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The School’s Department of Political and Social Change (PSC) focuses on domestic politics, social processes and state–society relationships in Asia and the Pacific, and has a long-established interest in Indonesia. Together with PSC and RSPAS, the Project holds the annual Indonesia Update conference, whose proceedings are published in the Indonesia Assessment series. Each Update (and resulting Assessment volume) offers an overview of recent economic and political developments, and devotes attention to a significant theme in Indonesia’s development.

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The Institute’s research programmes are the Regional Economic Studies (RES, including ASEAN and APEC), Regional Strategic and Political Studies (RSPS), and Regional Social and Cultural Studies (RSCS).

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WOMEN IN INDONESIA
Gender, Equity and Development

edited by
Kathryn Robinson
Sharon Bessell

Institute of Southeast Asian Studies
Singapore
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We would like to thank all the speakers/authors for their thoughtful contributions to the debate, and their imaginative responses to the tasks we set them. The Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, H.E. Mr Sudjadnan Parnohadiningrat, opened the conference with a speech that reflected his engagement with issues of gender equity in international negotiations. We are also grateful to him for the logistic support provided by the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra in organising the large number of speakers from Indonesia. The former Minister for Women’s Empowerment in the Abdurrahman Wahid cabinet, Khofifah Indar Parawansa, gave the keynote speech to the conference, and provided us with the unique perspective of a politician involved in the everyday business of policy and social change. Professor Saparinah Sadli, who is well known as a scholar and women’s activist and who has won the respect of several generations of Indonesian women, provided a unique perspective on an activist’s life. Dr Soerdarti Surbakti, as head of the Indonesian Central Statistics Agency (BPS), gave us an insight into the key role she has played in developing the information infrastructure necessary for policies to bring about gender equity.

In the spirit of gender equity, the political and economics updates were presented by women – Associate Professor Krishna Sen and Dr Mari Pangestu. We would like to acknowledge our gratitude to them for pulling together summaries of the year’s events in difficult and rapidly changing times. Professor Moham-
mad Sadli and Dr Edward Aspinall provided discussant’s comments, leading to lively debate.

Professor Mayling Oey-Gardiner gave us her ‘insider’s view’ of recent political events. We thank her also for facilitating the participation of Ms Lies Mar-coes and Ms Carla Bienpoen from Insan Hitawasana Sejahtera, and of Ms Zohra Andi Baso from YLK Makassar. Non-government organisations were well represented, with Ms Yanti Muchtar, Ms Edriana Noerdin and Ms Luguna Setyawati from KaPAL Perempuan presenting papers on issues arising in the context of regional autonomy, and Dr Ria Gondowarsito speaking about the development experience of the Australian-based Nusa Tenggara Association. We thank our Australian Indonesianist colleagues who responded to our request to write about gender and equity in Indonesia’s reform period: Dr Susan Blackburn, Dr Terence Hull, Professor Gavin Jones, Professor Graeme Hugo, Dr Lisa Cameron, Dr Barbara Hatley, Ms Nurul Ilmi Idrus and Dr Tom Boellstorff. Many thanks also to the colleagues who chaired sessions and facilitated such lively debate.

The Update Conference is a major logistical feat. It is always carried off without apparent hitch, thanks to the professionalism of the staff of the Indonesia Project, who always give more than one could expect. We would like to thank the Indonesia Project ‘team’ of Karen Nulty, Liz Drysdale and Trish Van der Hoek, as well as Allison Ley of the Department of Political and Social Change; their organisational skills and enthusiasm make organising the Update a joy for the program convenors. Thanks are due also to Ann Bell, and to the ANU students who acted as volunteers.

