

The Map of Gender-Based Social Movement to Realizing Gender Equality and Justice in Indonesia

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Abstract. Gender equality and justices are not only the nation's problems but the worlds. Gender problems and injustices are manifested in conditions of subordination, violence, and deprivation of rights that many women experience. If the women's empowerment program directly intervenes with women who are victims of gender injustice, the goal of realizing justice and gender will not be realized because many of the problems stem from men. This study uses a descriptive qualitative approach with literature study and document study methods, in which researchers who study previous studies related to gender-based social movements and collect documents related to this study. Then the researcher discusses these findings by using Alberto Melucci's theory which according to him the formation of a new social movement cannot be separated from the conflict situations experienced by many people at that time. The result of this research is that many gender-based organizations are discussing issues of gender equality and justice. The organization consists of organizations initiated by the women's movement as well as the men's movement. In Indonesia, the emergence of the men's movement to solve these problems is slower when compared to countries in Southeast Asia and the world. This social movement is represented in the form of the New Men's Alliance movement through which gender issues are widely discussed.

Keywords: Movement, gender-based social movement, gender inequality and injustice, and gender equality and justice.

1 Introduction

Gender inequality is difficult to overcome because of the patriarchal view of most people of Indonesia. The patriarchal understanding adopted by the society directly or indirectly can affect the order of society itself, which is then further strengthened by law, politics, culture, and even religion. The injustice experienced by women is often given a justification and is considered a natural thing because of this patriarchal understanding. The situation is provided the privilege to men in all conditions[1].

The form of gender inequality experienced by women in Indonesia can be seen from the number of violence and sexual harassment experienced by women and of course, the perpetrators are mostly men. Based on data referenced from the survey results of the Coalition for Safe Public Spaces (KRPA) in 2018, the number of sexual harassments in public spaces against women is higher than that of men. This survey involved 62,224 respondents, consisting of women and men who were randomly selected in all provinces in Indonesia. The results of this survey state that 3 out of 5 women and 1 in 10 men have experienced harassment in public

spaces. This means that women are 13 times more likely to experience sexual harassment than men[2].

Then from the 2021 Annual Records of Violence Against Women (Catahu), it was found that throughout 2020 there were 299,991 cases of violence against women. The records consist of 291,677 cases collected from the District Courts and Religious Courts, 8,234 collected from Komnas Perempuan's partner service agencies, and 2,389 cases collected from the Service and Referral Unit (UPR) formed by Komnas Perempuan[3]. The details of the types of 8,234 cases collected from Komnas Perempuan's partner service agencies are :

Table 1.1 Types of Cases Collected by Komnas Perempuan Partner Service Institutions

No.	Case Type	Number of Cases	Percentage
1.	Violence in the private sphere: Domestic Violence (KDRT) and Personal Relations, which consists of:	6,480	79%
	a. Violence against wife	3,221	49.7%
	b. Violence in dating	1,309	20.2%
	c. Violence against girls	954	14.7%
	d. Ex-boyfriend's violence	401	6.1%
	e. Ex-husband's violence	127	1.9%
	f. Violence against domestic workers	11	0.1%
	g. Another case of violence in the personal realm	457	7%
2.	Violence against women in the public sphere, which consists of:	1,731	21%
	a. <i>Sexual violence, which consists of:</i>	962	55%
	1) Obscenity	166	17.2%
	2) Rape	229	23.8%
	3) Sexual harassment	181	18.8%
	4) Fucking	5	0.5%
	5) Attempted rape	10	1%
	6) Other sexual violence	371	38.5%
	b. <i>Physical Violence, which consists of:</i>	275	16%
	1) Beating	128	46.5%
	2) Persecution	53	19.2%
	3) Other physical violence	94	34.1%
	c. <i>Psychological violence, which consists of:</i>	82	4.7%
	1) Threats	15	18.2%
	2) Other psychological violence	67	81.7%
	d. <i>Specific hardness, which consists of:</i>	412	23.8%
	1) Traffic	255	61.9%
	2) Migrant workers	157	38.1%
	Total number of cases		8,234 Cases

Gender issues in Indonesia have been discussed by the women's movement from pre-independence, post-independence, the New Order era, then until now. Over time the issue of gender inequality was not only discussed by the women's movement but also the men's movement[4]. In realizing gender equality and justice, men should also be involved in empowerment programs, because empowerment programs only involve or intervene directly

with women and leave out men. This form of gender injustice is mostly caused by men who can then harm women, for example, violence against wife (KDRT), violence in dating, sexual violence, domination, subordination, and other types of violence that are mostly done by men. Gender inequality is increasingly lasting because of the patriarchal culture that directly or indirectly gives many privileges to men to do or not does something. If only women empowerment programs directly intervene to help women who were victims of this injustice, the goal to realize gender equality and justice cannot be achieved because the problem comes from men.

