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## **When and Why the State Responds to Women's Demands: Understanding Gender Equality Policy Change in Indonesia**

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# Acronyms

<b>ADBMI</b>	Advokasi Buruh Migran Indonesia ( <i>Indonesian Migrant Workers Advocacy</i> )
<b>ALB</b>	Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru ( <i>New Men's Alliance</i> )
<b>AMAN</b>	Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara ( <i>Indigenous People of the Nation's Alliance</i> )
<b>APWLD</b>	Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development
<b>ASPPUK</b>	Pendamping Perempuan Usaha Kecil ( <i>Women's Small Business Owner Association</i> )
<b>ATKI</b>	Asosiasi Tenaga Kerja Indonesia ( <i>Association of Indonesian Workers</i> )
<b>AusAID</b>	Australian Agency for International Development
<b>BALEG</b>	Badan Legislasi ( <i>Legislative Agency</i> )
<b>BAPPEDA</b>	Badan Perencanaan dan Pembangunan Daerah ( <i>Agency for Subnational Planning and Development</i> )
<b>BEK SP Mataram</b>	Badan Eksekutif Komunitas Solidaritas Perempuan Mataram ( <i>Executive Board of the Mataram Women's Solidarity Community</i> )
<b>BPfA</b>	Beijing Platform for Action
<b>BPM&amp;KB</b>	Badan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat dan Keluarga Berencana ( <i>Agency for Community Empowerment and Family Planning</i> )
<b>BPPKB</b>	Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Keluarga Berencana ( <i>Agency for Women's Empowerment and Family Planning</i> )
<b>BPS</b>	Badan Pusat Statistik ( <i>Central Bureau of Statistics</i> )
<b>BP3AKB</b>	Badan Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak dan Keluarga Berencana ( <i>Agency for Women's Empowerment, Child Protection and Family Planning</i> )
<b>CEDAW</b>	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
<b>CESCR</b>	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
<b>CIDA</b>	Canadian International Development Agency
<b>CSSP</b>	Civil Society Support Programme
<b>CWGI</b>	CEDAW Indonesian Working Group
<b>DPR RI</b>	Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia ( <i>People's Representative Council of the Republic of Indonesia</i> )
<b>ELSAM</b>	Lembaga Studi Advokasi dan HAM ( <i>Human Rights Study and Advocacy Organization</i> )
<b>EXCEED</b>	Eliminate Exploitive Child Labor through Education and Economic Development
<b>FKP</b>	Forum Keadilan Perempuan ( <i>Women's Justice Forum</i> )
<b>FP3BPTA</b>	Forum Pemerhati dan Penggagas Penghapusan Bentuk-Bentuk Pekerjaan Terburuk Pada Anak ( <i>Forum to Observe and Discuss the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour</i> )
<b>FSPSI Reformasi</b>	Federasi Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia Reformasi ( <i>Indonesian Workers' Union of Reform</i> )
<b>GEMA ALAM</b>	Gerakan Masyarakat Cinta Alam ( <i>People's Movement of Nature Lovers</i> )
<b>GPP</b>	Gerakan Peduli Perempuan ( <i>Women's Care Movement</i> )
<b>HTI</b>	Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia
<b>HWDI</b>	Himpunan Wanita Disabilitas Indonesia ( <i>Indonesian Association for Women with Disabilities</i> )
<b>IAIN</b>	Institut Agama Islam Negeri ( <i>State Institute of Islamic Studies</i> )
<b>ICESCR</b>	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
<b>IDWF</b>	International Domestic Workers Federation
<b>IDWN</b>	International Domestic Workers Network
<b>IKIP</b>	Institut Keguruan Ilmu Pendidikan ( <i>Institute of Teacher Training and Pedagogy</i> )
<b>ILO</b>	International Labour Organization
<b>INPRES</b>	Instruksi Presiden ( <i>Presidential Instruction</i> )
<b>ISC</b>	Integrated Service Centres
<b>IWRAW-AP</b>	International Women's Rights Action Watch—Asia Pacific
<b>JAKERLA</b>	Jaringan Kerja Layak ( <i>Decent Work Network</i> )
<b>JAKERLA PRT</b>	Jaringan Kerja Layak Pekerja Rumah Tangga ( <i>Domestic Workers' Decent Work Network</i> )

