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Women movement and its advocacy for gender equality policy in Indonesia

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Indonesia contexts

- The raise of women's movements
- The new democratic era began in 1998 from the Soeharto/military/authoritarian regime.
 - Habibie
 - Abdurrahman Wahid
 - Megawati
 - Susilo Bambang Yudoyono
 - Joko Widodo
 - **Prabowo**



Women's movement in Indonesia

Blackburn, 2004:

'the **collective articulation** of the desires of Indonesian women.Organisations are at the heart of the movement because they express its concern in the most sustained and organised way, speak directly to parties and governments on behalf of women, and are available for consultation on issues concerning them.'

Women's issues: defined by women's organisations

Diversity:

Religious and nonreligious (seculars)

Strategic and practical gender interests



Gender Equality Rights in Indonesia



- Gender as a dynamic concept
- Influenced by women's movements' relation to the Indonesian State
 - Gender – as a neutral term
 - Feminism – as a radical one
 - Women's empowerment is a critical view



Women's movements in Indonesia

Table 2.1. Categorization of women's movements based on ideological aspirations

Category	Ideological Aspiration		
	Change the patriarchal system	Adhere to the patriarchal system	Somewhere between changing and adhering to the patriarchal system
Framework used	Feminism Women's rights	Religious values Values of morality	Suitability and feasibility in context (as acknowledged by the state)
Women's groups	Religious and non religious Class based and non-class based Membership based and non-membership based	Religious and non religious Class based and non-class based Membership based and non-membership based	Religious and non religious Class based and non-class based Membership based and non-membership based

- Different gender ideology
- Various analyse on gender inequality
- Diversity in response, scope and capacity
- Vibrant women's movement in Indonesia

(Eddyono, 2016)



The scope of women's non government organization

Advocacy; regional,
national and local

Victim services

Campaign and public
awareness

Education

Community organising
(economic
empowerment, saving
group)

Charity
Philanthropy

Institutionalise



The Issues

VAW	human trafficking	Harmful practices	economic empowerment	education
Child Marriage	Migrant worker	Women house headed	religious interpretation	natural resource
Peace building	domestic worker	women's labor	women and politic	law and gender
women and disability	women and technology	sexual and reproductive rights	Food security/right to food (children food)	Care and care work



The Vibrant and Dynamic Women's Movements

The way of working

- Broadening membership
- Foundation
- Federation/association
- Collaboration
- Networking/coalition

LEGAL REFORM
ADVOCACY
AS A MEETING PLACE

Violence Against
Women as the center
of advocacy

VICTIM SERVICES
UNIT: Oct 2025, **389**
district has established
government victim unit
services in 34 dari 38
provinsi (78%)

