Reproduced from *Gender Equality and Diversity in Indonesia: Identifying Progress and Challenges*, edited by Angie Bexley, Sarah Xue Dong and Diahhadi Setyonaluri (Singapore: ISEAS – Yusof Ishak Institute, 2023). This version was obtained electronically direct from the publisher on condition that copyright is not infringed. No part of this publication may be reproduced without the prior permission of ISEAS Publishing.

Individual chapters are available at http://bookshop.iseas.edu.sg.

Index

7/24 (film), 281, 283, 286–287 #MeToo, 269, 277

Α

'Abduh, Muhammad, 35 abortion, 24, 194, 196, 233 activism arts and culture, 263-277 social media, 2, 36–37, 41–50 visual arts, 5, 245-258 women's rights, 9, 12, 26-27, 189, 192 Adii, Betty, 256-257 adultery, 196, 201 Afwah, Nyai, 38 Agatha, Cornelia, 267 ageing population, 28, 214-215 agriculture sector, 18, 133, 134–135 Agrivinna, Irene, 250 Ahmad, Ama, 271 AILA (Family Love Alliance Indonesia), 201, 202–203, 268 akhlak (piety), 198, 200 Aladjai, Erni, 275 ALB (New Men's Alliance), 253, 291, 293 al-Fasi, Hatoon, 26 Alfikar, Amar, 272 al-Hibri, Azizah, 47, 48 Aliansi Laki-laki Baru (New Men's Alliance), 253, 291, 293 Alimat (NGO), 40 al-Tahtāwī, Rifā'ah Rāfi', 35

Ambara, Alit, 251 ambassadors, 2-3, 70, 74, 80-83, 84 Amīn, Qāsim, 35 An-Na'im, Abdullahi Ahmed, 35 anti-communist killings, 249 Anzaldua, Gloria, 274 Arab Muslims, 18, 25 Arahmaiani, 251–252 Arivia, Gadis, 266, 267 Arkoun, Mohammad, 35 Armandhany, 273 ARTJOG 2022, 256 ARTJOG MMXXI, 248 arts sector, 5–6, 245–258, 264–277 Asian financial crisis, 9, 124, 127, 207, 280, 285, 291–292, 294 Asian parliaments, women's share, 76 aurat, 199 authoritarian rule, see New Order Ayah Bunda (magazine), 284–285, 291 Ayat-ayat Cinta (film), 287 Ayu, Djenar Maesa, 266, 267 Ayunda, Maudy, 269 Ayuningtyas, Eka Jayani, 250–251 Azhari, Ayu, 267

В

Badan Bahasa literary awards, 270 Bakar, Siti Nurbaya, 16 Balinese art and culture, 248, 253 banci, 59 Bandung Contemporary Art Awards, 245

Bantuan Langsung Tunai (BLT), 207–208, 210, 218 see also Dana Desa (Village Funds) bapakism, 1, 6, 280, 281, 282–286, 289, 294, 295 Barlas, Asma, 44, 47, 48 Basuki, Fira, 266 Beckham, David, 293 beggars, 63–64 Beijing Platform for Action, 72 BidikMisi, 100 biological difference, 20–21 birth certificates, 236 bissu (shamen), 55–56, 56–57 Black Lives Matter, 273 BLT Dana Desa (Village Funds Direct Cash Assistance program), 214 boys, child marriage, 227	child marriage applicant characteristics, 226–229 child agency, 234–236, 237–238 complexities, 5, 229–236 court challenges, 22 court dispensations, 225–226, 232–233, 235 factors, 18, 24, 108–109, 224 forced marriage, 224, 225, 230, 231 gender-biased norms, 26, 230–233, 237 girls, vulnerability, 226–227, 231 government reform, 5, 28, 222 harmful effects, 140–141 impacts, 222–223 policy requirements, 236–238 prevalence, 223–224 teenage pregnancy, 231–235, 237
Bramantyo, Hanung, 281, 287–288	children
Burke, Tarana, 269	abandonment, 194–195
buskers, 63–64	immunisation, 99
6	infant mortality, 103–104, 105
C	sexual abuse of, 195–196 stunting, 113–114
cabinet ministers, see ministerial	Chinese women, rapes of, 9, 22, 190,
appointments	249
care work, 4, 95, 111–112, 133, 156–157, 164, 169–179, 211–212,	Chotimah, Fanny, 265
284, 290–291	cinema and gender politics, 6, 280-296
see also women: 'traditional roles'	Cinta Pertama, Kedua dan Ketiga (film),
cash transfer programs, 207, 209, 214,	281, 284, 286, 287, 288–289
216	citizenship, see national identity
see also Bantuan Langsung Tunai	clothing
(BLT); Family Hope Program	manufacture, 19, 250
(PKH)	religious, 40–41, 200–202 cohabitation, 196
CEDAW (Convention on the	colonial legacy of binary gender, 56
Elimination of All Forms of	Communist Party, 191, 202, 249, 265
Discrimination against Women), 19, 72, 193	commuting time, 134, 138
cellular networks, 147–149	Congress of Women Religious
cellular phone ownership, 158–159,	Scholars (KUPI), 2, 24, 26, 36, 204, 268
Center of Gender Studies, 44–45	see also KUPI networks
child-bearing, 123, 134, 135–137, 152	constitution
childcare, 28, 134, 139–140, 211–212	electoral rules, 12
	human rights, 198 Constitutional Court, 10, 22
	contemporary arts, 245–258

