

**WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN WEST JAVA IN THE
REFORMATION ERA**
**Study on Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia, Komunitas Rumpun Indonesia and
Samahita**

Antik Bintari¹
Ida Widianingsih²
Mudiyati Rahmatunnisa³
Helen McLaren⁴

¹Universitas Padjadjaran
Jl. Raya Bandung – Sumedang KM.21 Jatinangor, Sumedang, 45363, Jawa Barat, Indonesia

²Flinders University
Bedford Park, SA 5042, Australia

Correspondence Email: a.bintari@unpad.ac.id

Submitted: 20 March 2023, Reviewed: 21 December 2023, Published: 30 December 2023

ABSTRACT

The Indonesian women's movement was involved and became a part of the reform movement in 1998. This research aims to provide a comprehensive picture of the women's movement in West Java based on political opportunities, mobilisation structures, and framing of issues. The researcher used qualitative methods based on the degree of social experience-bound problems. The data collection techniques used were documentation studies and focus group discussions with activists representing three women's organisations in West Java. The findings demonstrated that the political opportunity structure of the Reformation era offered a chance to develop women's potential in West Java to create collective actions that varied in form, purpose, and movement strategy. The three women's organizations framed their activities differently and impacted the targets. Similarly, the resource mobilization process has a variety of strategies, and some of them are similar, such as the existence of critical dialogue spaces for women inside and outside the organization.

Keywords: women's movement; political opportunities; framing process; mobilising structures

BACKGROUND

The term 'Women's movement' is widely employed by journalists, activists, politicians, scholars, and citizens, and most people generally understand its concept. Despite the extensive attention the term has received since the 1970s, the social science field is still in the early stages of conceptualization (Beckwith 2005a; Bereni & Revillard 2018). The absence of a consensus regarding the conceptual use of 'women's movement' similarly applies to the related concept of 'feminist movement/feminism,' albeit with a

contentious twist. While the 'women's movement' carries a benign or non-threatening connotation, 'feminism' is considerably charged with controversy. Some are even hesitant to define feminism, fearing accusations of ethnocentrism or hegemony in their efforts, especially when examining feminist issues within various national and cultural contexts (Mazur & McBride, 2010; Edmonds-Cady, 2011)

Most analysts of the women's movement believe that it differs from other movements in which women may also participate in that the category of women is

Vol.9, No.2, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i2.45962
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

defined as a distinct constituency instead of, within, or against their other potentially competing allegiances and identities' (Ferree & Mueller, 2007), is central to its political identity. In numerous historical and cultural contexts, women have organized themselves as women (based on typically female roles as mothers, daughters, sisters, or wives) to pursue a wide range of goals. These objectives include the abolition of slavery, the fight against issues such as alcoholism, prostitution, and poverty, the promotion of peace or nationalism, the protection of nature, or improvements in women's status. The very definition of the women category is, of course, a contentious issue within these movements, which maintain varied and often conflicting relations with this identity referent (Timmerman, C., 2000; Weldon, 2006; Hurwitz and Taylor, 2012).

The category of feminism is typically analytically distinguished from the women's movement (Bereni & Revillard, 2019). Wieringa (1999) argues that the terminology of the women's movement remains to be debated because it has never been spoken in one language. A broad definition is more appropriate to capture its heterogeneity, plurality, and complexity. The women's movement can be conceived as the full spectrum of conscious and unconscious individual or collective actions, activities, groups, or organizations concerned with reducing various aspects of gender subordination, seen as intertwined with other oppressions such as those based on class, race, ethnicity, age, and sexual preferences. However, Wieringa attempts to connect the women's movement to existing social movement theory.

In this study, the women's movement refers to the collective articulation of Indonesian women's desires organized by women who explicitly make demands in the public sphere with gender identity as women. Thus, the definition of the women's movement encompasses two elements: collective action by women organized as women and gender identity claims. The women's movement in West Java has not been a primary focus compared to other masculine heroic stories. The women's movement in West Java is a part of the history of the women's movement in Indonesia. Although several female figures in West Java, such as Dewi Sartika, Raden Ayu Lasminingrat, and Emma Poeradiredja, are documented in the historical records of women's struggles in the colonial period, it is challenging to find movements in the form of collective actions carried out by women in West Java during that period, including the Old Order and New Order eras. Thus, it is difficult to find literature, both in the form of books and journals, that can describe the movements or collective actions undertaken by women in West Java based on the periodization of political regimes in Indonesia, including the political dynamics influencing public policy and ideology-based struggle strategies during the Reformation era.

