emotional communication between body and mind that affects us. Affect becomes a methodological reinforcement in the advocacy of young women activists. The methods offered in this affect lift feminist knowledge to identify what is political in the work of the world (Ahall 2018) - including the digital world. In addition, affective work will open a new space to think politically about difference. Differences in experience and knowledge enter into the understanding of feelings of oppression. There is storytelling and efforts to share feelings, which then involve our bodily responses - bringing up deep emotions. Sharing these feelings then helps us to promote solidarity efforts.

In this section, we present the stories of the respondents on how they built networks and creatively developed advocacy methods so that issues no longer seem far away from our daily lives. The networking and advocacy done by these respondents has also succeeded in generating various forms of solidarity to support their struggles in the political sphere.

The Two Sides of Social Media Use in Young Women Activists' Engagement in Political Spaces

As activists in the midst of the internet and technological advances, the use of social media was one of the advocacy methods used by the ten respondents. The rapid dissemination of information through social media was very helpful for them in communicating opinions and educating the public about the issues they were fighting for.

Sometimes we got a lot of information, such as competitions, that we could model because of social media. We also took advantage of it so that the organisation run because we learned to be creative, to use the social media that we have, and we also existed because we already knew how effective it was on social media. We also had training on social media, like creative content training (Respondent 10 2023, FGDs 23 & 28 June).

Respondent 4, for example, believed that social media could also help empower women, such as fellow activists. Some respondents even used digital platforms - either as individuals or on behalf of the community - as a medium to campaign for the issues they raised.

The strong influence of their digital advocacy had succeeded in providing an alternative for digital users - especially young women - to see the success of their movement. Some of the respondents even had a large number of followers on their personal digital platforms and involved many of their followers in their social and political activism. The affective situations that the respondents brought to their digital activism succeeded in fostering feelings that seemed to be "shared" by the followers of the digital platforms they used. This success contextually affected their political space (Ahmed 2004). There is a new agreement, which we understand as a shared perception based on shared knowledge and experience.

However, the use of social media can also have negative effects. Respondent 1, who started her advocacy work in a children's forum, was often concerned about the impact of social media on underage activists. These threats were referred to by Respondent 5 as NCII or Non-Consensual Intimate Image. The distribution of NCII can happen to anyone. However, underage victims are more vulnerable to cyber gender-based violence. The use of social media also makes activists vulnerable to hate speech.

I have always been told things like SJW, "what do girls know", "you are too much of a girl, what is wrong with you, you talk too much, you are too chatty". At that time, there was the issue of OGBV (online gender-based violence - ed) and I spoke out about it, and I was terrorised. I was also terrorised personally, even BeWithYou received hate comments because we raised the issue of gender equality, it was very common on social media (Respondent 5 2023, FGDs 23 & 28 June).

Respondents often dealt with hate speech by separating their personal and professional social media activities. Otherwise, comments that sometimes even included verbal sexual harassment, as experienced by Respondent 3, could disrupt the mental state of activists. Respondent 9 even received sexist and misogynistic comments in the form of body shaming directed at her and other women activists in her organisation. Meanwhile, Respondent 6 experienced the negative impact of content she had uploaded being cut. A video owned by her organisation was cut into parts that sounded controversial and redistributed with the wrong message.

If the respondents experienced the negative impact of social media from outsiders, Respondent 2 experienced attacks from people who were once her family. Having divorced and left a forced marriage, the terror that

Respondent 2 experienced came from her ex-husband's family. The attacks were not only personal, but also on her organisation's social media, so she had to deactivate her social media in order to escape these cyber-attacks.

The methods used by the respondents to cope with the negative effects of social media were a form of natural reaction when dealing with anonymous strangers. In this context, the emotions they felt came from their contact with the object of the other person's affective reactions. It was inevitable that such negative reactions would affect their lives. However, in making the social and political issues they were carrying as objects of flow, they were not acting naively. The alienation resulting from the attacks on the issues they raised - both issues and personal attacks - was still suspected by them. In this state they recognised what was harmful to them so that they could avoid it - before it affected them further. This effort was a form of their success in recognising the seriality of their identity so that they could immediately give a response that was not fatal to their lives.