contraception, 11, 23-24, 99	repression of minorities, 55, 62, 65
Convention on Anti Torture, 198	democracy, tensions, 203
Convention on the Elimination of All	deservingness, notion of, 5, 206, 208,
Forms of Discrimination against	213, 216–218
Women (CEDAW), 19, 72, 193	see also Family Hope Program
Convention on the Rights of the	(PKH)
Child, 21	Dharma Wanita, 11, 265
corruption and political	digital activism, 2, 36-37, 41-50
appointments, 84	digital economy, 3, 145–166
COVID-19	digital literacy, 159–164, 165
arts sector impacts, 271	Digital Nation Roadmap 2021–2024,
care work burden, 110, 174–175	165
child marriage, 109, 225, 230	digital technology, 236, 263, 271
cinema, impacts on, 281	Dinata, Nia, 267
economic impacts, 115, 175, 280	diplomats, 70, 74, 80-83, 84
education challenges, 108	Directorate of Culture, 258
flexible working arrangements, 140	Disadvantaged Villages Infrastructure
health impacts, 113	Development Program, 102
human development setbacks, 95,	Djuwita, Ratna, 251
96, 107	domestic violence, 11, 22, 110, 114,
impact on women's lives, 110-111,	177, 285, 292
114, 119, 156, 174–175	domestic work, see care work
labour force participation, 110–111	domestic worker profession, 4,
social assistance programs, 213, 214	176–178, 179
socioeconomic impacts, 288, 292	dynasties, political, 75, 77
Criminal Code	, ,
public order, 63	E
regulating gender, 54, 62, 64, 66	e-commerce, 146, 150–151, 155
regulating sexuality, 22	economic activity: care work, 111–112
revisions, 194–196	171–179
criminal justice system reform,	economic growth, 94, 122, 127
185–204	economic policy, 114–117, 118
customary relations, 11	education
-	and GDP, 94
D	digital literacy, 164
Dana Abadi Kebudayaan arts fund,	early childhood, 139
258	endowment fund, 100
Dana Desa (Village Funds), 102, 214	gender gap, 70
see also Bantuan Langsung Tunai	government budget, 94, 96, 100
(BLT)	human capital development, 17,
Darmavati, I Gusti Ayu Bintang, 78	100–101, 104–106, 122, 123,
da'wa path, 41, 45, 49	125, 128–131
de Beauvoir, Simone, 274	learning indicators, 108–109
decentralisation	women, 28, 101, 104, 108, 151, 169
health services, 23–24	Egypt, gender justice, 35
'legal disorder', 61	elderly population, 28, 214–215
political authority, 9–10, 14, 22–23	electoral democracy, 12–14
Pointed dutility, 7 10, 11, 22 20	ciccioiai aciiiociacy, 12 11

electronics manufacture, 19 fertility rates, 23, 27-28, 99, 122, 125, el-Fadl, Khaled Abou, 35, 44 127–128, 151, 169 El Khalieqy, Abidah, 268 Festival Film Indonesia, 285 el-Saadawi, Nawal, 44 filmmaking, 6, 280-296 Emak Ingin Naik Haji (film), 285 fiscal policy, 114-117, 118 employment, see labour force social assistance programs, 216–217, participation Empowering Household Economy fisheries sector, 214 program, 102 Frankland, Emma, 248 Engineer, Asghar Ali, 44 fuel subsidies, 207 Ensler, Eve, 267 Futuwonder, 252–253 environmental waste, 250-251 ETALASE festival, 272, 275, 276 G executive government, see ministerial Gelar, Ambawani, 250 appointments; political gender, binary model, 56, 57, 63 representation gender complementarity, 39, 40, 42-43, 44, 48-49 F gender (defined), 20 Facebook, 146, 161, 163 Gender Development Index, 104 Fahmina (NGO), 40, 42, 47 gendered power, 10-11, 25 fakir miskin, 217, 218 Gender Empowerment Measure, 104 Family Card (Kartu Keluarga), 209 gender equality Family Development Index, 170–171 advocacy, 293 Family Hope Program (PKH), 102, arts sector, 246 205, 209–213, 215, 216, 218 care work, 4, 169-179 family ideology, 11, 25, 27, 57, 66 constraints, 95 Family Love Alliance Indonesia digital economy, 3, 145-166 (AILA), 201, 202–203, 268 economic indicators, 3, 122-141 Family Planning Program, 11, 23, 28, gender-just activists, 39, 40, 42-43, 98-99, 125 44, 46-49 Family Welfare Association (PKK), 11 human capital development, 3, Fauzi, Helmy, 80 94-95 Fauziyah, Ida, 79 policy and legislation, 185–204 female, concept of, 1, 10-11, 56 political representation, 15-17, female sex workers, 60 70 - 84feminism social assistance programs, 205–218 arts sector, 5-6, 247, 255-256, gender ideologies, 10-11, 25-27, 39, 263-277 49, 57, 216, 218, 246, 250, 265 decolonial thinking, 5-6, 273-277 cinematic representations, 6, Java-centric, 270, 273, 274 281-296 liberal feminism, 263, 266-270, 274 Gender Inequality Index, 70 neoliberal feminism, 269, 270, 277 gender justice, 34-50 gender-just *ulama*, 36–50 New Order era, 191, 264–266 post-Islamist feminism, 43 gender mainstreaming, 17, 73, 74, 95, reformasi era, 266-270 trans-archipelagic spaces, 270–277 gender nonconformity, 2, 54, 58-61,