<b>JALA PRT</b>	Jaringan Advokasi Nasional Perlindungan Pekerja Rumah Tangga ( <i>National Advocacy Network for the Protection of Domestic Workers</i> )
<b>JANGKA PKTP</b>	Jaringan Advokasi Kebijakan Penghapusan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan ( <i>National Advocacy Network for the Elimination of Violence against Women</i> )
<b>JANGKAR</b>	Jaringan kerja untuk advokasi penghapusan kekerasan dalam rumah tangga ( <i>Advocacy Network to Eradicate Domestic Violence</i> )
<b>JARAK</b>	Jaringan Penghapusan Pekerja Anak ( <i>Network to Eliminate Child Labour</i> )
<b>JARI PPTKILN</b>	Jaringan Advokasi Revisi UU No.39 tahun 2004 tentang Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia di Luar Negeri ( <i>Indonesian Advocacy Network for the Revision of the Protection and Placement of Indonesian Workers Abroad Bill</i> )
<b>JBM</b>	Jaringan Buruh Migran ( <i>Migrant Workers' Network</i> )
<b>JKAPRT</b>	Jaringan Komite Aksi Pekerja Rumah Tangga ( <i>Action Network Committee on Domestic Workers</i> )
<b>JKP3</b>	Jaringan Kerja Prolegnas Pro Perempuan ( <i>Pro-Women National Legislative Programme Network</i> )
<b>KAPRTBM</b>	Komite Aksi Pekerja Rumah Tangga dan Buruh Migran ( <i>Action Committee on Domestic and Migrant Workers</i> )
<b>KOHATI</b>	Korps HMIwati ( <i>Indonesian Student Association Women's Corps</i> )
<b>KOMNAS PEREMPUAN</b>	Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan ( <i>National Commission for Violence Against Women</i> )
<b>KOPRI</b>	Korps PMIIwati ( <i>Indonesian Movement of Islamic Students Women's Corps</i> )
<b>KOSLATA</b>	Kelompok Study Lingkungan dan Pariwisata (Environment and Tourism Study Group)
<b>KOWANI</b>	Kongres Wanita Indonesia (Indonesian Women's Congress)
<b>KPI</b>	Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia (untuk Keadilan dan Demokrasi) ( <i>Indonesian Women's Coalition for Justice and Democracy</i> )
<b>KPP&amp;PA</b>	Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak ( <i>Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection</i> )
<b>KPPD</b>	Komite Perempuan Pro Demokrasi ( <i>Women's Pro-Democracy Committee</i> )
<b>KSBSI</b>	Konfederasi Serikat Buruh Seluruh Indonesia ( <i>Confederation of Labour Unions Across Indonesia</i> )
<b>KSPI</b>	Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Indonesia ( <i>Confederation of Indonesian Trade Unions</i> )
<b>KSPSI</b>	Konfederasi Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia ( <i>Confederation of Trade Unions Across Indonesia</i> )
<b>LARD</b>	Lembaga Advokasi Rakyat untuk Demokrasi ( <i>The People's Advocacy Institute for Democracy</i> )
<b>LBH</b>	Lembaga Bantuan Hukum ( <i>Legal Aid Service Jakarta</i> )
<b>LBH APIK</b>	Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Asosiasi Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan ( <i>Women's Association for Justice and Legal Aid</i> )
<b>LBHI</b>	Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia ( <i>Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation</i> )
<b>LGBTI</b>	Lesbian, Gay, Biseksual dan Transgender dan Interseks ( <i>Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex</i> )
<b>LKAAM</b>	Lembaga Karapatan Adat Alam Minangkabau ( <i>Minangkabau Traditional Customs Organization</i> )
<b>LLB</b>	Laki-Laki Baru ( <i>New Men</i> )
<b>LPA</b>	Lembaga Perlindungan Anak ( <i>Children's Crisis Centre</i> )
<b>LP2M</b>	Lembaga Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Masyarakat ( <i>Institute for Women's and Community Empowerment</i> )
<b>LPSDM</b>	Lembaga Pengembangan Sumber Daya Mitra ( <i>Partners' Resource Development Organization</i> )
<b>LPKP</b>	Lembaga Pengkajian Kemasyarakatan dan Pembangunan ( <i>Research Institute for Communities and Development</i> )
<b>MoU</b>	Memorandum of Understanding
<b>MUI</b>	Majelis Ulama Indonesia ( <i>Indonesian Council of Ulama</i> )
<b>MWSC</b>	Muhammadiyah Women's Study Centre
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental organization
<b>NTB</b>	Nusa Tenggara Barat ( <i>West Nusa Tenggara</i> )
<b>NU</b>	Nahdatul Ulama
<b>NW</b>	Nahdlatul Wathan