The research concerning mapping women's movements holds paramount significance because social movements, particularly those led by women, play an indispensable role in societal transformation. These movements serve as catalysts for change and influential agents within the broader societal context. The primary objective of this study is to delineate

Vol.9, No.2, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i2.45962
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

and analyze the landscape of women's movements in West Java, with a specific focus on their engagement in advocacy and facilitation processes through collective actions. This research aims to map and thoroughly elucidate the contours of women's movements in the West Java region. Several questions guide this research: (i) How is the landscape of the women's movement in West Java shaped by political opportunities? (ii) What framing processes are at play?; (iii) How are resource mobilization efforts constructed? This research is underpinned by the theoretical framework of social movement theory, as articulated by prominent scholars such as Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald (McAdam et al., 2012). This theoretical framework serves as a foundational basis for the comprehensive analysis of women's movements in West Java, shedding light on their historical evolution, key actors, the issues they champion, and the advocacy strategies employed within each distinct social movement.

METHOD

This research employs a qualitative approach to gain a deeper understanding of the issues within the women's movement in West Java. According to Strauss and Corbin, qualitative research is a methodology that generates insights that

Referring to the factors contributing to the emergence and development of a social movement, the concept of the Political Opportunity Structure posits that the political conditions within a given context significantly influence the trajectory

cannot be derived through statistical procedures or other quantification methods. Qualitative research typically involves individuals referred to as "resource persons" who serve as research subjects. Researchers delve deeply into specific matters when conducting qualitative research.

Qualitative data collection methods typically include in-depth interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), literature reviews, and observations (Sekaran & Bougie, 2016). FGDs were facilitated by the researcher, beginning with a set of fundamental questions and evolving over three hours. The entire process was meticulously recorded and documented, including photographs. The FGD convened seven resource persons in December 2019, which took place on campus. These resource persons represented three women's organizations: Ruang Media Perempuan (Rumpun) Indonesia, Koalisi Perempuan Indonesia (KPI), and Samahita Bandung. All three organizations have been active since the Reformation Era in 1998 and function independently. Given the researcher's frequent involvement in various gender and feminism studies, subjective interpretations of the data collected are possible. To address this, the researcher ensured the validity of the data sources by conducting interviews and engaging in discussions to reaffirm critical statements.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

of a social movement. The more open the political climate, the greater the opportunities for the emergence and growth of a social movement; conversely, a closed political climate restricts the opportunities for the emergence and development of such

Vol.9, No.2, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i2.45962
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

movements. A democratic political system, in particular, provides ample room for public engagement and participation in influencing various processes related to public policies. This system affords substantial public involvement in shaping public policy decisions.

From its inception, the discourse of the women's movement aimed to elevate the status of women, rooted in the assumption that the role of women in community life and the realm of public policy has evolved, especially in Indonesia. This evolution has created spaces that promote equality for women, both individually and as members of society. Women's organizations within the Indonesian women's movement have significantly advocated for women's rights and interests. These organizations have the potential to influence policies that can transform women's lives, granting them equal status with men as citizens.

The reform movement in 1998 provided an opportunity for the democratization process in Indonesia. Following the collapse of the New Order regime, the political landscape in Indonesia underwent a transformation that opened up the existing political structures and systems. Like other social movements, the women's movement leveraged political opportunities within the context of democracy to advance its cause. During the reform era, women enjoyed opportunities to engage in public activities in various ways without fearing state repression. This effort was facilitated by structural conditions that allowed the movement to flourish, with women activists beginning to disseminate their ideas. These favourable conditions are exemplified in the presence of the three women's organizations

under study. The political environment that the reform movement helped to shape benefited all three. As articulated by a resource person from the West Java branch of KPI:

'...KPI is an independent women's mass movement organization, established in 1998 after the reformation, but in West Java, it was established in 2003. There are two focuses of activities, namely organizational strengthening and public policy reform. The activities are based on interest groups; However, at the national level, there are 18 interest groups, in West Java there are only eight interest groups, such as Women Housewives, Elderly Women, PPM (Youth, Students, Students), Informal Sector Women, Professional Women, Women Farmers, Women Fishermen, Elderly Women, Women Migrant Workers... Why should it be based on the division of interest groups, because we see that each interest group has different problems...'