63, 65

Western influence, 37–39, 42–43, 45,

202

gender norms, 124–125, 206, 208,	health sector
211–212	child stunting, 113–114
gender order, 15, 18	government budget, 94, 96, 99
gender, public, 54–55, 60–61, 64	health insurance, 99
regulation of, 55–58, 62–64, 66	human capital development, 98–99,
gender quotas, electoral system, 12–15	113–114
gender relations, 2	indicators, 103, 105
households, 20–22, 49, 208, 212–213, 282, 288–289	women's health services, 23–24, 27–28, 99, 103, 114, 190
gender wage gap, 20, 28, 111, 122,	Hebi, Martha, 275–276
125–126, 134–135	heterosexuality, 57, 66
General Elections Commission (KPU),	Hijab (film), 281, 283–284, 286, 287–288, 290
Gerwani, 191, 202, 249, 265, 277	hijrah movements, 2, 36–50, 272
gig economy, 151, 153–155	history through visual arts, 247–249
Gini ratio, 107	Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia, 23, 45
girls, see child marriage	hooks, bell, 274
Global Gender Gap Index, 71	housekeeping, see care work
GoBiz, 157	human capital development, 93–119,
Gojek, 151, 153	217, 218
Go-Mart, 153	human rights, 4, 185–204
Gombo, Yanto, 256	Husaini, Adian, 44
governance	, ,
public gender, 61–66	1
public order, 59–60	ihu/ihuiam (mathar/mathariam) 1 10
see also Suharto; Widodo, Joko (Jokowi)	<i>ibu</i> /ibuism (mother/motherism), 1, 10 49, 216, 218, 265, 266, 272, 289
gross domestic product (GDP), 93,	IDEAFEST, 269
94–95, 114, 116, 117, 127, 152	IKAISYO (Association of Artist Wives), 252
Guidance for Family Welfare (PKK),	Ikatan Wanita Pelukis Indonesia, 252
265	immunisation, 99
Gumay, Aditya, 286	independence, 93
Gus Dur (Abdurrahman Wahid), 36,	individualism, 267, 270
78, 79, 81	Indonesia Family Life Survey, 125
Н	Indonesian Council of Islamic Scholars (MUI), 267
Habibie, B.J., 9–10, 14, 22, 78, 79, 81	Indonesian Democratic Party of
Hadith, 42, 49	Struggle (PDI-P), 78
hair, cutting of, 57	Indonesian Demographic and Health
Halim, Evelyn, 245	Survey, 124
Hamid, Hildi, 80	Indonesian identity, see national
Handoyo, Venerdi, 253	identity
Harsono, FX, 245, 254	Indonesian Movement, 202
Hasanah, Ruhaeni Intan, 273	Indrawati, Sri Mulyani, 16, 78, 79
Hassan, Riffat, 44	industrial employment, 19–20
Hasyim, KH Wahid, 36	infant mortality, 103–104, 105
,,,,	inflation, 115, 116