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Kathryn Robinson and Sharon Bessell
February 2002
GLOSSARY

ADB       Asian Development Bank
adat      custom, tradition
Aisyiyah  women’s organisation associated with
          Muhammadiyah
ASEAN     Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AusAID    Australian Agency for International Development
BIKN      Badan Informasi dan Komunikasi Nasional
          (National Information and Communication
          Board)
BAKMP     Badan Administrasi Kependudukan dan
          Mobilitas Penduduk (Administration Board for
          Population and Population Mobility)
Baknas    Badan Kependudukan Nasional (National
          Population Board)
Bappenas  Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional
          (National Development Planning Board)
belis     bridewealth
Bhineka Tunggal Ika Unity in Diversity (the national slogan under the
          New Order)
BKKBN     Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional
          (National Family Planning Coordination Agency)
BKN       Badan Kepegawaian Negara (State Civil Service
          Board)
BKPM      Badan Koordinasi Penanaman Modal
          (Investment Coordinating Board)
BPD       Badan Perwakilan Desa (Village Representative
          Body)

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GLOSSARY xvii

BPS Biro Pusat Statistik (Central Statistics Agency)
Bulog national food logistics agency
BUMN Badan Usaha Milik Negara (state-owned enterprise)
camat kecamatan (subdistrict) officer
CETRO Centre for Electoral Reform
CGI Consultative Group on Indonesia
CIDA Canadian International Development Agency
Dati I Daerah Tingkat I (first-level region, that is, province)
Dati II Daerah Tingkat II (second-level region, that is, kabupaten/kotamadya)
desa village
Dharma Pertiwi Armed Forces Wives Association
Dharma Wanita Civil Service Wives Association (principal official women’s organisation under the New Order)
DPA Dewan Pertimbangan Agung (Supreme Advisory Council)
DPD Dewan Perwakilan Daerah (Regional Representative Council)
DPR Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat (People’s Representative Council – Indonesia’s parliament)
DPRD Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah (provincial level of parliament)
dwifungsi the army’s ‘dual function’ (military and socio-economic) in New Order Indonesia
Fatayat women’s organisation associated with the NU
fiqh (Islamic) jurisprudence and law
FN-P3M Fiqh An-Nisa Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren (Organisation for the Development of Pesantren and Society)
Forhati Forum Alumni Kohati
FPMP Forum Pemerhati Masalah Perempuan (Women’s Forum)
FWPSS Forum Wartawan Perempuan Sulawesi Selatan (Women Journalists Forum of South Sulawesi)
GAYa Nusantara national network of gay and lesbi organisations
GBHN Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara (Broad Guidelines on State Policy)
GDP gross domestic product

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<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<td>GEM</td>
<td>gender empowerment measure</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gerakan Sayang Ibu</td>
<td>Cherish Mothers’ Movement</td>
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<td>Gerwani</td>
<td>mass women’s organisation affiliated to the PKI</td>
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<td>GMIT</td>
<td>Gereja Majelis Injili Timur (the main Calvinist church in West Timor)</td>
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<td>Golkar</td>
<td>Golongan Karya (Functional Groups), state political party under the New Order, and now second largest in parliament</td>
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<td>hadis</td>
<td>reports of the words and actions of the Prophet, regarded as a second scripture in Islam, ancillary to the Qu’ran</td>
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<td>Haj</td>
<td>pilgrimage to Mecca</td>
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<td>Hari Ibu</td>
<td>Mothers’ Day</td>
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<td>Hari Kartini</td>
<td>Kartini Day</td>
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<tr>
<td>harkat</td>
<td>dignity</td>
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<td>HMI</td>
<td>Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (Islamic Students’ Association)</td>
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<td>IAIN</td>
<td>Institut Agama Islam Negeri (State Institute for Islamic Studies)</td>
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<td>IBRA</td>
<td>Indonesian Banking Restructuring Agency</td>
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<td>IPPPS</td>
<td>Ikatan Perupa Perempuan Sulawesi Selatan (South Sulawesi Women Artists Association)</td>
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<td>IKJ</td>
<td>Institut Kesenian Jakarta (Jakarta Institute of Arts)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Inheemsche</td>
<td>native Indonesian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inpres</td>
<td>Presidential Instruction</td>
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<td>Inpres Desa Tertinggal</td>
<td>Special Presidential Program for poor villages</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPPS</td>
<td>Ikatan Perupa Perempuan Sulawesi Selatan (South Sulawesi Women Artists Association)</td>
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<tr>
<td>jilbab</td>
<td>head covering for Muslim women</td>
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<td>kabupaten</td>
<td>district</td>
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<td>Kajian Wanita</td>
<td>Graduate Women’s Studies Program, University of Indonesia</td>
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<td>kampung</td>
<td>hamlet</td>
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<td>KB Mandiri</td>
<td>Keluarga Berencana Mandiri (Self-reliant Family Planning)</td>
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<td>KDRT</td>
<td>kekerasan dalam rumah tangga (domestic violence)</td>
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GLOSSARY