For this reason, discussions on these issues are not only discussed by the women's movement but also by the men's movement. This can be likened to an answer to a problem that comes from men and then men are involved and included to solve these problems. The men's movement that opposes gender injustice which causes a lot of harm to women can be said to be a pro-feminist men's movement.

The emergence of the pro-feminist men's movement in Indonesia can be said to be late when compared to other countries, especially those located in America, Europe, and Australia. Feminist research and studies began to appear in the 1960s, especially in America and Australia. They criticized how the conditions of masculinity supported by patriarchal culture caused injustice to women. Then male feminist research and studies began to emerge in Australia in the 1980s, while studies on male feminists in Indonesia are still rarely discussed.

Social movements which discuss gender equality and justice, definitely have a background on why the movement is formed by the actors involved in it. A movement has links with supporting organizations or other organizations that participated in initiating the formation of the movement. Therefore, through this paper, the author intends to map the forms of gender-based social movements in Indonesia and see the interrelationships between these social movements. Before going into a more in-depth discussion here, the author will emphasize that the gender-based social movement discussed in this paper is a men's social movement.

Social Movement

Social movements according to Macionis (1999) and Spencer (1982) in Sukmana (2016) can be understood as an activity that is organized or collective efforts aimed at encouraging or discouraging social change to achieve changes in the new order of life (social change). From this definition, it can be concluded that the main characteristic of social movements is that there are organized activities or collective efforts and there is a goal to achieve social change [5]. According to Singh, social movements can be classified into three parts. They are classical social movements, neo-classical social movements, and new social movements [6].

The explanation of three forms of classification of social movements are:

a. Classical social movement

Classical social movements are categorized into collective behavior such as crowds, riots, resistance, and defiance. The study of classical social movements was widely discussed by Western psychologists and historians before the 1950s.

b. Neo-classical social movement

The neo-classical social movement can also be said to be an old social movement where this movement has been widely discussed through Karl Marx's theory and studied after the 1950s by Western and Indian sociologists. The old social movement emerged as a reaction to capitalism in the form of class revolution and class struggle.

c. New social movement

New social movements can also be referred to as contemporary social movements. The basic difference between the old and new types of social movements can be seen from the issues and goals that form the basis for the formation of the social movement itself. New Social

Movement Perspective appeared around the 1960s and 1970s, especially among people in Europe and America. The European and American communities at that time witnessed how the emergence of movements that were free of humanist, cultural, and non-materialistic issues. The aims and values of this movement can be universal, that is, it is directed to provide protection and maintain human living conditions in a better direction.

Unlike the Old Social Movements models, the New Social Movements are not trapped in Marxist ideologies such as anti-capitalism, class revolution, and class struggle. Thus, the New Social Movement was not interested in the idea of revolution, including carrying out a revolutionary movement to overthrow the state government system. Instead, it focuses on anti-racism, anti-nuclearism, disarmament, feminism, the environment, regionalism, ethnicity, civil liberties, and so on, to issues of personal freedom and peace.

Social Movement as a Form of Civil Society Interest

The formation of a social movement cannot be separated from the many interests of civil society that the state has failed to serve. The condition of the state that is no longer able to act in the interests of its people causes social unrest in society. The emergence of this turmoil is because the state is no longer able to solve various problems faced by the community. From this, it can be concluded that the state is not always able to solve the various problems faced by its people[7].

In this case, civil society can be said as an agent or actor who can form an organization or a movement. The concept that can be used here is the concept of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs). CSOs are all organizations or associations that are outside the nation sector. CSOs can range from small local organizations to organizations with a national membership base[8].

Gender-Based Social Movement

In simple terms, gender can be defined as interpreted as a differentiator between men and women. However, in a complex way, gender does not only distinguish between men and women but also discusses the roles attached to these sexes. Gender is a crucial implication with inborn traits that will help differentiate between men and women biologically. For example, women can menstruate, get pregnant, and breastfeed but men cannot. Men can fertilize and women can't. Meanwhile, the roles assigned to women and men are not innate but are the result of social construction.