Inkubator Inisiatif (IIN), 253–254	jobseeking, 160
Instagram, 37, 41–50, 146, 269	judges, women, 36
Institute for the Study of Islamic	, ,
Thought and Civilization, 44–45	K
insurance	Kalla, Jusuf, 289
health, 99	Kalyanamitra, 264
social, 213, 215	Kamila, Raisa, 273
international labour migration, 17–19,	
24–25, 291	KAPAL Perempuan, 214 Karim, Niniek L., 267
internet	Kartini, 17, 28–29
access, 148-149, 158-159	Katmo, Els Tieneke Rieke, 272, 276,
arts sector, 271	277
barriers for women, 157–164,	Katoppo, Marianne, 274
165–166	Khomeini, Ayatollah, 39
flexible working arrangements,	Kilwouw, Astuti N., 273
156–157	knowledge production, 274–277
gig economy, 151, 153–155	Knowledge Sector Initiative
infrastructure, 147–149	Indonesia, 108
job creation, 150–151	Koalisi Seni, 246, 254
labour market opportunities,	Kodir, Faqihuddin Abdul, 36
145–147, 165–166	kodrat, 1, 39, 49, 246, 257, 294
women users, 110, 145-146, 162-163	Koesasi, Victoria, 245, 255
see also social media	Komnas Perempuan, see National
Inter-Parliamentary Union, 14	Commission on Violence against
Inul (singer), 267	Women (Komnas Perempuan)
Iranian Revolution, 35	Kredit Usaha Rakyat (People's
Irawan, Ria, 267	Business Credit) program, 103
Iru, Salomi Rambu, 275, 276	Kun Fayakuun (film), 285
Islam and Islamic community	KUPI networks, 39–42, 46
cinematic representation, 285	see also Congress of Women
in civil society, 280	Religious Scholars (KUPI)
conservatism, 2, 25–27, 34–50, 268,	KUSUKA social assistance program,
288	214
feminism, 263	
moderate, 34–50	L
norms and morality, 54	-
post-Islamist feminism, 43	labour force participation
religious advocacy, 196, 198, 202,	agriculture sector, 18, 133, 134–135
203	automation, 146 constraints for women, 110–112,
Sexual Crime Law, 191	133–138
wasatiyya Islam, 34	COVID-19 impacts, 110–111
Islamic revival, 39	
	digital economy, 3, 145–166 domestic workers, 4, 176–178, 179
J	economic indicators, 122
Jahja, Kartika, 268	flexible working arrangements, 140
Jakarta, public transport, 138	153, 156–157
JKN (National Health Insurance), 99	formal sector, 132, 134

gender gap, 70, 95 high-end services sector, 133,	Law 23/2004 on the Elimination of Domestic Violence, 22, 190,
134–135	192, 198, 246
industrial employment, 19–20	Law 2/2008 on Political Parties, 73
informal sector, 28, 125, 134,	Law 8/2008 on General Elections, 73
152–153, 155, 212, 213–215	Law 10/2008 on General Elections,
international labour migration,	12
17–19, 24–25, 291	Law 11/2008 on Electronic
internet use, 162–163	Information and Transactions,
low-end services, 134–135	188, 200
manufacturing sector, 122, 127, 133, 134–135	Law 40/2008 on the Elimination of Racial and Ethnic
mining sector, 19–20	Discrimination, 199
part-time work, 140	Law 44/2008 on Pornography, 4, 63,
public service, 17, 36, 70–84, 112	188, 199–200, 202, 263, 267, 277
self-employed, 125, 132, 134	Law on the Protection of Women
visual arts representations, 250	and Gender-Based Violence
women, 3, 93, 123–126, 129–131,	(2009), 246
151–153, 165–166	Law 13/2011 on Handling the
see also care work; gender wage gap;	Destitute, 217
small businesses	Law 8/2012 on General Elections, 73
Lady Fast festival, 255	Law on Child Protection (2014), 195
Laki-laki Peduli (MenCare+), 286–287,	Law on Advancement of Culture
291, 293	(2017), 258
land ownership, 18	Law 12/2022 on Sexual Crime, 22,
La Veggie, Syska, 250	185–204, 225, 276, 277
laws, see legislation	Law 23/2004 on the Elimination of
Layan, Septina, 276–277	Domestic Violence, 4
legislation	Mother and Child Welfare Bill, 193
Anti Trafficking Law (2007), 192	omnibus law (Cipta Kerja), 28, 119
discriminatory by-laws, 200-202	Presidential Decree 88/2021 on
Family Resilience Bill, 193	a National Strategy for the
Gender Equality and Equity Bill,	Elderly, 215
288	Presidential Instruction 9/2000 on
gender regulation, 61–64	Gender Mainstreaming in
Law on Health, 194	National Development, 73, 95
Law 1/1974 on Marriage, 5, 11,	Presidential Instruction on
21–22, 186, 216, 224–225	Disadvantaged Villages
Law on Decentralisation (1999), 62	(1993), 102
Law on Human Rights (1999), 199	regional currency, 23
Law 21/2000 on People Trafficking,	regulating sexual violence, 197
188	see also Criminal Code; Penal Code
Law 26/2000 on the Human Rights	1946
Court, 186, 198	Leksono, Karlina, 266
Law 12/2003 on General Elections,	lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender,
12,73	queer and intersex (LGBTQI)
Law 13/2003 on Manpower, 20	communities, 2, 25, 53, 54, 65–66, 248, 255–256