Support in Activism as A Motivation for Young Women's Involvement in Political Spaces

Finally, we highlight the link between support as the main capital for building solidarity. In order to achieve a sense of collective solidarity, respondents demonstrated their strength as subjects through their motivation for change (Young 1990). They did not take refuge behind groups but stood as subjects in the midst of resistance to injustice and inequality. It was this spirit that served as the foundation of the movement in the communities they built. It was in this relationship that solidarity was born.

Despite the difficulties experienced by activists, various forms of support helped them not to give up on the issues they were fighting for. The support received by the respondents was dominated by motivations from fellow activists in their respective organisations. This was because 8 of the respondents did not receive full support from their families.

Some of the respondents stated that the lack of family support was due to a lack of understanding of feminism. Some of the respondents' parents were openly disapproving. However, there were some who were silent, showing neither support nor disapproval. As for the parents who were quite supportive, two respondents had their activism rejected by their siblings and extended family. Lack of knowledge about the women's movement was still the dominant reason for rejection. Mainly the belief that women should not dominate men. Others

argued that their advocacy on gender and feminist issues was not as important as other activism, such as that related to natural disasters.

Unlike the others, Respondent 1 experienced full support from both her parents and siblings. Her parents even instructed the children in their neighbourhood to ask for her help in enrolling them in school. They were eager to tell people they knew about their daughter’s political activism in the fight for women’s and children’s rights. Respondent 1’s sibling also showed his support by learning about and participating in some of his sister’s activities.

From the respondents’ statements, it was still clear that the environment around them was still carried by the patriarchal mindset rooted in society, so that full support for them to advocate for the issues they were fighting for was minimal. At least their efforts to network with different communities, individual young women activists, have shown great efforts to promote shared

responsibility. This responsibility is part of the common sense of solidarity (Young 1990). The lack of support from those closest to them could sometimes discourage the struggle of young women activists, including our respondents in this research. At the very least, their efforts to influence many other young women have become a lesson to us: that persistent efforts to confront injustice were part of a collective experience that could not betray their struggle. They did not give up because of the lack of family support, rather the pressure became a further motivation for them to continue to fight for equality and justice in social and political issues.

Learning from Knowledge Seriality

We can then draw lessons from the seriality of the knowledge shared by the respondents. We see several stories that are important for us to understand, namely of affiliation, motivation, new media opportunities, and support in activism, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Seriality of Knowledge of Young Women Activists

Respondent (Activism Affiliation)	Motivation	Use of New Media	Support in Activism
Respondent 1 (PLAN International/ State of Youth Sukabumi)	<p>Departed from the issue of child marriage in her neighbourhood (Sukabumi). Initiated an anti-child marriage campaign with State of Youth Sukabumi.</p> <p>Climate issues and gender equality were also issues that attracted her attention.</p>	<p>Use of new media, internet, and social media as an advocacy tool.</p> <p>Socialised the issue by creating webinars.</p> <p>However, it should be noted that there are still digital security issues that threaten young activists.</p>	<p>Support came from fellow State of Youth Sukabumi activists, as well as from family, as her parents helped to find solutions and actions to educational barriers for neighbourhood children, and her younger brother also participated in the same activism.</p>
Respondent 2 (BeWithYou Bandung)	<p>Her activism was triggered by her personal experience of being forced into marriage, so she began to speak out about the issues of gender-based violence (GBV) experienced by women and cyber gender-based violence.</p>	<p>BeWithYou Bandung used a lot of social media for campaigns and advocacy.</p> <p>The new media have many advantages in terms of networking and support.</p> <p>However, it should be noted that social media can also be used for personal terrorisation, so Respondent 2 limited its use.</p>	<p>Support was received from BeWithYou Bandung and BeWithYou Indonesia. In addition, other organisations or activism movements had also been a source of support.</p> <p>However, the family did not fully support, due to differences in values and traditions.</p>