For example, working in the domestic sector such as sweeping, cooking, taking care of children, and other things are often identified as women's duties, and working in the public sector is often identified as men's duties. Social movements based on gender have existed for a long time, both movements carried out by men and women. The consequence of a patriarchal culture that causes the oppression of one gender has led to the emergence of gender-based social movements such as the feminist movement to eliminate the roots of the oppression itself.

The feminist movement has been carried out by women's groups, especially in Europe since the 18th century, but the movement only reached its peak in the 20th century in the 1960s. This movement in its development underwent a paradigm shift in the movement. The paradigm that was originally only fighting for the rights of women has now developed into a struggle that demands universal justice for all human beings. Nighat Said Khan and Kamla Bhasin explained that feminism is not only aimed at fighting for the equality of men and women. Feminism also aims to build a society that is free from oppression and division based on class, caste, and gender prejudice[9].

Views About Male Feminists

There is debate among sociologists about whether a man can be a feminist. Simone de Beauvoir in her book *The Second Sex*, states that men cannot be feminists because there are intrinsic differences between the two genders. In line with Simone de Beauvoir's view, separatist

feminists also assume that men cannot become feminists because for them to include men in the women's movement will only perpetuate the patriarchal culture. After all, men will instill patriarchal values in the movement. Many feminists argue that men cannot be feminists because they do not have the same experience as women, especially in terms of feeling oppressed, and that is why men cannot be part of feminists[10].

However, many feminists also argue that men are needed in the feminist movement to eliminate patriarchy. Men should be encouraged to participate and promote gender equality so that inequality in gender relations can be eliminated[11]. The term male feminists for feminists in Indonesia began in the mid -the 1980s.

Even then, it was only in the form of a feminist movement and has not yet reached the level of study in the form of critical discourse development and character analysis, especially the issue of male feminists. The argumentation of other feminists is that men can be feminists as long as they participate in fighting for the interests of women. Men who participate in the struggle are more accurately described as pro-feminist groups (male feminists)[12].

Gender Equality and Justice

Gender Equality and Justice is a word-formation that contains two concepts, namely gender equality and gender justice. Gender equality means equal conditions for men and women to obtain opportunities and their rights as human beings; to be able to play a role and participate in political, economic, social, cultural, and national security activities, and to achieve equality in enjoying the results of such development. While gender justice is a process to be fair to men and women[13].

Gender justice is also said to be a process, the process in question is a process that is fair for women and men. To ensure that the process is fair for both women and men, it is necessary to take measures to stop things that are socially and historically prevent women and men from playing a role and enjoying the results of the roles they play. Gender justice will then lead women and men to gender equality. Gender equality is a condition for women and men to enjoy the same status to fully exercise their human rights, and to have the same chance to contribute to development. Thus, gender equality is an equal assessment by the community of similarities and differences of women and men in the various roles they perform [14].

Theory

The theory used in explaining the problem, in this case, is the theory of Alberto Melucci in which he argues that postmodernism brings a form of social control, conformity pressure, and information processing that is processed by the New Social Movement. According to Melucci, the emergence of social movements cannot be separated from the new situation of conflicts that are intertwined with everyday life. These conflicts include symbolic codes, identity claims, and personal claims.

The conflicts are so far from the scope of conventional politics. Society develops by obtaining information and signs. Social movements here have an important role in processing messages and expressing them. The values and views adopted in the new social movement for Melucci are no longer the same as the values held in the dominant society which is ancient and static. The values adopted in the new social movement will certainly be more dynamic and rational.

In this social movement, actors will consolidate their collective identity through their representation and participation in the social movement. Melucci emphasized that collective action will survive informal organizational networks and sometimes this collective action will shape the organization itself to carry out struggles in a way to achieve the goals of the movement itself.[15]

2 Methodology

To explain the map of men's social movements in Indonesia, the author uses a qualitative approach by collecting data from literature studies and document studies. Literature studies are used to study previous studies on men's social movements both in Indonesia and in other countries. Then the document study is used to collect data or documents related to this research. Qualitative approaches can be used to examine people's lives, history, organizational functions, behavior, social activities, and others.

The qualitative approach is expected to be able to produce an in-depth description of speech, writing, and observed behavior of individuals and groups, communities, and certain organizations in certain contexts based on a complete, comprehensive, and holistic point of view[16]. A qualitative approach is used to obtain in-depth data because each data will contain meaning. That is the real meaning of the data. Therefore, qualitative research does not emphasize generalization but emphasizes more on meaning[17].