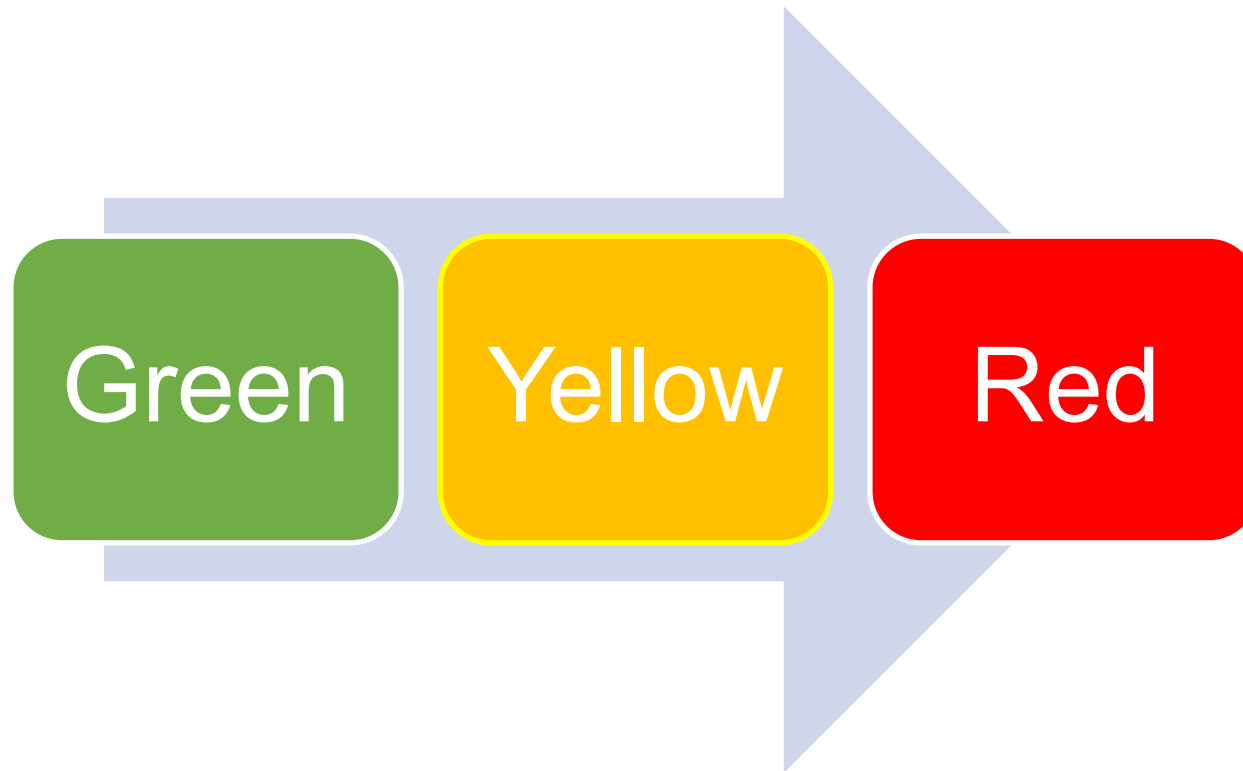
About 120 victim
services of Non-
Government Services