<b>PBHI</b>	Perhimpunan Bantuan Hukum Indonesia ( <i>Indonesian Legal Aid and Human Rights Association</i> )
<b>PDIP</b>	Partai Demokrasi Indonesia—Perjuangan ( <i>Indonesian Democracy Party of Struggle</i> )
<b>PeKka</b>	Perempuan Kepala Keluarga ( <i>Female-Headed Household Empowerment Programme</i> )
<b>PGI</b>	Persekutuan Gereja-Gereja Indonesia ( <i>Council of Churches in Indonesia</i> )
<b>PSIHA</b>	Pusat Studi Informasi Hak Anak ( <i>Centre of Information on Child Rights</i> )
<b>PKDRT</b>	Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga ( <i>Domestic Violence Eradication</i> )
<b>PKB</b>	Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa ( <i>National Awakening Party</i> )
<b>PKBI</b>	Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia ( <i>Indonesian Association for Family Planning</i> )
<b>PKK</b>	Pemberdayaan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga ( <i>Family Empowerment and Prosperity</i> )
<b>PKS</b>	Partai Keadilan Sejahtera ( <i>Prosperous Justice Party</i> )
<b>PKTP</b>	Penghapusan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan ( <i>Elimination of Violence Against Women</i> )
<b>PROLEGDA</b>	Program Legislasi Daerah ( <i>Subnational Legislative Agenda</i> )
<b>PROLEGNAS</b>	Program Legislasi Nasional ( <i>National Legislative Agenda</i> )
<b>PSW</b>	Pusat Studi Wanita ( <i>Women's Study Centre</i> )
<b>PUI</b>	Persatuan Umat Islam ( <i>Union of Muslims</i> )
<b>P2TP2A</b>	Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu untuk Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak ( <i>Integrated Service Centres for Empowering Women and Children</i> )
<b>P3</b>	Partai Persatuan Pembangunan ( <i>United Development Party</i> )
<b>P3A</b>	Pusat Perlindungan Perempuan dan Anak ( <i>Centre for Women's and Children's Protection</i> )
<b>RAN PKTP</b>	Rencana Aksi Nasional Penghapusan Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan ( <i>National Action Plan for the Eradication of Violence Against Women</i> )
<b>RTND</b>	Rumpun Tjoet Njak Dien
<b>RUU PKDRT</b>	Rancangan Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan Dalam Rumah Tangga ( <i>Draft Domestic Violence Eradication Bill</i> )
<b>RUU PRT</b>	Rancangan Undang-Undang Pekerja Rumah Tangga ( <i>Draft Protection of Domestic Workers Bill</i> )
<b>SA KPPD</b>	Samitra Abhaya Kelompok Perempuan Pro Demokrasi ( <i>Samitra Abhaya Women's Pro-Democracy Group</i> )
<b>SANTAI</b>	Yayasan Tunas Alam Indonesia ( <i>Indonesian Tunas Alam Foundation</i> )
<b>SBMI</b>	Serikat Buruh Migran Indonesia ( <i>Indonesian Migrant Workers Union</i> )
<b>SCN-CREST</b>	Semarak Cerlang Nusa, Consultancy, Research and Social Transformation
<b>SKETSA</b>	Studi Kebijakan dan Transformasi Sosial ( <i>Policy Studies and Social Transformation</i> )
<b>SP</b>	Solidaritas Perempuan ( <i>Women's Solidarity</i> )
<b>UNRISD</b>	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
<b>USAID</b>	United States Agency for International Development
<b>VAW</b>	Violence Against Women
<b>WCC</b>	Women's Crisis Centre
<b>WAD</b>	Women and Development
<b>WID</b>	Women in Development
<b>YASAKUM</b>	Yayasan Sarjana Hukum (Legal Study Foundation)
<b>YLBHI</b>	Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (Indonesian Foundation of Legal Aid Organizations)
<b>YLBH PIK</b>	Yayasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Perempuan Indonesia untuk Keadilan ( <i>Legal Aid Foundation—Justice for Indonesian Women</i> )
<b>YPSM</b>	Yayasan Prakarsa Swadaya Masyarakat ( <i>Empowered Communities Initiative Foundation</i> )