The data collection technique in this study was done through document studies. Documents are records of events that have occurred. Documents can change to writing, images, or monumental works of someone[18]. Document study is a data collection technique by studying previous studies related to this research, then studying documents related to this research as well.

In this study, the data analysis used was the data analysis of the Spradley model. Spradley's analysis analyzes the data broadly first, then focuses on the broad thing, and expands it again according to the themes that have been found from the various stages that have been carried out. The analysis of the Spradley model will be divided into two stages of analysis, namely domain and taxonomy analysis[19]. Domains are categories that contain detailed things such as household, family, and other things. Families consist of extended families, nuclear families, and other types of families as well as households, there are broad households, single-parent households and others. After finding the domain analysis, the next thing is to do a taxonomic analysis, which is to formulate the details of the domains that have been obtained[20].

The taxonomic analysis is a more detailed analysis where the domain has been found, taxonomic analysis will be initiated through the researcher's investigation to select and study a particular domain. The taxonomic analysis is based on a series of categories arranged based on their relationship to the domain. The compensatory analysis is an analytical process that looks for specific characteristics in each of its internal structures by looking for contrasting relationships between elements. Meanwhile, cultural theme analysis is an analytical process that looks for relationships between domains as a whole which is then adjusted to the focus and sub-focus of the research [21][22].

3 Result and Discussion

In this paper, the author intends to map gender-based social movements in Indonesia based on their history. This research concludes that gender-based social movements in Indonesia have existed since the colonial era or since Indonesia was not yet independent. Gender-based social movements that emerged in Indonesia were inseparable from the conditions that existed outside Indonesia as well as the conditions that were happening in Indonesia at that time. Gender-based social movements in Indonesia are inseparable from the feminist influence that has developed in other countries.

The development of feminism in Indonesia can be categorized into three major stages, namely feminism in the colonial, post-colonial, and contemporary periods. All gender-based social movements that have been formed in Indonesia are one way for actors to solve problems of gender inequality and injustice so that women in Indonesia are more prosperous and the relations between men and women are equal. The formation of a social movement never separated from the conditions of society, so a social movement is the result of a reaction to certain circumstances, in which certain groups are being disturbed by circumstances they do not want.

In the category of new social movements, the discussion and goals in social movements will be rational. In this case, social movements will focus on humanitarian issues which include gender issues. Actors will form social movements in a network of movements that have existed before and then in this network each of the social movements can work together to achieve the vision and mission of the movement itself.

Gender-based social movements in Indonesia will be categorized based on their history. The formation of gender-based social movements cannot be separated from the development of feminism in Indonesia at that time and the development of feminism in Indonesia cannot be separated from conditions in other countries where the feminist movement first emerged in the 13th and 14th centuries in Europe specifically, in France.

At that time, the name of feminism was not yet known, but there was an article and criticism made by Christine de Pizan in his writings that clearly described the spirit of feminism. At that time, especially before the 18th century, women were seen as different or different kinds of creatures. Pizan dares to go out of his way to such a common view by criticizing the Old Western texts which firmly form the basis of this common understanding. Pizan introduced human insight to women who general Christian thought at that time were imperfect human beings. The most important debate raised by Pizan at that time revolved around the nature of women who were the main perpetrators of original sin. His thesis was formulated in a book entitled, "Book of the City of Lady" (1405)[23].

Then the early feminism movement emerged in England in 1550-1700 as an attempt to deal with patriarchal conditions. The focus of the early feminism struggle was against the patriarchal view of the subordinate position of women because they were seen as weaker, more emotional, and irrational beings. According to Hodgson-Wright, early feminism struggled in three ways. First, through efforts to revise the essentials of women's subordination in church teachings. The second is by opposing various behavioral guidebooks that tend to restrain women at that time. Third, by building solidarity among women writers[24].

The term feminism emerged and was used for the first time by Hubertine Auclert in 1882 as a term for women's struggle for and obtaining political rights. The use of the term became a sign of the presence of feminism in its formal form and the beginning of the first wave of feminism. In general, the early phase of the development of feminism focused on the struggle for women to gain access to voting booths or the right to vote in general elections. Meanwhile, a century before Auclert wrote the word "feminism", namely in 1792, an English woman, Mary Wollstonecraft had written the contents of the term in the book, "A Vindication of the Right of Women". Mary in the book encourages women to become autonomous decision-makers and the path to that autonomy is education[25].