The advocacy of laws on gender equality policy

Using opportunity new democratic era 1998-2023

The long battles but successful in most advocacy



The Laws on gender equality as the result of advocacy

The Law No. 23/2004 on anti domestic violence

The Law No. 21/2007 on anti human trafficking

The law No. 52/2009 on the population growth and family development

The laws on child protections

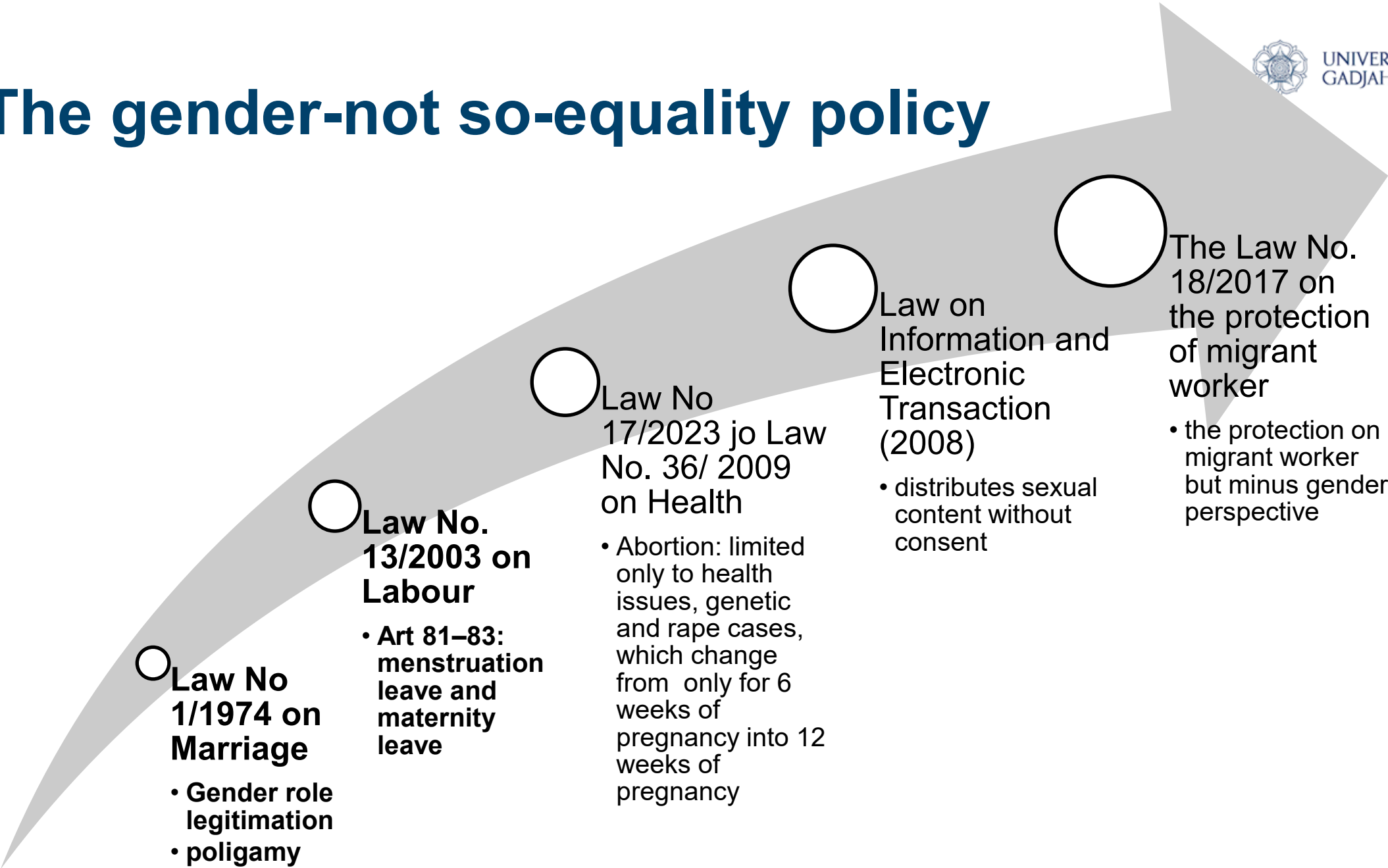
Law No. 1/2023 on Criminal Law

The Amendment of the Marriage Law No. 1/1974 (Law no. 16/2019)

The Law No. 12/2022 on the crime of Sexual Violence



The gender-not so-equality policy



○ **Law No
1/1974 on
Marriage**

- Gender role legitimization
- poligamy

○ **Law No.
13/2003 on
Labour**

- Art 81–83: menstruation leave and maternity leave

○ **Law No
17/2023 jo Law
No. 36/ 2009
on Health**

- Abortion: limited only to health issues, genetic and rape cases, which change from only for 6 weeks of pregnancy into 12 weeks of pregnancy