Another resource person representing Rumpun Indonesia revealed:

"Rumpun Indonesia came into existence when there was a movement to save KPK ... the issue was because I was at Indonesia Corruption Watch (ICW) ... the previous movements were very masculine, the individuals who did it were always the same, and did not involve the participation of women... Finally, a Women Against Corruption group made "nine women's movements." ... then colleagues in Bandung who had the same concern met in 2014, and we continued to make follow-up activities..."

Similarly, the Samahita Community, established in 2015, represents a form of collective action that thrives in the conditions of opportunity and freedom of expression within the context of democracy, particularly after 1998. Samahita drew inspiration from the global movement known as One Billion Rising in 2012. This illustrates that, in the post-reform era,

Vol.9, No.2, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i2.45962
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

various global movements find it easier to be adopted and realized in Indonesia. In this context, political opportunity is understood as a change in access to power or a shift in the composition of authorities, enabling numerous interest groups to access the system. During the reform era, issues related to gender-based violence, which were once considered taboo and challenging to address during the New Order, could be addressed through various strategies. Samahita is one of the movements actively advocating for the elimination of gender-based violence in West Java.

Collective action frames also serve this interpretive function by simplifying and condensing aspects of the "world out here." However, they do so in ways that are "intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, garner bystander support, and demobilize antagonists." Thus, collective action frames represent action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimize the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization (SMO) (Snow & Benford, 2000). Framing is pivotal in determining whether individuals align with the party that advocates for specific issues and interests, ultimately participating in collective action. Rumpun Indonesia, KPI, and Samahita share similarities in framing collective actions. This similarity arises because, in general, the women's movement, as it transforms, employs what Benford and Snow (2000) refer to as the frame bridging and extension strategy. Rumpun Indonesia merged its action frames, transitioning from an initial focus on family-based anti-corruption women's issues to encompass

broader themes such as equality, integrity, diversity, and tolerance.

'...when it was yesterday because of the DKI election and the presidential election, we saw that there were human values that were missing such as justice and respect for others ...we campaigned about diversity and how women responded to an issue yesterday about anti-corruption ... Regarding diversity, we show that it is women who transmit noble values, always campaign with art ... making videos of mothers that illustrate the role of mothers in transmitting integrity and anti-corruption values, mothers with diversity values and mothers with cultural values-participatory activities/must involve the public and families ..."

Rumpun Indonesia engages in frame bridging and frame extension activities by broadening the scope of its frame to attract potential individuals and organizations. The organization targets middle-class and educated groups striving for their needs but has never been part of any organization. Therefore, Rumpun Indonesia operates as an open organization, not as a rigid entity but as a movement that offers opportunities to individuals and groups alike.

As researchers, we participated in one of the discussions organized by Rumpun with the theme 'Women's Perspective and Tafsir Jilbab,' in response to the mandatory use of hijab in public schools, offices, and institutions. The speakers included social philosophy lecturers in Bandung, women activists, writers, and other speakers with backgrounds as keen observers. In each of its activities, Rumpun Indonesia collaborates with other communities or organizations, addressing issues of tolerance and diversity. In 2019, Rumpun Indonesia, in collaboration with the Indonesia.id community, initiated a

campaign to celebrate diversity under the platform or campaign title "Seberapa Indonesia nya Kamu?" The aim was to invite everyone to dance and celebrate diversity through folk dance/flash mob performances. The choice of dance as a cultural strategy is rooted in local wisdom values, promoting the preservation of traditions and raising awareness of the importance of embracing diversity as part of Indonesia's identity.

In contrast to Rumpun, KPI employs a more structured approach to

framing the bridging and extending strategy. KPI's activities are closely aligned with the interest groups in the organization's work program. One of KPI West Java's primary focuses is the issue of preventing child marriage in West Java. Structurally, KPI has both executive and legislative bodies within its organization at the village level. KPI maintains a relatively more formal and stable structure, as illustrated in the table below:

Table 1. KPI Organization Structure

Executive	Legislative
Women's Center	Council of centers
Branches Secretary	Council of Interest Groups
Regional Secretary	Presidium of the region

Source: FGD (2019)

Meanwhile, Samahita, one of the collective actions based on youth groups, has carried out framing as a group that cares about issues of sexual harassment and violence. Samahita is recognized by other groups known among activists and bureaucracy, especially in victim assistance advocacy.