kecamatan
subdistrict
Kejaksaan Agung
attorney-general’s office
kelurahan
village administrative unit (below kecamatan)
kepala desa
village head (elected by the people)
Kepres
Keputusan Presiden (Presidential Decree)
kesejahteraan
welfare
KH
Kyai Haji, a religious leader (kyai) who has completed the pilgrimage to Mecca (Haj)
KKN
corruption, collusion and nepotism (corruption, collusion and nepotism)
KNKWI
Komisi Nasional Kemajuan Wanita Indonesia (Indonesian National Commission on the Advancement of Women)
kodrat
biological determination, one’s inherent nature
Kohati
Korps HMI Wati
Komisi Pemantau Pemilu
Commission of General Election Observers
Komnas HAM
National Human Rights Commission
Komnas Perempuan
National Commission on Violence against Women
Konstituante
Constituent Assembly (the body responsible for reviewing the constitution)
Kowani
Kongres Wanita Indonesia (Indonesia Women’s Congress), federation of women’s organisations
KPI
Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women’s Coalition)
KPKPN
Komisi Pemeriksa Kekayaan Penyelenggara Negara (Audit Commission on Wealth of State Officials)
KPPT
Konsorsium Perempuan Peduli Toraja (Consortium of Concerned Torajan Women)
krisman
the Indonesian monetary crisis
kyai
Islamic scholar or community leader
LBH-P2I
Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Pemberdayaan Perempuan Indonesia (Law Service for Indonesian Women’s Empowerment)
Lekmas
Lembaga Kajian Masyarakat (Centre for Community Research)
LIN
Lembaga Informasi Nasional (Institute of National Information)
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Term</th>
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<tr>
<td>LP3M</td>
<td>Lembaga Pengkajian Pedesaan Pantai dan Masyarakat (Institute for the Study of Coastal Communities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LKP2</td>
<td>Lembaga Konsultasi dan Pemberdayaan Perempuan (Institute for Women’s Consultation and Empowerment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LPP</td>
<td>Lembaga Pemberdayaan Perempuan (Centre for Women’s Empowerment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lurah</td>
<td>village head (selected by the camat, or subdistrict officer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majlis Tarjih</td>
<td>Assembly for Decisions on Islamic Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPR</td>
<td>Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat (People’s Consultative Assembly), Indonesia’s supreme sovereign body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammadiyah</td>
<td>modernist wing of Indonesian Islam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslimat</td>
<td>women’s organisation associated with the NU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Order</td>
<td>the Soeharto era, 1965 to 1998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>non-government organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NU</td>
<td>Nahdlatul Ulama (Revival of the Religious Scholars), Indonesia’s largest traditionalist Islamic organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCW</td>
<td>overseas contract worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otonomi daerah</td>
<td>regional autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3EL</td>
<td>Women’s Empowerment through Local Economic Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAN</td>
<td>Partai Amanat Nasional (National Mandate Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pancasila</td>
<td>the five guiding principles of the Indonesian state under the New Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pansus</td>
<td>special committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris Club</td>
<td>informal group of creditor countries whose role is to find solutions to the repayment difficulties of debtor nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastor</td>
<td>Roman Catholic priest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDI</td>
<td>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesian Democratic Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDI-P</td>
<td>Partai Demokrasi Indonesia – Perjuangan (Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pendamping suami</td>
<td>companion to the husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pendeta</td>
<td>Protestant minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pengadilan Agama</td>
<td>religious court</td>
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<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Translation</td>
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<tr>
<td>peran ganda</td>
<td>dual role</td>
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<tr>
<td>pesantren</td>
<td>traditional Islamic boarding school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PJTKI</td>
<td>Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (Indonesian Overseas and Domestic Employment Agency)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PK</td>
<td>Partai Keadilan (Justice Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKB</td>
<td>Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa (National Awakening Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKI</td>
<td>Partai Kommunis Indonesia (Communist Party of Indonesia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PKK</td>
<td>Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Movement), now Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family Welfare Empowerment Movement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posyandu</td>
<td>Pos Pelayanan Terpadu (Integrated Health Post)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPI</td>
<td>Perikatan Perempuan Indonesia (Indonesian Women’s Association)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPII</td>
<td>Persatuan Perkumpulan Isteri Indonesia (Union of Indonesian ‘Wives’ Associations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Partai Persatuan Perbangunan (United Development Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRD</td>
<td>Partai Rakyat Demokratik (People’s Democratic Party)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preman</td>
<td>stand-over boys, thugs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propenas</td>
<td>Program Perencanaan Nasional (National Planning Program)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>Perseroan Terbatas (limited liability company)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puskesmas</td>
<td>Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat (Community Health Centre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reformasi</td>
<td>reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repelita</td>
<td>Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun (Five-year Development Plan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rukun Tetangga</td>
<td>neighbourhood association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakernas</td>
<td>Survei Angkatan Kerja Nasional (National Labour Force Survey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBI</td>
<td>Sertifikat Bank Indonesia (Bank Indonesia Certificate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekretaris Negara</td>
<td>Secretary of State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIP</td>
<td>Suara Ibu Peduli (Voice of Concerned Mothers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPKAM</td>
<td>Solidaritas Perempuan Komunitas Anging Mammiri’ (Anging Mammiri’ Community for Women’s Solidarity)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SPSI
Sarekat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia (All Indonesia Workers’ Union), the authorised workers’ union under the New Order