○ **Law on
Information and
Electronic
Transaction
(2008)**

- distributes sexual content without consent

○ **The Law No.
18/2017 on
the protection
of migrant
worker**

- the protection on migrant worker but minus gender perspective



The Laws of Gender Inequality

Promote by:
Women's non
feminist
Organisations

Supported by

1. women's religion
non feminist
organization
2. Women's
Empowerment
Ministry

Law on 44/
2008 on
Pornography

Tend to
criminalise a
woman
involved in
pornography

Law on
4/2024 on The
welfare of
mother and
child in 1000
days of life

Strengthening
the role of
mother to
child barrier



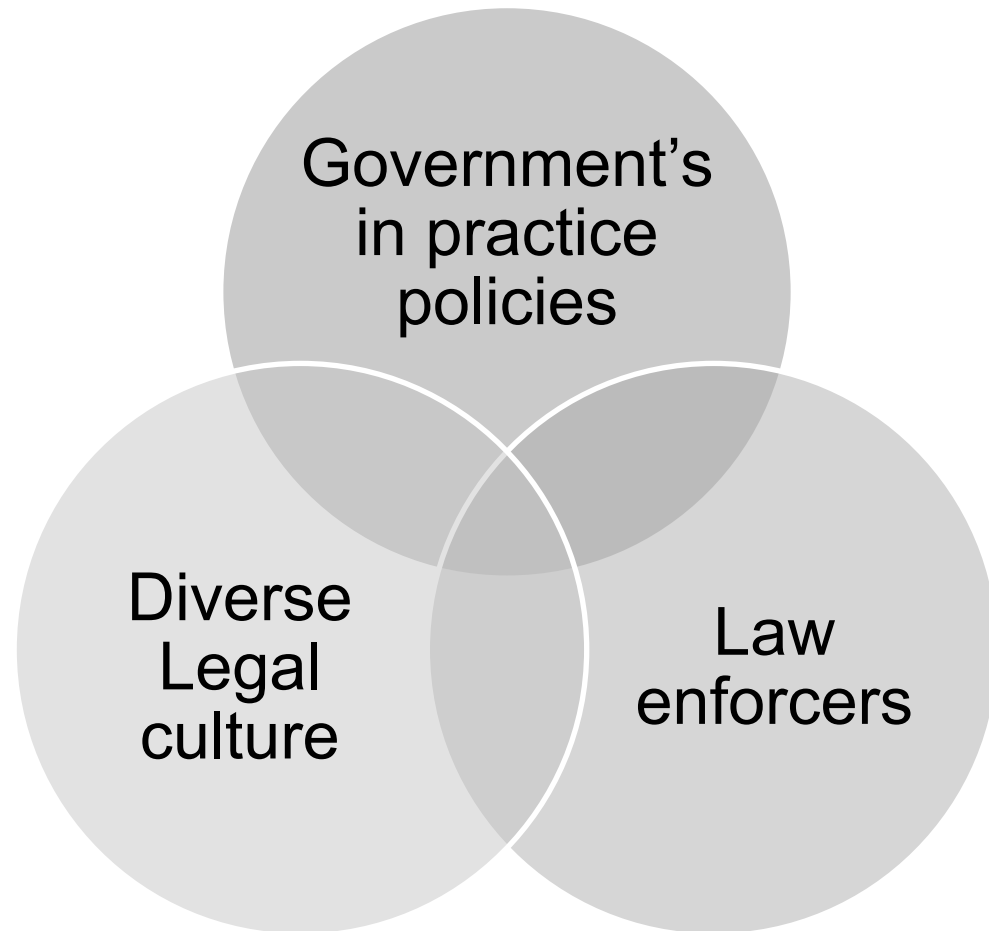
Key changes or challenges in institutional levels?

The institutional policy on the **SEXUAL VIOLENCE & WOMEN'S ACCESS TO JUSTICE**:

- Circulating eLetter No. 00.07.1.3.10.47a/2006 about the banning of genital mutilation [dari Direktur Umum Kesehatan Publik untuk Kesehatan Pekerja]
- Supreme Court (Regulation 3/2017)
- Attorney General (Guideline 1/2021)
- The Ministry of Education (Permen 30/2021 jo Permen 55/2024)
- The Ministry of Religion (SE Pendis 2019 and Regulation 2022)
- The Ministry of Labour (Ministry Decision 85/2023)
- The President's decree and ministry of women's empowerment (2022 on Child marriage)