liberal feminism, 263, 266–270, 274 progressive thinkers, 35-36 life expectancy, 103, 105 social assistance programs, 208, 209 literary awards, 270 stay-at-home fathers, 293-294 'traditional roles', 1, 10-11, 211, 280, Lorde, Audre, 274 ludruk theatre troupes, 57 281-282, 285, 294-295 Lutfi, Muhammad, 80 MenCare+, 286–287, 291, 293 Mengejar Matahari (film), 285 menstrual leave, 20 M Merdeka Belajar program, 100 macroeconomic policies, 114-117, 118 Mernissi, Fatima, 44, 47, 48 magazines, lifestyle, 284-285, 291, 294 micro businesses, see MSMEs (micro, Magdalene.co, 269 small and medium enterprises) Maharani, Puan, 75, 78 middle classes, 39, 63, 93, 127, Malay, Rully, 272 281-282, 290-295 male/masculinity, concept of, 1, 10–11, migrant workers, 17-19, 24-25, 291 minimum wages, 126 cinematic representation, 280-296 mining sector, 19–20 manufacturing sector, 122, 127, 133, ministerial appointments, 2-3, 16-17, 134-135 70, 73-74, 77-79, 83-84, 263-264 Marcoes, Lies, 47 Ministry of Culture and Education, Mardiasih, Kalis, 269 258 Mardzoeki, Faiza, 265 Ministry of Women's Empowerment, marriage eligibility for social assistance, 209 mobile broadband, 147-149 forced marriage, 186, 195 mobile phone ownership, 158-159, minimum age, 21, 22, 25–26, 122, 160 141, 224–225 Moelyono, 251 regulation of, 20-22 Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, 274 trending younger, 123, 135-137, MokaPOS, 157 140 - 141molestation, 195 see also child marriage morality, regulation of, 60-61 marriage certificates, 209, 236, 238 Mothahari, Mortaza, 35 marriage law, see under legislation movies and gender politics, 6, 280-296 Marsudi, Retno, 16 MSMEs (micro, small and medium Maryana, Lena Mukti, 80 enterprises), 102, 110, 111, 146, Massive Agriculture Credit Program 156–157, 162–163, 213 (BIMAS/INMAS), 102 Mubadalah.id, 269 maternal mortality, 24, 28, 99, 114 Muhammad, Hussein, 36 maternity leave, 20 Muhammadiyah, 26, 37, 268 Mecca, Zaskia A., 287-288 Mukmin, Patriot, 245 Mulia, Musdah, 47, 48, 268 arts sector, 246, 270 Munir, Lily Zakiyah, 268 child marriage, 223, 227 Murniasih, IGAK, 257 cinematic representation, 280-296 music and activism, 268, 276 domestic work, 164, 284, 290-291

flexible working arrangements, 157 household heads, 21–22, 27 international labour migration, 18