Susenas
Survei Sosio-ekonomi Nasional (National Socio-economic Survey)

SVD
Societas Verbi Divini (Society of the Divine Word), Roman Catholic missionary organisation of priests and brothers

syariah
Islamic law

Tim P2W
Tim Peningkatan Peranan Wanita (Women in Development Management Team)

TNI
Tentara Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Army)

TVRI
Televisi Republik Indonesia (Indonesian Public Television)

ulama
Muslim religious scholar

umma
followers of the Muslim religion

UNDP
United Nations Development Program

UNFPA
United Nations Fund for Population Activities

UNICEF
United Nations Children’s Fund

UU
Undang Undang (Law)

Walhi
Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (Environmental Forum)

wali nagari
regional representative

waria
male-to-female transvestite

warung
small store

yayasan
foundation

YLKI
Yayasan Lembaga Konsumen Indonesia (Indonesian Consumers’ Association Foundation)
The role of Indonesian women in shaping the very fabric of our society is integral to the history of our nation. The struggle by Kartini to promote women’s rights in education in the early 1900s and the holding of the first women’s congress, Kongres Perempuan, in Yogyakarta on 22 December 1928, as well as many other women’s activities in the following decades, have exemplified their contributions in building our society.

In 1952, shortly after independence, Indonesia ratified the UN Convention on Political Rights for Women through Law No. 68/1958. This law gives Indonesian women the right to vote and to be appointed to the legislature. It also assures women’s right to assume any position in the government. The general election laws, No. 15/1969, No. 4/1975, No. 29/1980 and No. 3/1985, allow women to participate actively in the political arena and ensure women’s right to participate in the decision-making process in Indonesia.

The ratification by the government of Indonesia of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (the Women’s Convention) by Law No. 7/1984, and of the Optional Protocol to the Convention in 1999, has added to the sanctity of the rights of Indonesian women to share in the development of the nation.

The ratification of these conventions obliges the government to adopt measures to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women. In keeping with both the letter and the spirit of the conventions, the government established a National Commission on Violence against Women on 15 July 1998, on the basis of Presidential Decree No. 181/1998 and with reference to the Women’s Convention. The objectives of this commission include promoting public awareness of all forms of violence against women. It is also intended to create a conducive environment for the elimination of violence against women, to defend the human rights of women and to improve preventive measures pertaining to the elimina-
tion of violence against women. Its activities are directed towards empowering women and society in general, strengthening the capacity of organisations which defend women against violence, and influencing the government to take the necessary steps to ensure that all forms of violence against women are eliminated. The membership of the commission includes women’s rights activists, academics, professionals and religious leaders.