The challenges to gender equality and women's rights

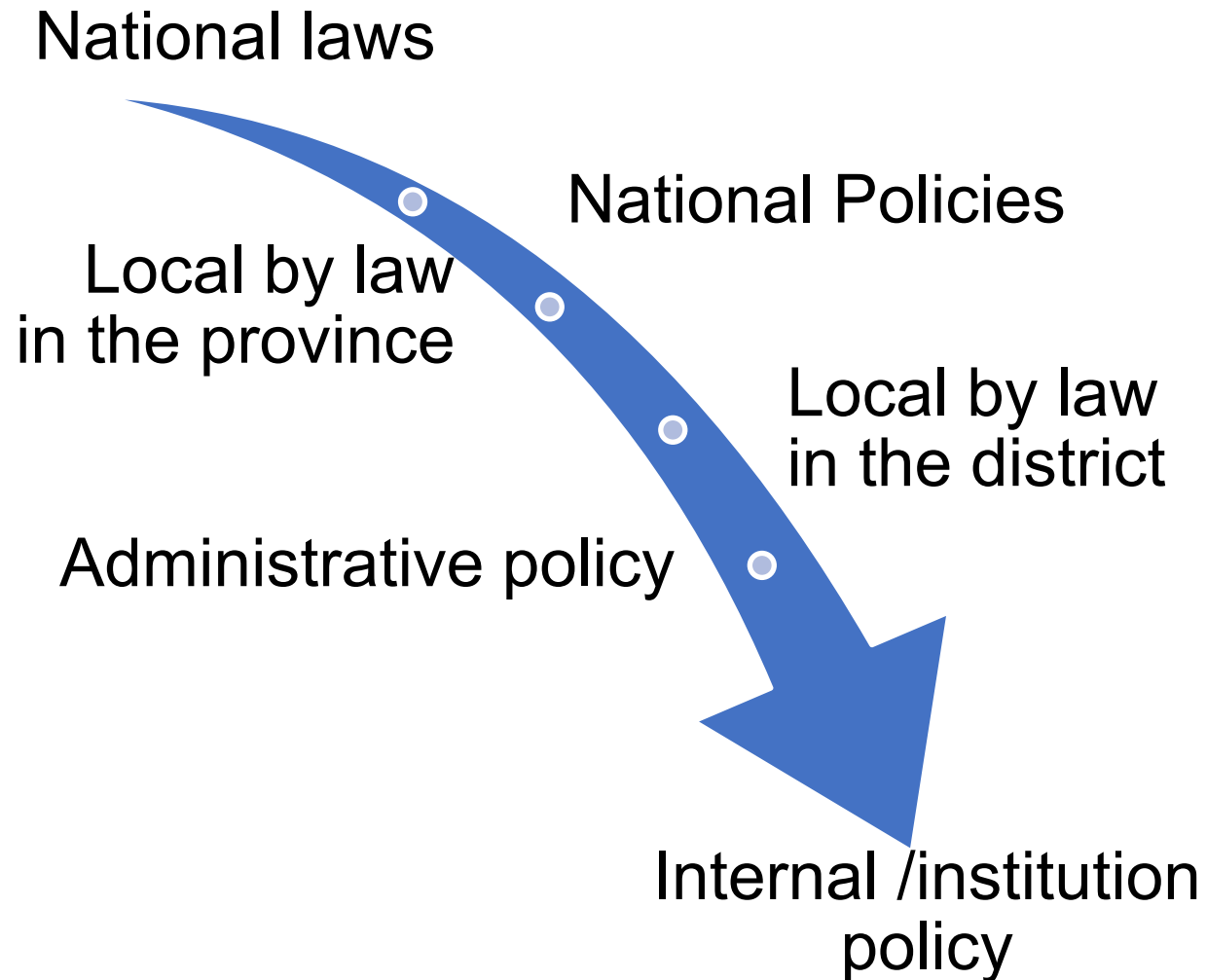


Lack of implementation of gender equality laws and policy in Indonesia

- Unsettled Gender State Ideology
- Populism—political Islam
- State control of civil society through funding
- Scattered programs in government influence in various issues need to be followed



The 'birokratisasi' of legal policy regime



The lower policy is simplistic
Reduced the substance of the upper policy
e.g. abortion