family ideology, 11, 25, 27, 57, 66

N	family ideology, 11, 25, 27, 57, 66
Nahdlatul Ulama, 26, 37, 268	feminism, 264–266
National Awakening Party (PKB), 78	gender ideology, 1, 10–11, 25, 39, 49
National Civil Service Agency (BKN),	57, 63, 246, 265, 294
17	warias, recognition of, 54, 58–61, 66
National Commission on Violence	see also Suharto
against Women (Komnas	Noer, Arifin C., 285
Perempuan), 4, 10, 22, 185, 190,	Noer, Gina S., 281, 284, 288–289
192, 264, 266, 292	Noer, Jajang C., 267
National Democratic Party (NasDem),	Novaris, Guntur, 285
78	Noviana, Wilasih, 266
National Economic Recovery Program	Nuansa Indonesia, 252
(PEN), 115	nuclear family, 57, 66
National Family Planning	Nugros, Fajar, 281, 287
Coordination Board (BKKBN),	Nurbaya, Siti, 79
23, 98	nusantara, 274
National Health Insurance (JKN), 99	
national identity	0
boundaries, 2, 54, 57, 66	older population, 28, 214–215
Islamic interpretation, 26, 54, 202,	oligarchic politics, 75
203	omnibus law (Cipta Kerja), 28, 119
public gender focus, 55, 57, 63	Onduko, Ruth, 252
sex binary model, 56	online merchants, 155
sexual minorities, 53	_
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203	P
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178,	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271,
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102 National Socioeconomic Survey	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280 Penal Code 1946, 186, 189, 191,
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas), 124, 126	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280 Penal Code 1946, 186, 189, 191, 194–196, 201
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas), 124, 126 National Strategy on the Prevention of	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280 Penal Code 1946, 186, 189, 191, 194–196, 201 Penal Code 2023, 201
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas), 124, 126 National Strategy on the Prevention of Child Marriage, 22	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280 Penal Code 1946, 186, 189, 191, 194–196, 201 Penal Code 2023, 201 Pengkhianatan G-30S/PKI (film), 285
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas), 124, 126 National Strategy on the Prevention of Child Marriage, 22 neoliberal feminism, 269, 270, 277	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280 Penal Code 1946, 186, 189, 191, 194–196, 201 Penal Code 2023, 201 Pengkhianatan G-30S/PKI (film), 285 Perempuan Berkalung Sorban (film), 287
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas), 124, 126 National Strategy on the Prevention of Child Marriage, 22	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280 Penal Code 1946, 186, 189, 191, 194–196, 201 Penal Code 2023, 201 Pengkhianatan G-30S/PKI (film), 285 Perempuan Berkalung Sorban (film), 287 Perempuan Pengkaji Seni, 245, 250,
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas), 124, 126 National Strategy on the Prevention of Child Marriage, 22 neoliberal feminism, 269, 270, 277 New Men's Alliance (ALB), 253, 291,	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280 Penal Code 1946, 186, 189, 191, 194–196, 201 Penal Code 2023, 201 Pengkhianatan G-30S/PKI (film), 285 Perempuan Berkalung Sorban (film), 287 Perempuan Pengkaji Seni, 245, 250, 254–255
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas), 124, 126 National Strategy on the Prevention of Child Marriage, 22 neoliberal feminism, 269, 270, 277 New Men's Alliance (ALB), 253, 291, 293	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280 Penal Code 1946, 186, 189, 191, 194–196, 201 Penal Code 2023, 201 Pengkhianatan G-30S/PKI (film), 285 Perempuan Berkalung Sorban (film), 287 Perempuan Pengkaji Seni, 245, 250, 254–255 Peretas (Women across Borders),
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas), 124, 126 National Strategy on the Prevention of Child Marriage, 22 neoliberal feminism, 269, 270, 277 New Men's Alliance (ALB), 253, 291, 293 New Order	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280 Penal Code 1946, 186, 189, 191, 194–196, 201 Penal Code 2023, 201 Pengkhianatan G-30S/PKI (film), 285 Perempuan Berkalung Sorban (film), 287 Perempuan Pengkaji Seni, 245, 250, 254–255 Peretas (Women across Borders), 253–254, 271, 272
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102 National Social Security System, 102 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas), 124, 126 National Strategy on the Prevention of Child Marriage, 22 neoliberal feminism, 269, 270, 277 New Men's Alliance (ALB), 253, 291, 293 New Order ambassadors, 74, 80	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280 Penal Code 1946, 186, 189, 191, 194–196, 201 Penal Code 2023, 201 Pengkhianatan G-30S/PKI (film), 285 Perempuan Berkalung Sorban (film), 287 Perempuan Pengkaji Seni, 245, 250, 254–255 Peretas (Women across Borders), 253–254, 271, 272 performance art, 245, 255
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas), 124, 126 National Strategy on the Prevention of Child Marriage, 22 neoliberal feminism, 269, 270, 277 New Men's Alliance (ALB), 253, 291, 293 New Order ambassadors, 74, 80 anti-communism, 191, 202, 249 arts sector, 247 cinema, 285	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280 Penal Code 1946, 186, 189, 191, 194–196, 201 Penal Code 2023, 201 Pengkhianatan G-30S/PKI (film), 285 Perempuan Berkalung Sorban (film), 287 Perempuan Pengkaji Seni, 245, 250, 254–255 Peretas (Women across Borders), 253–254, 271, 272 performance art, 245, 255 Perkawanan Perempuan Menulis
sexual minorities, 53 nationalists, 196, 198, 203 National Labour Force Survey (Sakernas), 123, 126 National Medium Term Development Plan 1999–2004, 73 National Medium Term Development Plan 2020–2024, 73, 95, 170, 178, 222 National Social Security System, 102 National Socioeconomic Survey (Susenas), 124, 126 National Strategy on the Prevention of Child Marriage, 22 neoliberal feminism, 269, 270, 277 New Men's Alliance (ALB), 253, 291, 293 New Order ambassadors, 74, 80 anti-communism, 191, 202, 249 arts sector, 247	Pahlavi, Muhammad Reza Shah, 35 Pangestu, Mari Elka, 78 Papua, conflict in, 256 Parawansa, Khofifah Indar, 26, 73, 79 parliamentary elections, 12–14, 75 see also political representation patriarchy, 39–40, 42, 49, 254, 270–271, 280 Penal Code 1946, 186, 189, 191, 194–196, 201 Penal Code 2023, 201 Pengkhianatan G-30S/PKI (film), 285 Perempuan Berkalung Sorban (film), 287 Perempuan Pengkaji Seni, 245, 250, 254–255 Peretas (Women across Borders), 253–254, 271, 272 performance art, 245, 255