".... why we founded Samahita, many people poured out their hearts to us; as a survivor or once a victim, I felt that it was difficult to find a place to tell stories that did not judge or judge victims when seeking help... The focus of our work is twofold, first in educational campaigns on issues of injustice and gender-based violence and second in assistance focusing on issues of sexual violence and violence in dating... We also have a regular evening dialogue event ... the place moves, and usually, we are held in cafes... This is also one of the ways to attract victims who have been worried or afraid to speak up."

Furthermore, Samahita is strategically oriented towards a multifaceted approach encompassing campaigning, educational initiatives, and advocacy efforts. Among its array of activities, noteworthy initiatives include the Gender Class, "Dialog Sore" (Afternoon Discussion), the Samahita Goes to School program, and the annual organization of the One Billion Rising campaign. Samahita actively conducts gender classes as part of its educational endeavours. These classes cover a diverse range of topics, including Sex and Gender, SOGIESC (Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, Expression, and Sex Characteristics), Patriarchal Systems, Gender-based Violence, the ramifications of violence within individual spheres, the societal and cultural implications of such violence, and illustrative case studies. Eminent speakers, drawn from both

Vol.9, No.2, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i2.45962
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

academic circles and activist communities, contribute their expertise to these sessions. Notably, these gender classes also serve as a source of financial support for the organization, thus reinforcing its sustainability and capacity to further its mission, focusing on campaigning, education, and advocacy. Some of its activities are Gender Class, "Dialog Sore" (afternoon discussion), Samahita Goes to School, and organizing the One Billion Rising campaign every year. Samahita conducts gender classes. The material presented was about Sex and Gender, SOGIESC, Patriarchal Systems, Gender-based violence, the impact of violence in the individual sphere, the impact of violence in the sociocultural sphere, and case studies. The Speakers came from academics and activists. This gender class is also one of the sources of financing for the organization.

"The form of the "Dialog Sore" varies, such as movie discussions, book reviews, case management, etc. The "Dialog Sore" is also one of Samahita's ways of disseminating gender issues. In the "Dialog Sore," we can talk about gender or social issues in a lighter and more relaxed manner".

Based on the above data, three women's organizations in this study have conducted activities related to developing collective action frames. This is evident in the relationships among individual interpretative orientations concerning values, beliefs, goals, and ideologies. However, it is crucial to remember that since Rumpun and Samahita are individuals or their founders' organizations, there might be bias in mapping these values. Conversely, due to its established relationship with the government, KPI is more likely to prioritize

common interests over individual ones. In addition to political opportunities and the process of framing issues and interests, the activities of the women's movement are characterized by resource mobilization efforts. The resource mobilization framework encompasses two key aspects. First, the mobilization structure relies on human and financial resources, including activity facilities. These resources can be controlled either individually or collectively by the group. Second, mobilization is an integral process in which actors attempt to utilize these resources to achieve their goals.

Concerning human resources, all women's organizations have dedicated teams and volunteers to support their activities. Koalisi Perempuan has human resources extending to the grassroots level (village/kelurahan), aligning with its village-based organizational structure (bottom-up).

"The members of KPI West Java are all women above 18 years old. If there are members under 18 years, we call them preparatory members.... our organizational structure is up to the village level (bale perempuan)...in West Java, there are several branches, namely Indramayu Regency, Garut Regency, Bogor Regency, Cirebon City, Cirebon Regency, Purwakarta Regency, Bandung Regency, and Sukabumi Regency...while the branch that has not been formed & only formed the PPM Interest Group Council is Kuningan Regency.... while the branches are not active include Cianjur, Bandung city, Karawang, Bekasi & Depok... this is because the previous management one of them moved to another city..."

While the Rumpun has a human resource of nine people, who are called founders, it still needs permanent members. In their activities, Rumpun always involves volunteers from other women's

Vol.9, No.2, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i2.45962
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

communities. Rumpun hopes to have members or volunteers in the future to maintain sustainability. Samahita has a more straightforward organizational structure than KPI and has thirty volunteers and other networks, especially for mentoring and handling cases of gender-based violence. Samahita has built networks with the government and other institutions, such as KPI.