State gender ideology

'STATE IBUIISM' Motherism

Women's empowerment

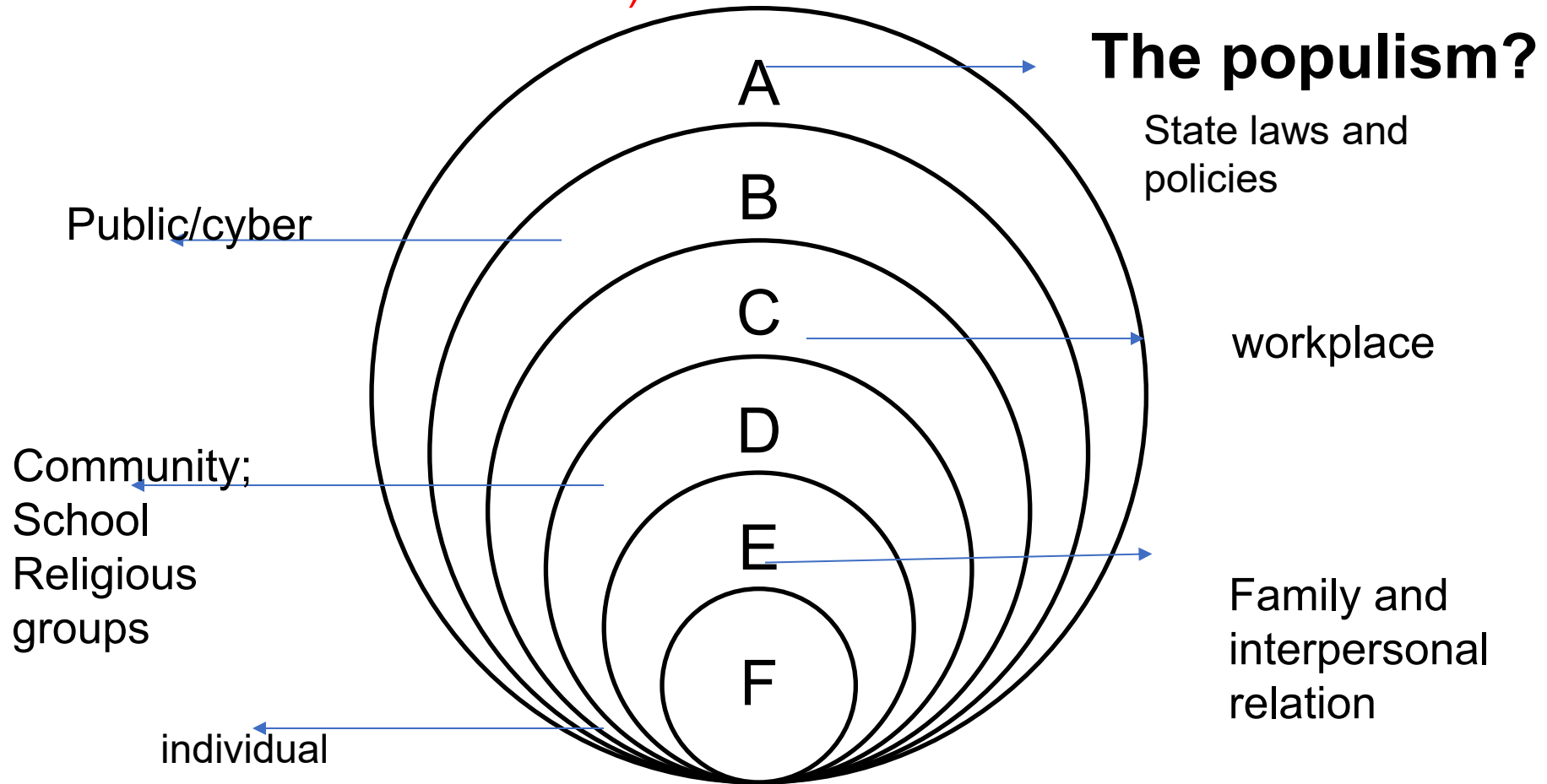


Gender harmony –Happy Family (Saskia Wirienga, 2014)



Family resilience

Gender Battle ideology & Practices



The new development of women's rights:

women's Ulama

- The existence of the Women's Ulama Congress-- women's religious framework, along with the feminist movement
- The Contribution to successful advocacy
 - Anti sexual violence
 - Eradication of Child marriage
 - Eradication of Female Genital Mutilation

(Nurmila, 2019; EF Nisa, 2019; I Rohaniya, S Kotele , 2022; D Kloos, 2023)



Women academic movements

Colourful women's academic movements for anti-sexual violence both on campus and in public (A Fitri et.al, 2021; Eddyono, 2024)

The national policy on anti-sexual violence on campus

- Religious Ministry Guideline on Anti-Sexual Violence in Religious University 2019
 - Religious Ministry Regulation on 2022
 - Education Ministry Regulation 30/2021 on Anti-Sexual Violence in University
-
- + 1.321 Task forces anti Sexual Violence at State Universities in September 2023
 - + 1.724 Taskforce for Anti Sexual Violence in 2024