The second wave of feminism emerged as a reaction to women's dissatisfaction with the various discriminations they still experienced despite the legal and political emancipation achieved by the first wave of feminism. The second wave of feminism began in the 1960s which was marked by the publication of *The Feminine Mystique*, by Betty Friedan (1963), followed by the founding of the National Organization for Women (1966) and the emergence of

Conscious Raising (CR) groups in the late 1960s. This second wave was spearheaded by French feminists such as Helena Cixous and Julia Kristeva. The second wave of feminism focuses more on issues that directly affect women's lives, such as reproduction, child-rearing, sexual violence, women's sexuality, and domestic issues. The second wave of feminism has taken place in Europe, America, and even Asia[26].

Various criticisms of universalism in second-wave feminism led to the redefinition of various concepts in feminism in the late 1980s. There are at least three things that encourage the articulation of the concept of feminism. First, from within feminism itself, they began to see that their concept was racist and ethnocentric which only represented middle-class white women and marginalized women from other ethnic groups and classes. Second, second-wave feminists are considered not enough to voice the issue of "sexual difference". Meanwhile, outside of feminism, theories of postmodernism, poststructuralism, and postcolonialism have developed which then intersect with the development of feminism.[27]

Then, the author will discuss the development of feminism in Indonesia and how the implications for the formation of gender-based social movements in each period of its development. The development of feminism in Indonesia can be categorized into three periods, namely the colonial, post-colonial, and contemporary periods.

Colonial Period

During the colonial period at the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century, it was seen that many women fought on the battlefield to fight against the invaders, this can be proven by the many historical records that recorded some female heroes had fought in the Dutch colonial period such as Cut Meutia from Aceh, Roro Gusik (Surapati's wife) from Java, Martha Tiahahu who helped Pattimura, Emmy Saelan in South Sulawesi, Raden Ayu Ageng Serang, and Cut Nyak Dien [28].

However, the struggles carried out by women at that time were not only on the battlefield but also in the field of education to achieve equality between men and women. Many female figures at that time opened special schools for girls so that girls at that time could take education. In the past, girls were not sent to school by their parents because of the assumption that women did not need to go to school and only focused on taking care of the household. This is what makes women at that time far behind men. There were also female figures who fought in the field of education at that time, namely Raden Ajeng Kartini in Central Java, Dewi Sartika in West Java, Rasuna Said, and Rohana Kudus in West Sumatra, and Nyai Ahmad Dahlan in Yogyakarta.

The development of feminist ideology in the colonial period can also be seen from the formation of a women's social movement at that time in which the movement discussed the issue of equal rights between men and women. There was also a women's social movement that stood at that time.

Period of 1912

In 1912 the first women's social movement in Indonesia was formed, this movement was named Poetri Mardika. This movement has links with the first National Organization Boedi Oetomo (1908). After Poetri Mardika was founded, another women's association called Putri Sejati and Wanita Utama appeared. Furthermore, the Muhammadiyah Islamic Renewal Movement, which was formed in 1917, gave birth to the Aisyiah women's organization in 1920 and was later followed by Catholic and Protestant women's organizations.

Likewise, in Maluku, Minahasa and Minangkabau. Aisyiah's organizational movement has a central issue so that women can get a good education and improve the condition of polygyny. Meanwhile, Catholic and Protestant women's organizations voiced anti-polygamy.[29]

Period of 1928-1930

Around the beginning of the 20th century, to be precise from December 22 to December 25 in 1928, women's organizations held the First Women's Congress in Yogyakarta, only one and a half months after the Youth Pledge Congress on October 28, 1928. Around 1000 participants and 30 women's organizations attended. One of these organizations is the Indonesian Women's Association. Women were appointed to the congress. Congress finally identified three challenges faced by women at that time, namely, marriage, polygamy, and access to education.

But a very visible spirit underlying the congress, during the wave of nationalism at that time was an effort to overcome various existing ideologies and interests with the main goal of liberating themselves from Dutch colonialism. Subsequent Women's Congresses were held in Jakarta (1935), Bandung (1938), and Semarang (1941). The anniversary of the congress (December 22) itself was later agreed to as Mother's Day which is celebrated nationally every year and until now recognized as the birth of the Indonesian women's movement.[30]