Regarding funding for activities, KPI relies on membership dues and cooperation with other organizations. Rumpun funds its activities from personal funds (founders), donors, and colleagues. Samahita has funding from donors and earns income from training activities organized for the public. Talking about resource mobilization includes how the actors try to utilize the resources at their disposal to achieve their goals. Rumpun Indonesia organizes capacity building in the form of interactive discussions.

"...We make anti-corruption parenting, anti-corruption films, and anti-corruption outreach based on music and wayang...we also network with male friends, because we want to involve not only women...the capacity building we have done is one of the targets us to members of the Pemberdayaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK) organization including about Badan Penyelenggaraan Jaminan Sosial (BPJS) services (the value of integrity in public services), the anti-corruption disabled movement..."

KPI is very active in mobilizing resources. In 2019, KPI was involved in the 16 Days of Anti-Violence Against Women (HAKTP) activity, an annual international campaign that began on November 24, 2019. This moment is a strategy to prevent and eliminate violence against women and

girls. KPI also carries out various activities by collaborating with other organizations or communities in West Java. The series of activities began with a flash mob dancing with "Laras Bambu" as a symbol to speak out so that women can speak out if violence befalls them. The results showed that the three women's organizations carried out resource mobilization strategies in various ways and the media. All three provide public participatory space, especially for women in their activities. Likewise, concerning financing activities/organizations, the three are trying to maintain independence and limit the entry of funds from other parties, especially from the government. They did not specifically describe the commitments with donations from individuals or other groups outside their group, including the absence of foreign donor involvement.

Based on the observations above, the three women's movements or organizations in West Java, which emerged during the Reform Era, exhibit shared and distinct characteristics compared to organizations from the New Order Era. This phenomenon is primarily attributable to the fact that the 1998 reform movement in Indonesia can be regarded as a gateway to democratization and decentralization within the country's political system. Following the collapse of the New Order regime, the political landscape in Indonesia underwent a transformation that ushered in openness to the existing political structures and systems. Women's movements in Indonesia, including those in West Java during the Reform Era, are part of a new social movement that thrives within a democratic political framework. Several vital

Vol.9, No.2, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i2.45962
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

considerations arise when strengthening the collective actions undertaken by women. One of these considerations is the need to fortify the platform of women's movements. Two pivotal values within the contemporary Indonesian context are the perspectives of gender equality and justice, reinforced by a commitment to embracing diversity and pluralism. Notably, these principles are systematically integrated into the activities of the three researched organizations.

While the three women's organizations studied here can be seen as emerging in the post-reform period, they cannot be characterized as entirely novel in terms of initiation. This is because the actual determinant of a social movement is not solely dependent on the structure of political opportunities. The political opportunity structure serves as a medium for a movement to evolve. In reality, even before the emergence of political opportunities, women's social movements in Indonesia existed, complete with their foundations, objectives, and strategies. However, the process of democratization towards substantive democracy, as exemplified by the reform movement, provided a significant opportunity for more unrestricted expression of needs, demands, and support for gender-related issues. This is notably evident in the ease with which the three collective actions in West Java gained access and established networks while avoiding confrontations with repressive actions carried out by the state or other groups during their organizational formation, including subsequent activities conducted in public spaces.

Concerning collective action frames, the interrelation between

individuals' interpretative orientations towards values, beliefs, activities, objectives, and ideologies is evident within the three studied organizations. However, there is a significant potential for bias in mapping these values due to the tendency for movements/organizations to form based on the interests or ideas of one of the initiators. This bias can also impact the personal identity associated with the names of women's organizations. Rumpun and Samahita likely experience such a condition. In the case of KPI, given the relationships established with government entities such as ministries and provincial or municipal/district authorities, there may be a slight shift in movement patterns.

Nevertheless, all three women's movements/organizations maintain their independence. Furthermore, the movement patterns they establish continue to adhere to the distinctive dimensions of a social movement. The three women's movements and organizations employ various strategies for resource mobilization, utilizing diverse methods and media. A commonality among all three is their engagement in participatory activities involving the public, particularly women. Similarly, in terms of funding for activities, all three endeavour to maintain their independence and restrict external funding, especially from the government. While they do not explicitly describe their commitment when receiving donations from individuals or other groups outside their own, including the absence of foreign donor involvement, remains apparent.