PKH (Family Hope Program), 102, 205, 209–213, 215, 216, 218	Raskin (Rice for the Poor), 207, 208, 218
pluralism movement, 273	Ratu, Kahi Ata, 275
policies/policymaking	reformasi
human rights, 203–204	ambassadors, 80
social assistance programs, 205–218	arts sector, 247
political representation, 2–3, 12–17, 27,	economic growth, 127
70–84, 112	establishment, 198
polygamy, 199, 267	gender equality legislation, 185–204
polygyny, 21–22, 25–26	gender politics, 25
population ageing, 28, 214–215	gender regulation, 62–64, 66
population growth rates, 99	liberal feminism, 266–270
post-Islamist feminism, 43	ministerial appointments, 77
posyandu, 99	religious conservatism, 36
poverty	warias, repression of, 54, 62–63, 64,
child marriage, 234	65–66
COVID-19, 292	Regional Representative Council
elderly population, 214	(DPD), 13
social assistance programs, 102, 107,	R.F., Maria Margareth, 273
207–213, 217	Rice for the Poor (Raskin), 207, 208,
power, gendered, 10–11, 25	218
pregnancy, teenage, 231–235, 237	ride-hailing industry, 151, 153, 156
Productive Assistance (Bantuan	Rifka Annisa (NGO), 268
Produktif), 213	Rizqiana, Atinna, 250
Prosperous Justice Party (PKS), 22, 41,	Roosvita, Karina, 253
43, 202	Rotary (performance art), 245, 250
Puan Seni (Association of Women Art	RUAS (Women's History and Archive
Workers), 271	Collective), 254
public morality, 60–61	Rumkabu, Elvira, 272
public order, 54, 59–64	rural areas
public service representation, 17, 36,	child marriage, 223
70–84, 112	education, 128, 130
public transport, 138–139	employment, 18, 130–131, 134
	internet infrastructure, 147–149
Pudjiastuti, Susi, 16–17, 269	
puskesmas, 99	national indicators, 24
0	S
Q	
quotas, electoral system, 12–15, 27, 73	Sadikin, Ali, 58–59
Qur'an, 42, 48, 49, 199	Sadli, Saparinah, 264–265, 277
	Safitri, Nabila Warda, 250
R	Salafi movement, 38, 45
Rachman, Affandi Abdul, 287	Sardi, Lukman, 286–287, 293
Rahima (NGO), 40, 41–42, 44, 268	Sasmita, Citra, 248, 252
Rahmana, Asa, 251	sastrawangi ('fragrant literature'), 199,
Rahman, Fazlur, 35, 44	263, 268
Ramadhanita, Shalihah, 250	Sastrawan, Savitri, 252
rape, 186, 194–196, 198	School Mover Program, 108
1470, 100, 171 170, 170	~

0.1 1.0 .: 1.4 : . (DOO)	C ' ' ' ' ' D ' ' '
Schools Operational Assistance (BOS),	Sopariyanti, Pera, 41
100, 108	Sophiaan, Sophan, 285
science and art, 251	Soroush, Abdulkarim, 35
Seeto, Aaron, 245	Sridiniari, Putu, 252
Sekolah Pemikiran Perempuan	start-up companies, 150–151
(School of Women's Thought),	'state ibuism', see ibu/ibuism (mother,
264, 271, 272–273, 274–276	motherism)
Selly, 157	stunting, children, 113–114
Sembilan Naga (film), 285	Suara Ibu Peduli (The Voice of
Sesal (film), 285	Concerned Mothers), 9, 266
sexuality	Subianto, Prabowo, 27
criminalisation, 194	Suharto
plurality, 55–56	ambassadors, 74, 80
sexual minorities, see lesbian, gay,	education policy, 17
bisexual, transgender, queer and	gender ideology, 39, 265
intersex (LGBTQI) communities	protests against, 266
sexual relations outside marriage, 196,	public order, 60
201	regime end, 9, 22, 202
sexual violence, 186–204, 256, 265, 271,	women politicians, 12
276	see also New Order
victims' services, 189-190, 192, 193	Sukarnoputri, Megawati, 16, 71, 73,
sex workers, 60	78, 79, 81
Shabestari, Mohammad Mojtahed, 35	Sung, Yaya, 249
Shahrour, Muhammad, 35	Suryodarmo, Melati, 257
shamen, 55–56	Sustainable Development Goals, 28,
sharia law, 23, 25, 199	172, 222
Shari'ati, Ali, 35	Swastika, Alia, 256
Siahaan, Semsar, 251	Syansuri, KH Bisri, 36
Siauw, Felix, 45	
Situmorang, Lashita, 253	Т
small businesses, 102, 110, 111, 146,	Tablighi Jama'at, 45
156–157, 162–163, 213	Tamarra, 248, 256
see also labour force participation	Tandio, Tom, 245
Smart Indonesia Program (PIP), 100	
Smith, Linda Tuhiwai, 274, 276, 277	Tanzimat, 35 Tarbiyah, 41
social assistance, 4-5, 96, 102-103, 107,	Taring Padi collective, 251
205–218	tawhīd (the Oneness of God), 46–48
social insurance, 213, 215	tax ratio, 217
social media, 146, 161, 162–163, 236,	teacher certification, 108
263, 268–269, 271	
gender activism, 36–37, 41–50	technology and art, 251
see also internet	Telkomsel, 147–148 Tibet art projects 251–252
social protection, see social assistance	Tibet, art projects, 251–252
social reproduction, 21–22	Tokopedia, 150–151
Soedjarwo, Rudi, 285	traffic jams, 133–134
Soemarno, Rini, 78	transgender community, 2, 25, 53–67, 248
Solikhah, Amanatia Junda, 273	transport infrastructure, 138–139
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	uanapon minasu ucture, 150-157