Youth and Gen Z feminist movements

- More voices
- Various ideas and terms
- Social media as tools
- Campaign gender issues
- Supporting policy advocacy

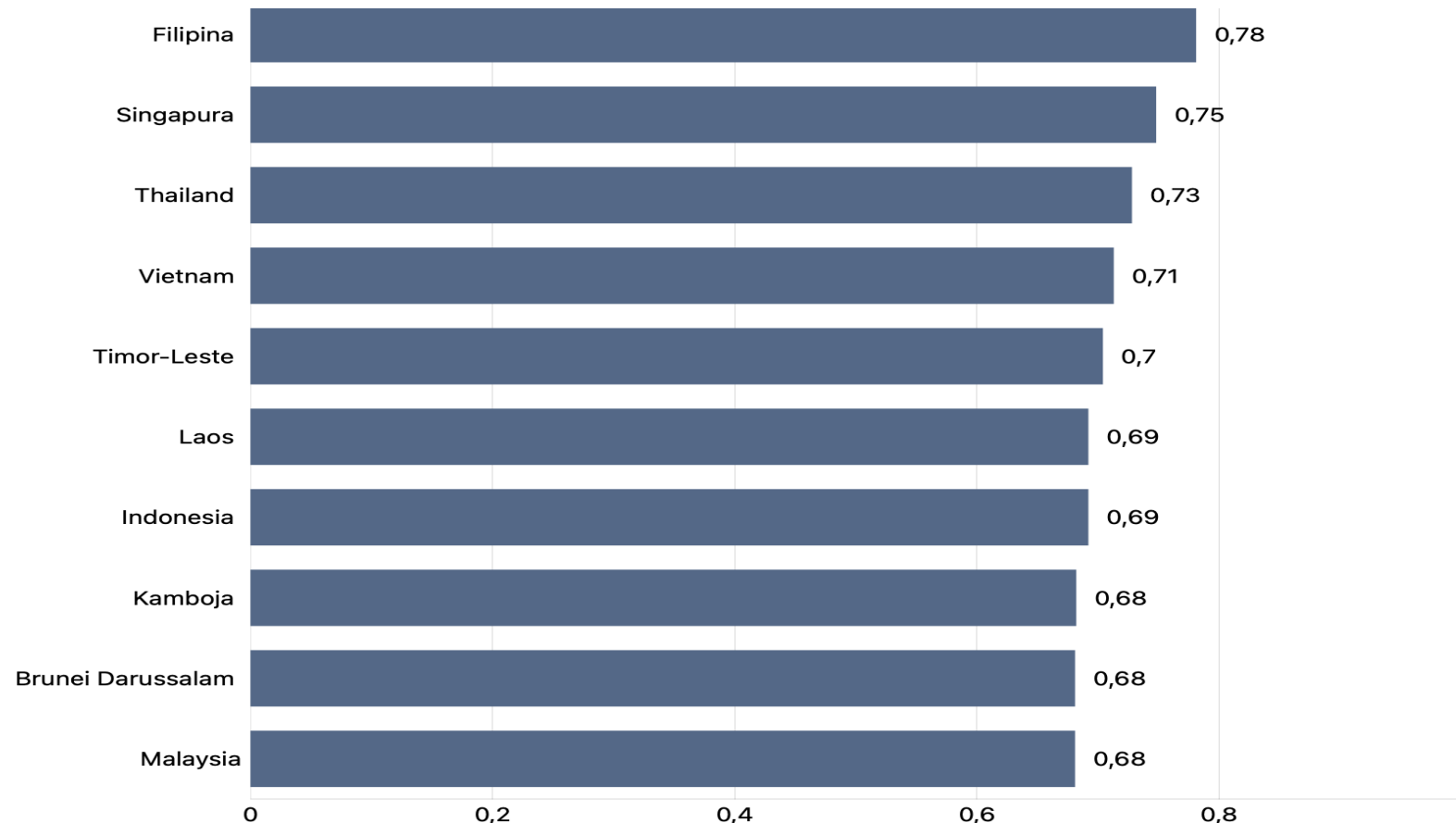


 EduBirdie



Are we (women's legal advocacy) moving to where?