Respondent (Activism Affiliation)	Motivation	Use of New Media	Support in Activism
Respondent 3 (Sexdugram: Yayasan Pendidikan Setara Merdeka)	Her activism was motivated by a family member who experienced uterine prolapse (related to women’s reproductive health). There was a stigma around reproductive issues so she felt the need to speak out about the importance of comprehensive sex education.	Used social media as a means to campaign for comprehensive sex education and Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights (SRHR) issues through the Instagram account @ sexdugram. However, there were risks that follow the use of social media. Sexdugram often received messages that sexually harass them.	Full support was received from the campus environment, including from lecturers who supported her activism. In addition, she also received support from Plan Indonesia. However, the family did not provide full support. Some close friends also underestimated her movement.
Respondent 4 (Youth Coalition for Girls Jabodetabek)	Her activism began with her membership in the Bogor Regency Children’s Forum. From there, she saw for herself that children’s opinions were often not heard by adults. She also raised children’s issues related to child-friendly environment to child marriage.	Social media and digital applications were used for advocacy and empowerment of women activists. Instagram and LinkedIn were media often used to raise issues of child marriage and other feminist issues.	She received support from Youth Coalition for Girls and Plan Indonesia and other similar organisations. She also received support from her parents. However, she still had to deal with her older brother who stigmatised feminist activism.
Respondent 5 (BeWithYou Indonesia)	She has experienced sexual violence and witnessed her mother’s experience of forced marriage. Founded BeWithYou, which started with education, campaigns, and advocacy on body positivity issues. Her activism reached the grassroots movement.	BeWithYou used social media to raise awareness and promote women’s issues and women activists. The pressure and stigma of social media had caused her to take a break. But she overcame it by distinguishing between responses that should be replied to and those that should be ignored.	Respondent 5 received full support from organisations, especially from BeWithYou. However, she was not supported by her family.
Respondent 6 (BeWithYou Sumatra)	She was motivated by child marriages taking place in her neighbourhood. She attended in a webinar organised by BeWithYou in 2020 and then followed the movement’s activism. On campus, she also joined an organisation, as a counsellor for bullied female students.	Social media was used to support her activism to promote politics and raise awareness of BeWithYou Sumatra. However, on the negative side, there was a risk that certain parties could manipulate digital documentation, thereby obscuring information.	The majority of the support she received came from BeWithYou Sumatra and her campus friends. She did not receive full support from her family, and was even opposed by her brother. There were also people on the campus who told her to be careful with feminism.
Respondent 7 (Youth Advisory Panel Plan Indonesia; BeWithYou Indonesia)	Started with a school assignment, she saw the problems of children in her own backyard. She used her privilege to advocate for those in need. Together with Respondent 5, she founded BeWithYou.	Used social media to repost Plan Indonesia’s educational content and BeWithYou’s content; including advocacy for disability groups.	She received a lot of support from her maternal family and from the communities and organisations to which she belonged to.

Respondent (Activism Affiliation)	Motivation	Use of New Media	Support in Activism
Respondent 8 (BeWithYou Bandung)	The issues of discrimination and sexual violence at school made her join BeWithYou Bandung.	Use of social media for advocacy and education, especially for the awareness-raising movement. Social media also helped to identify emerging issues such as gender-based violence. However, there still needs to be follow-up activities (not just relying on social media).	She received support from her friends at BeWithYou and also her boyfriend. However, she was not supported by her family, mainly because they considered the issues raised less important and not useful (compared to helping victims of natural disasters, for example).
Respondent 9 (Youth Coalitions for Girls Kupang)	She became involved in anti-child marriage issues following her cousin's unwanted pregnancy and early marriage. In 2016, she joined the Youth Coalition for Girls in Kupang.	Social media was used to campaign about sexual violence and family planning online. She believed that social media could be a platform to empower women. However, it should be noted that there were still a lot of discrimination and sexist comments that appeared on social media in response to her campaigns.	Received support from the community as well as the family. Her mother's work with NGOs focusing on early childhood education and children's rights issues also strengthened her activist spirit.
Respondent 10 (Ceria Indonesia)	She witnessed her mother's unsuccessful attempt to become the village head because of the discrimination she faced as a woman. This also motivated her to join a party and run for legislative representation. Her experience as a victim of sexual violence and seeing many cases of domestic violence made her more vocal about the issues.	Social media was used as a place to socialise trainings organised for the general public. However, there were also risks associated with the use of new media, including negative comments about the family planning content (KB).	She received support from Plan Indonesia's Women's Empowerment Programme. Secondly, she had the full support of her parents. She also felt supported by the campus she was working with and by the government. The challenge came from the new area that doubted her. But Respondent 10 refused to give up.