134-135

78, 79, 81

Wahid, Abdurrahman (Gus Dur), 36,

transpuan community, 53 Wahono, Wiyu, 245 see also waria community Wanimbo, Rode, 272, 273 Trimurti, S.K., 20 waria community, 53-67 Turkey, gender justice, 35 wasatiyya Islam, 34 Western values, influence of, 37-39, 42-43, 45, 202 u WhatsApp, 146, 157, 163, 271 Uber drivers, 153, 156 see also internet; social media Udeido art collective, 256 White Ribbon, 290 Ultra Micro Credit, 102 Widodo, Joko (Jokowi) Umar, Nasaruddin, 36 ambassadors, 80, 81, 84 Unified Database for Social Protection child marriage reform, 222 Program, 102 digital/creative economy, 5, 269 United Nations, 12 gender activist supporters, 27 United Nations Convention on the poverty alleviation, 102 Rights of the Child, 222 women ministers, 16-17, 77, 78, 79, United Nations Sustainable 84, 263–264 Development Goals, 28, 172, 222 Wikimedia Indonesia, 253 unpaid care work, see care work women urban areas ambassadors, 2-3, 70, 74, 80-83, 84 child marriage, 223-224 bodily autonomy, 268 education, 128-129 cabinet ministers, 70, 73-74, 77-79, employment, 18, 129-131, 134 gig economy, 154 COVID-19 impacts, 110-111, 114, internet infrastructure, 147–149 119, 156, 174–175 transport infrastructure, 138–139 decentralisation and repression, 55 Utami, Ayu, 266, 267, 268 digital economy, 3, 153-166 domestic worker profession, 4, V 176-178, 179 Vagina Monologues (play), 267 dynastic politicians, 75, 77 veil, wearing of, 200-202 education, 28, 101, 104, 108, 151, 169 Village Funds Direct Cash Assistance elderly women, 28, 214–215 program (BLT Dana Desa), 214 executive government, 16-17, Village Potential Survey (Podes), 124 263-264 Vision of Indonesia Maju 2045, 93 family development sessions, 211, visual arts, 5, 245-258 212 Voices of Concerned Mothers Milk fisherwomen, 214 Demonstration, 9 health services, 23-24, 27-28, 99, 103, 114, 190 W human rights, 4, 185-204 wadam, 53, 59 income contribution, 170 see also waria community international labour migration, Wadud, Amina, 44, 47, 48 17–19, 24–25 internet use, 110, 145-146 wage gap, 20, 28, 111, 122, 125-126,

land ownership, 18

mining sector, 19–20

leadership, 24

political representation, 2–3, 12–17, 27, 70-84, 112 public service representation, 17, 36, 112 regulatory restrictions, 20-22, 61, 62, 66 social assistance, 4-5, 102-103, 205 - 218'traditional roles', 1, 10-11, 46, 49, 111–112, 125, 133, 157, 169, 210–212, 216, 246, 250, 265, 281-282, 285, 286, 294, see also care work unpaid care work, see care work see also arts sector; labour force participation; small businesses Women's March, 269, 277 Women's Studies Department, University of Indonesia, 265 women writers, 263, 266, 268, 273, 275-276 workforce participation, see labour force participation World Values Survey, 124–125 writers festivals, 273 Wulia, Tintin, 257 W, You Winda Dona, 250

X

XXLab, 250-251

Υ

Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan (Women's Journal), 266 Yogya Biennale, 255–256 Yok, Oei Sian, 247 YouTube, 44, 157, 271 see also internet; social media Yudhoyono, Susilo Bambang, 16, 78, 79, 80, 81

Z

zakat, 217 Zarkasyi, Hamid Fahmy, 44, 45 Zayd, Nasr Hamid Abu, 35