## Summary

This study analyses gender equality policy change initiated by various women's movements in the context of Indonesia's democratization. It focuses on advocacy processes for the approval of laws and policies to address violence against women, the protection of domestic workers and unpaid care work. It explores how the state at various governance levels—national, provincial and district—responds to these policy demands. The report also examines the conflicting interests of religion and customs, and how these factors influence the state's response to pressure for policy reform.

In 1998, Indonesia underwent a change from the repressive, undemocratic New Order regime of President Suharto (1966–1998) to the New Democratic Era. At the same time, provinces and districts gained greater autonomy because of decentralization, which triggered a process of democratization at the subnational level. This new scenario provided an opportunity for civil society, including women's organizations, to participate and influence policy making at both national and subnational levels.

Movements with women's rights agendas emerged and strengthened their presence and voice during this period. The agendas included violence against women; gender relations within marriage; women's autonomy over their bodies and sexuality; access to economic rights, including the right to work; reproductive health; political participation; and gender mainstreaming. These claims were supported by a variety of actors, who often collaborated and networked with each other, including women's non-governmental organization (NGOs), human rights organizations, grassroots organizations and so on. A number of these demands have been broadly supported and successfully adopted by the state, representing significant wins for the Indonesian women's movement while other claims made by women—such as increasing protection for domestic workers—faced opposition.

To explore the processes of mobilization and policy change, the authors adopted a qualitative feminist methodology, using the following methods: interviews, observation, participant observation, focus group discussions, and review of academic and grey literature. The research fieldwork involved women activists with different backgrounds (NGOs, academics and members of religious organizations), members of government and parliament at national and subnational levels, and religious and customary leaders. The research focused on Jakarta, three provinces (West Sumatra, East Java, West Nusa Tenggara) and three districts (West Pasaman, Jember, East Lombok) that had existing advocacy initiatives, different kinship systems—matrilineal, patrilineal and parental—and traditions. The authors argue that social and political context an important factor influencing women's mobilization and policy change.

The report ends by listing key findings and recommendations to women's rights advocates, women's organizations, policy makers and customary leaders on how to foster and facilitate gender equality policy change.

The key findings include the following.

- *The process for policy change is political* and comprises negotiations among state actors, women's organizations and other civil society organizations, including religious and customary ones.
- *Women's organizations* are crucial in order to initiate gender equality policy change processes. The presence of the women's movements and the strength of their mobilization lead to successful outcomes, as in case of the mobilizations to end violence against women.

- *The state is not a single entity.* State actors are very diverse in terms of interests and priorities, which differ across political parties, within political parties and across governance levels.
- The *nature of the policy issue* matters as it affects the degree of (i) solidarity among women's organizations and (ii) of the support/resistance from civil society and the state.

The authors work at Consultancy, Research and Education for Social Transformation (SCN-CREST), Indonesia. Sri Wiyanti Eddyono is Research Fellow, Estu Fanani is Associate (Women's Rights, Research), Dini Anitasari Sabaniah is Associate (Training, Research), Yurra Maurice is Secretary, Haiziah Ghazali, a collaborative researcher (Environmental and gender) Juni Warlif is Associate (Research Advocacy), Sisillia Velayati, a collaborative researcher (children rights) and Farha Ciciek is Associate (Gender, Religion, Research).

## Research Team

The Semarak Cerlang Nusa, Consultancy, Research and Social Transformation (SCN-CREST) conducted the country study in Indonesia in collaboration with UNRISD.

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SCN-CREST Research Team

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