Period of 1941-1945

The years 1941-1945 were a period of Japanese colonialism in Indonesia. Japanese colonialism at that time had a very bad impact on national organizations or existing movements, including women's organizations. The Japanese colonial government dissolved and simultaneously banned all women's organizations. They only allowed the establishment of a women's organization called Fujinkai (women's association) whose activities were supervised and regulated by the Japanese government. 45 This association aims to combat illiteracy, run soup kitchens, and participate in social work. 46 This continued until finally the Japanese government lost in World War II and Indonesia proclaimed its independence on 17 August 1945.[31]

Post Colonialism Period

Indonesia was independent on August 17, 1945, meaning that the gender-based social movement that occurred after that year was a movement that emerged after colonialism. The early post-independence period can be called the old order period under the government of President Soekarno. At that time in 1950 women's organizations were gradually disintegrating, besides that the GERWANI (Indonesian Women's Movement) emerged as a continuation of Wife Sedar. This organization is spread out in various community activities such as stalls, cooperatives, savings and loan cooperatives, farmers, factory workers, kindergartens held in markets, plantations, villages, Marriage Extension Agency, and courses with communist teaching material.

This organization voices: successful elections, anti-rape, raising awareness of women farmers, eradicating illiteracy, severe punishment for rapists and kidnappers, social activities for women, education on political issues, health, and monogamy. This organization supported the most important political campaign carried out by the PKI. Members of this organization consist of the lower middle layer and the working class. In addition, in 1954 the PERWARI organization (Union of Women of the Republic of Indonesia) was born. In 1955, Islamic and Nationalist Women's Organizations emerged, as well as various activities tied to political parties and religious movements in the form of Women's Halls, Women's Banks, Women's Surau, Women's Organizations, and Women's Magazines.

Then, after Soekarno stepped down, Indonesia entered the new order period during the reign of President Soeharto. During this era, the mass organization was suppressed until 1968. From 1966 to 1970, the PKI was purged. The only living organization is Perwari. Then 1978 Perwari merged into Golkar. In this year, independent women's organizations disappeared, but several large organizations were born, such as Golkar, Dharma Wanita (wife of a civil servant), Dharma Pertiwi in 1972 (wife whose husband works in the Armed Forces), and the PKK organization

(Family Welfare Empowerment). The existence of this form of organization has created many organizations in every department, there are pseudo-official women's wife organizations. Activities are more related to the interests of the husband.[32] This organization received assistance from the government, both political and practical, obtaining various facilities for transportation, office, finance, etc.

Finally, an image emerges where the government depicts controlling almost all issues related to women's organizations. The orientations of these women's organizations include (a) all of them being politicized for the victory of Golkar and as a tool to keep people/groups of society against the regime in power, (b) opposing the tendency of men to harass women, (c) activities that are more related to with the husband's interests, (d) support the military bureaucracy. So that women are less active in the bureaucracy and development, besides that there are only two women's organizations that are allowed to operate in rural areas, namely Aisyiah and PKK.

During the Soeharto era, the patriarchal situation in Indonesia was even more viscous, this is evidenced by the situation of the women's movement which was formed based on the interests of her husband. In organizations such as Dharma Wanita and Dharma Pertiwi women's leadership will be based on their husband's position. So, if her husband is the Chair, then his wife will also be the chairman of the women's organization. Furthermore, the existence of PKK shows that the government seems to be increasingly marginalizing women by teaching many skills that are usually done by housewives such as cooking, cleaning the house, taking care of children, and taking care of husbands through PKK.

Contemporary Period

In the reform era, under the government of President Habibie, the National Commission for Women was formed with a feminist orientation because its founders were feminist figures in Indonesia. To strengthen women's human rights which were ratified through Presidential Regulation Number 181 of 1998 and strengthened through Presidential Regulation Number 65 of 2005. With the emergence of various complex problems due to democracy that came during the hustle and bustle of globalization, various women's organizations were born that did not only defend their people, but also to defend and think about the fate of marginalized communities. Like Wardah Hafiz, Suara Ibu Peduli who defends children's rights, Ratna Sarumpaet through her theater and novels voices democracy, labor rights, child trafficking, and sex workers, pluralism, and tolerance.

In the reform era, the emergence of various women's organizations who revived the female reformers like the year 1930s who not only defended their people, but also defend and think about the fate of marginalized communities, various NGO organizations that defend the poor include Wardah Hafiz, a group of women called Suara Ibu Peduli in 1997 (the Voice of a Concerned Mother) who defending children's rights.

Over time the discussion of issues of justice and gender equality was not only discussed through women's social movements but also men's social movements. Even male feminist concepts have become part of gender studies. Men's social movements have emerged earlier in other countries.