Global Gender Gap Index Score 2025 (World Economic Forum)
in Southeast Asia (2025)*



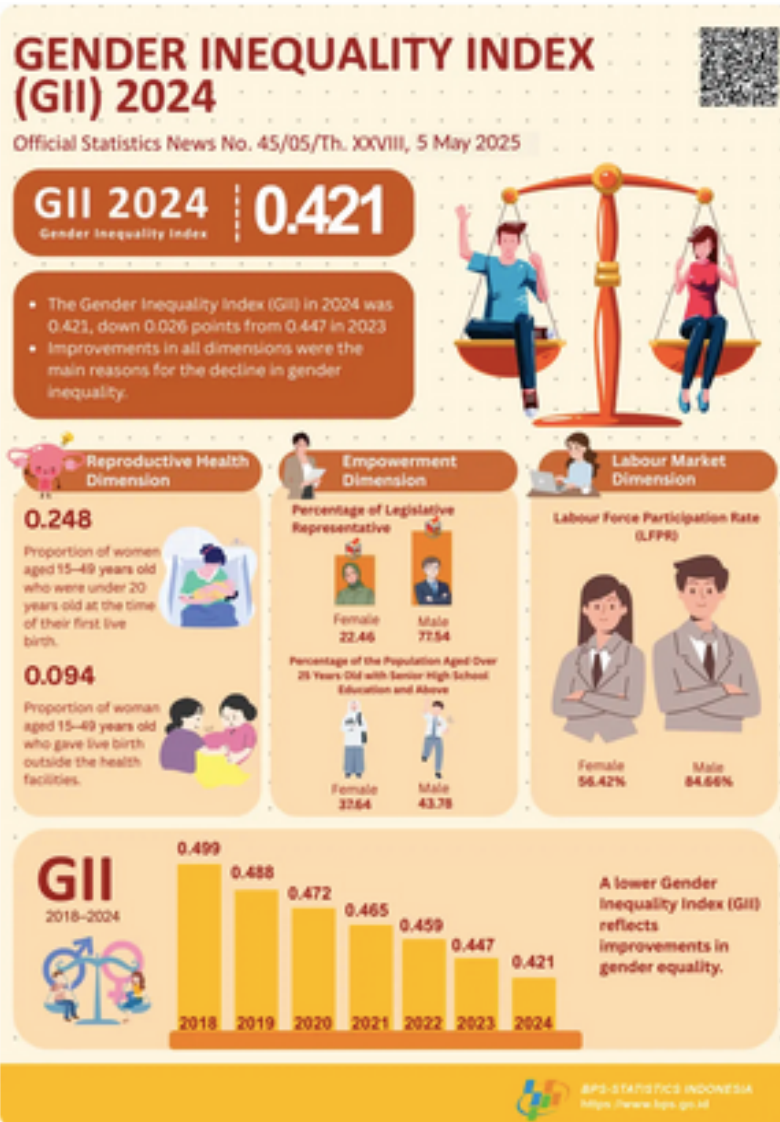
***Higher scores indicate lower inequality and progress toward full equality (1.0)**

INDONESIA position is very problematic

Source: katadata.co.id



Are we (women's legal advocacy) moving to where?



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Abstract

- In 2024, Indonesia's Gender Inequality Index (GII) was 0.421, decrease 0.026 point or more than double the decline recorded in the previous year.
- Improvements in Indonesia's Gender Inequality Index (GII) were observed across all dimensions, with the most notable progress in the labor market dimension.
- The majority of provinces in Indonesia also experienced a reduction in their Gender Inequality Index.

Are we (women's legal advocacy) moving to where?



- Limited Sources with various issues
(too many issues vs gender issues are never enough)
- Never -ending advocacy
- Long life activisms
- Individual agencies to institutional changes

(Is it possible for the existence of State feminism? - from the actors in law enforcement, local government, state academia?)





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Terima kasih

Thank you

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