Another important step taken by the government of Indonesia was the launching of the National Action Plan for the Elimination of Violence against Women. This establishes a policy of zero tolerance of violence against women. With the support of the Ministry for Women’s Empowerment, the number of women’s studies centres has grown in both public and private universities and institutes. Today there are more than 80 such centres conducting research on the situation of women, including topics such as traditional or local practices which hamper the implementation of the different women’s conventions, traditional practices curtailing the advancement of women as well as many other issues related to Indonesian women. These centres also identify specific problems faced by women in particular provinces and propose recommendations to the provincial authorities on practical measures to address them.

Despite the various steps taken, and notwithstanding the active participation of women in the promotion of their rights, much remains to be done to improve the situation of women in Indonesia. In many respects Indonesian women are not treated as the equals of men, particularly in terms of rights and opportunities. Various traditional and cultural practices, as well as certain laws that are contrary to the principle of equality between men and women, remain to be dealt with by our society in order to rectify the situation.

By way of illustration, let me refer to the Marriage Law, which stipulates that the rights and position of the wife are equal to the rights and position of the husband, both in family and in society. However, by the same token, the roles of the husband and the wife are clearly delineated: the husband is the head of the family while the wife is responsible for the household. Therefore, by law, the husband becomes the master of the family while the wife’s role is confined to the management of the family.

Let me in this connection offer you another example of flawed legislation which gives rise to concern. Domestic violence, which may involve a flagrant violation of the rights of women, is not specified distinctly under the Indonesian criminal code. This code sets forth the general crime of maltreatment and establishes penalties for it; cases of domestic violence could be, but rarely are, prosecuted under this legislation. Domestic violence is generally regarded by local police as a private matter. In most cases, law enforcement personnel are not responsive to the plight of women victims. In cases of rape and other forms of violence against women, unless there are witnesses the police generally refuse to bring the case to the court. The government is now planning to address this prob-
problem through both law reform and gender sensitisation training for the police in modern methods of dealing with incidents of violence against women.

As time goes on, the government of Indonesia, with the participation of women activists, is bringing domestic law into harmony with international norms governing the rights of women. In November 1998, the People’s Consultative Assembly (MPR) passed several decrees pertaining to the promotion of the rights of women. They set out the principles to be observed by the government in undertaking legal reform, focusing on laws that are disadvantageous to the situation of women.

Reform has taken effect with regard to the following legislation:

- Manpower Law No. 25/1997 has been amended to eliminate discrimination in work promotion and training; provide equal payment for equal work; ensure social security rights and rights to occupational health and safety, non-discrimination on grounds of marital status or pregnancy, and menstruation and maternity leave.

- The following laws, while not specifically targeting gender equity, have been fundamental to the political reform process and have the potential to deliver benefits for women: the law governing freedom to express opinions in public has been replaced by Law No. 9/1998; a law on the freedom and independence of the press was adopted in 1998; the law on general elections has been replaced by Law No. 3/1999, which sets out both the right to vote and the right to be appointed, and states that women and men are equal in these matters; and the UN Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination has been ratified by Law No. 29/1999.

To sum up, women in Indonesia have been actively promoting the rights of women, including gender equality, through their engagement in various political processes. Their actions have led to the adoption of a number of measures, and the promulgation of legislation by the Indonesian government. It cannot be denied, however, that women’s struggle for gender equality faces cultural hurdles. Certain traditions, values and norms – such as the entrenched myth of the unequal relationship between men and women – are being upheld by many in opposition to the quest for gender equality. Today, when greater opportunities exist, I am convinced that Indonesian women can overcome these challenges through the application of long-term strategies and common endeavours involving different segments of society. The abolition of gender-biased myths that impede the promotion of the rights of women should be included in the national agenda, in order to encourage discourse, bring about greater gender awareness and eradicate gender bias. Only by words and deeds that are shared by all members of society can the rights of women be promoted. The contributors to this book will surely be able to register their accomplishments in this noble goal.