As an initial description of the emergence of gender-based social movements here the author will provide an overview of how the men's movement initially emerged in the United States. Over time the feminist movement was not only carried out by women but also involved groups of men. In the 1960s and 1970s, there were many men's movements that fought for gender justice, which became known as the pro-feminist movement. The men's collective movement to achieve gender equality emerged as the Men's Liberation Movement, which criticized patriarchalism which burdened men to achieve certain standards and caused men to dominate women.

Then in the 1980s the men's movement Men's Rights Movement emerged as a reaction to the pro-feminist movement. This movement is an anti-feminist movement in the United States which protested about the conditions and roles that have been carried out by men so far. They burdened men, and government policies at that time caused men to be at a disadvantage.[33]

In Indonesia, the emergence of male social movements is relatively slow if compared with other countries in America, Europe, and Australia. This male-based social movement emerged as a collective action in the late 2000s under the name CANTIK (Cowok-Cowok Anti Kekerasan) or non-violent boys. This movement was formed from a network of men who are pro-feminist to reject all violence ranging from domestic violence to sexual violence which is mostly experienced by women, and where most of the subjects are men[34].

After CANTIK, the man social movement that emerged as the New Men's Alliance, this movement was formed in 2009. This movement discusses a lot about gender issues that occur due to the imbalance of relations between men and women. On the other hand, this movement is also committed to upholding the principles of equality and justice between men and women. The New Men's Alliance was formed by actors who also initiated CANTIK. So, these two forms of movement have a strong relationship. It should be noted that the emergence of CANTIK and the New Men's Alliance Movement cannot be separated from the background of their founders, some of whom come from the women's movement, who discuss the injustices experienced by women and how to overcome them.

The New Men's Alliance on the movement's website and in scholarly writings produced by its members expressly states that they are a pro-feminist movement that was born from a feminist womb. The linkage of this movement with several women's movements in Indonesia is manifested in the form of support from the movement itself. There are also supporting organizations that support the sustainability of the New Men's Alliance Movement as listed on the movement's website, namely Men's Forum Aceh, Rifka Annisa Yogyakarta, Kupang Women's House, Jakarta Women's Journal Foundation, Kalyanamitra Jakarta Foundation, Pulih Jakarta Foundation, and WCC Cahaya Perempuan Bengkulu.[35]

As mentioned earlier that the members of the new men's alliance previously had links to the women's movement evidenced by the condition that the main founders of the men's alliance had participated as members of women's organizations. Among the six founding members who participated in the study, five were previously members of Jurnal Perempuan, including those on the editorial board and four who were staff members. Then another participant was a member of the Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Center staff member. In this case, it can be seen that the formation of a new male alliance has certainly been influenced by the already existing women's social movement. Moreover, the women's movements allowed men to take part in them so that directly or indirectly this condition is the basis for the formation of men's social movements in Indonesia.[36]

Meanwhile, at the international level, this is in line with the background of the establishment of a new men's alliance which sees that men must be involved in realizing gender equality and justice so that most men become aware and are no longer perpetrators of violence against women, known as the HeForShe campaign.

The HeforShe campaign is a solidarity campaign that upholds gender equality and involves men and boys as agents of change by encouraging them to take action against the inequalities faced by women and girls. From this idea, it is hoped that gender equality is an issue that affects everyone socially, economically, and politically. As the number of cases of discrimination against women continues to increase throughout the world, UN Women initiated a campaign known as the Heforshe Campaign. This campaign seeks to actively involve men and boys in a

gender-based movement whose goal is to achieve equality and eliminate all forms of violence and discrimination against women.

This campaign was founded on September 20, 2014, in New York, United States. As a country under the auspices of the United Nations (UN), certainly, Indonesia is committed to realizing the goals of this campaign. The form of commitment from Indonesia is seen in the HeForShe campaign strategy which takes 10x10x10 steps in which the strategy takes 10 heads of state including the president of Indonesia, 10 leaders of large companies, and 10 university leaders to participate and continue to be committed to realizing gender equality. Those appointed in the 10x10x10 strategy should serve as examples and role models for the community in realizing equality.[37]

Melucci's theory posits that the formation of social movements cannot be separated from the problems faced by individuals and groups in their daily lives. The problems that lead to this case are manifested in the form of injustice and gender inequality which are more detrimental to women and most of the perpetrators are men. The social movement here appears as a form of social control over habits that were initially considered normal by most people, now making it unnatural. The concept of patriarchy here is a conventional concept that used to be embraced by the community and is now facing challenges from several gender-based social movements such as the New Men's Alliance in Indonesia and the HeForShe Campaign at the international level. In this case, there is a change in the perspective of values. Values that used to be considered normal now have become unusual. The values referred to here are of course the values of patriarchy.