CONCLUSION

This article discusses an intriguing phenomenon: the post-reform landscape of

Vol.9, No.2, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i2.45962
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

the women's movement in West Java. The researcher acknowledges that this study has several limitations. Firstly, it does not represent women's collective action based on religion in West Java after the reform. Instead, the focus is primarily on non-religious-based women's movements. Secondly, the research does not provide comprehensive disaggregated data regarding the characteristics of collective action based on the actors' education, social and cultural backgrounds, and age within

the movement. The research findings highlight a lack of structured grassroots organizations within the women's movement. Consequently, efforts are still required to enhance public education, a vital asset in their advocacy. Furthermore, the women's movement in West Java must develop a comprehensive problem map centred on gender-related issues, particularly those linked to acts of violence, abuse, and the exploitation of women.

REFERENCES

- Antrobus, P. (2004). *The Global Women's Movement: Origin, issues and strategies*. Canada: Fernwood.
- Beckwith, K. (2000). Beyond compare? Women's movements in comparative perspective. *European Journal of Political Research*, 37(4), 431-468. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1475-6765.00521>
- Benford, R. D., & Snow, D. A. (2000). Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26(1), 611-639. doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.26.1.611
- Bereni, L., & Revillard, A. (2019). *A Paradigmatic Social Movement? Women's Movements and the Definition of Contentious Politics*. To cite this version: HAL Id: halshs-02090355.
- Bereni, L. and Revillard, A. (2018). Movement institutions: the bureaucratic sources of feminist protest. *Politics & Gender*, 14(3), 407-432. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1743923x18000399>
- Edmonds-Cady, C. (2011). A view from the bridge: insider/outsider perspective in a study of the welfare rights movement. *Qualitative Social Work*, 11(2), 174-190. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1473325011401467>
- Ferree, M., & Mueller, C. (2007). *Feminism and the Women's Movement: A Global Perspective* (pp. 576-607). <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470999103.ch25>
- Hurwitz, H. and Taylor, V. (2012). Women's cultures and social movements in global contexts. *Sociology Compass*, 6(10), 808-822. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2012.00502.x>
- Mazur, A. G., & McBride, D. E. (2010). The politics of state feminism: Innovation in comparative research. In *The Politics of State Feminism: Innovation in Comparative Research* (Issue July 2016). <https://doi.org/10.5860/choice.48-4122>
- McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (2012). Introduction: Opportunities, mobilizing structures, and framing processes – toward a synthetic, comparative perspective on social movements. *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements*, 1-20. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511803987.002>
- McAdam, D., & Tarrow, S. (2018). "The Political Context of Social Movements", Pp.17-42. in D. Snow, S. Soule, H. Kriesi, and H. McCammon, eds., Wiley-

Vol.9, No.2, 2023
Doi: 10.24198/cosmogov.v9i2.45962
<http://jurnal.unpad.ac.id/cosmogov/index>

- Blackwell Companion to Social Movements. Oxford: Blackwell. 2nd Ed.
- McBride, D. E., & Mazur, A. G. (2008). Women's movements, feminism, and feminist movements. In *Politics, Gender, and Concepts: Theory and Methodology* (pp. 219–243). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511755910.010>
- Mclaren, H., Star, C., & Widianingsih, I. (2019). Indonesian Women in Public Service Leadership: A Rapid Review. *Social Sciences*, 8, 308. <https://doi.org/10.3390/socsci8110308>
- Miles, B., & Huberman, B. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. California: Sage Publication.
- Moghadam, V. M. (2018). Feminist perspectives in global studies. In *The Oxford Handbook of Global Studies* (pp. 229–250). Oxford <https://doi.org/10.1177/106591290605900110>
- Wieringa, SE. (1999). *Penghancuran gerakan perempuan di Indonesia*. Jakarta: Garba Budaya dan Kalyanamitra
- University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190630577.013.9>
- Rinaldo, R. (2016). *The Women's Movement and Indonesia's Transition to Democracy. Moghadam 2013*, 1–17.
- Sekaran, U. and Bougie, R. (2016) *Research Methods for Business: A Skill-Building Approach*. 7th Edition, Wiley & Sons, West Sussex.
- Timmerman, C. (2000). Muslim women and nationalism: the power of the image. *Current Sociology*, 48(4), 15-27. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392100048004003>
- Weldon, S. (2006). Women's movements, identity politics, and policy impacts: a study of policies on violence against women in the 50 United States. *Political Research Quarterly*, 59(1), 111-122.