Source: Processed from Focus Group Discussions

What is presented in Table 1 is a set of knowledge that we need to know in order to understand the spirit of struggle of each young activist. Their motivation did not come from just one incident, but there was a series of events that pushed one incident as a trigger. We learn from them to develop empathy for the range of injustices experienced by each woman. It is this awareness of injustice that can be the main catalyst for us to be moved to make change - both within ourselves and to mobilise communities and other people. The different solutions implemented by each respondent were a way of valuing different situations - as a seriality of identity. The

experience and knowledge of the respondents was one of the ways in which we directly involved women in the political sphere. Without the representation of women, we have negated the variable of diversity of experience in the political sphere. What the respondents have done shows how their direct involvement can change the perspective of those around them in looking at an issue and the obstacles they face - not in isolation, but in relation to various other issues.

The affective actions taken by the respondents in their digital activism succeeded in fostering feelings that seemed to be "the same" as those felt by the followers

of the digital platforms they used. This success had a contextual impact on their political space (Ahmed 2004). There is a new agreement, which we understand as a common understanding based on shared knowledge and experience. This action creates a spirit of solidarity that is visible in the support they receive - including encouragement to face obstacles to their activism. This is evidence that the issue of young women's representation in the political sphere is important. Efforts to promote social responsibility for issues of injustice and inequality are not the responsibility of just one person. There is a collectivity of experiences of oppression that we need to recognise. The only way to do this is to emphasise the importance of first-person participation as a subject. In this case, of course, encouraging young women's participation in the political sphere is how we promote this responsibility - for the sake of collective solidarity.

Closing

The process we went through during the research, especially the FGD process, opened up many new things about young women's activism in the political sphere. We learned from the experiences of the respondents, especially how they paid attention to issues, the process of involvement, barriers, advocacy methods they built, and the results they achieved. All the data we have presented is also a lesson for us to understand the importance of the issue of women's participation and representation in the political sphere at an early stage.

We understand that the issue of women's participation and representation in the public sphere is not just a tool to achieve the goals of other issues. If we turn "women's participation" into a means of fulfilling other issues, then we will just stop at the issue of "fulfilling quotas" and see women as a group. The storytelling of the respondents' experiences shows that we cannot see women as a group, but as a set of experiences. Strengthening this understanding can open space for a diversity of issues with different intersectional approaches. The issue of women's participation and representation must be seen as a separate issue corridor that intersects with other issues.

The experiences and knowledge of young women activists strengthen our understanding of the historical seriality of the women's movement in the political sphere. We see the issues raised not only in the name of the movement, but also as common problems in society. The great influence of these young women activists demonstrates their ability to creatively translate the

alienation of women's issues in society. Young women can no longer be underestimated by society - especially when it still differentiates quality on the basis of age. Instead, we can learn from the spirit they bring to any social and political advocacy.

There is only one thing we need to remember: support is needed so that they do not go alone. We also need this issue of solidarity on various issues of injustice and inequality in society. We need to understand the stories of discrimination experienced by the respondents. Support as a form of solidarity is a tangible manifestation of social responsibility that we need to start with ourselves in order to become a major influence on our surroundings. Our hope from this research is to create a network of solidarity for young women activists so that they know they are not alone in the struggle for justice and equality in the political sphere.

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AUTHOR GUIDELINES

Jurnal Perempuan (JP) is a quarterly interdisciplinary publication in the English language that aims to circulate **original ideas in gender studies**. JP invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships.

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