Adherence to patriarchal culture sometimes causes people's mindset to become irrational in viewing gender equality and justice. Moreover, patriarchy is manifested in the form of violence, domination, subordination, and deprivation of the rights of women and girls which of course is detrimental to them. For this reason, the presence of gender-based social movements is a means to achieve the goal of social change for the better in society so that the order of life becomes better.

Then Melucci also emphasized that collective action will survive informal organizational networks, and sometimes this collective action will form the organization itself to carry out struggles to achieve the goals of the movement itself. In this case, it can be seen that the gender-based social movement embodied in the New Men's Alliance cannot be separated from the existing network of women's organizations. Women's organizations, that initially discussed gender issues that were more detrimental to women, directly or indirectly have influenced and changed the perspective of their male members in seeing the implications of the patriarchal values adopted by the community.

Meanwhile, at the international level, The UN through the UN Women organization that they formed is also a form of the network in which the organization is running. Here the United Nations through the HeForShe campaign has asked for the commitment of the countries under its auspices to participate in realizing the goals of the campaign. In this case, it is seen that social movements will last and have a greater chance of success.

To make it easier to see how the emergence of gender-based social movements according to the period, the author will describe this through the following table:

Table 1.2 Gender-based social movements in Indonesia by time

No.	Period	Year	Types of Feminist Movement	Social Movement Name
1.	Colonial	1912	women's movement	Poetri Mahardika, Poetri Sejati, and Wanita Utama

		1920	women's movement	Aisyiah
		1920	women's movement	Catholic and Protest Women's Organizations
		1928	women's movement	Indonesian Women's Association
2.	Post Colonial	1941	women's movement	Fujinkai
		1950	women's movement	GERWANI (Indonesian Women's Movement)
		1954	women's movement	PERWARI (Union of Women of the Republic of Indonesia)
		1955	women's movement	Islamic and Nationalist Women's Organizations
		1972	women's movement	Dharma Wanita (Civil Servant's Wife) and Dharma Pertiwi (Armed Forces Wife)
		1972	women's movement	PKK (Family Welfare Empowerment)
3.	Contemporary	1997	women's movement	The Voice of a Caring Mother
		2000	men's Movement	CANTIK (Anti-Violence Boys)
		2009	men's Movement	New Male Alliance

4 Conclusion

The formation of a gender-based social movement cannot be separated from the influence of feminist ideology where this ideology emerged as a reaction to the disapproval of many women on the shackles of patriarchal ideology. Feminist ideology directly influences the formation of gender-based social movements. The formation of gender-based social movements in Indonesia is inseparable from the influence of feminist ideology that has developed in the West through three waves, namely the first, second, and third waves. Then feminist ideology also developed in Indonesia through three periods, namely the colonial, post-colonial, and contemporary periods.

All gender-based social movements that were formed based on the feminist period in Indonesia can reflect how gender issues were at that time. So, the formation of a gender-based social movement is a reaction from the community to the problem of gender injustice that is being faced at that time and they are not satisfied with the solution made by the state. This gender-based social movement that focuses on issues of gender equality and justice initially consisted of only women's movements. However, as time went on, a men's movement that discussed the same issues began to emerge.

In this case, social movements arise because of public dissatisfaction with the nation. There is also the goal of the social movement itself, which is to achieve social change for the betterment of human life. In Indonesia, the emergence of male social movements is relatively slow compared with other countries in America, Europe, and Australia. A gender-based social movement in the form of a men's movement is forming in the new Men's Alliance Movement, whose emergence could not be separated from the influence of the women's movement that had already emerged. The actors in this alliance are people who initially participated in women's social movements and formed new men's social movements to realize the vision and mission of gender equality and justice in Indonesia.

This movement also has close links with other supporting organizations such as women's organizations that are their partners. In addition, in the international arena, UN Women has initiated the He or She campaign which asks countries under the auspices of the United Nations, including Indonesia, to participate in realizing gender equality and justice. This campaign then took many men and boys to get involved in eliminating violence against women so that later the goals for gender equality and justice could be realized. Of course, this campaign is in line with the vision and mission of the New Men's Alliance to realize gender equality and justice, especially in Indonesia.

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