

Chapter 2. Research Methodology and Analysis Framework

2.1 Research methodology

This research adopts a qualitative methodology from a feminist perspective. Ackerly and True (2010) define a feminist perspective as based on the awareness of unequal gender relations and aimed at promoting social justice. This perspective guides the research aims and questions, the choice of research framework, the ethical considerations and the methods for data collection and analysis.

By using a feminist research methodology, we also reflected on the relationship between the researcher, the research participants and the research issues (Abu-Lughod 1990; Ackerly and True 2010). In terms of research issues, the study explores themes related to women's experiences that affect either women for being women (violence against women) or only specific groups of women (the protection of domestic workers⁵). Further, we are women activists working for Indonesian NGOs. We work alongside women at grassroots level, support women's organizations in building capacities and mobilize around the research issues. The benefit of this double role (researcher and activist) is our awareness of the power relations that are often hidden or overlooked in the analysis of policy-making processes. Thus, we are well positioned to closely examine unequal power relations and seek to provide useful knowledge for women's movements. On the other hand, our double role might cause biases in the research, especially in the analysis of the state's response to women's mobilization, since we have often opposed and criticized the state during our activism. Additionally most of us have experience at national level, directing demands to the national state, but have been less involved in activism efforts in provinces and districts. This lack of experience might lead us to generalizations based on data and processes from the national level, while they may differ from those at subnational level. However, we are aware that our role in conducting this research is producing new knowledge through a process of analysis and reflection (Crewe and Young 2002) and we limited our biases within the research by reflecting upon them and triangulating the data.

2.2 Analysis framework

Policy change is a complex process (Mazur 2009). The complexity is evident in the diversity of the actors involved—whether they support or oppose change (Mazur 2009), and in the framing of their interests (Fraser 1989). The diversity of actors with different interests complicates the process of determining what claims exist, who these claims relate to, and how these claims are represented by actors in the political process.

The analysis framework for the Indonesian country study draws on the framework developed by UNRISD (2013) and based on Htun and Weldon (2010) (figure 2.1). Htun and Weldon's (2010:208) framework for gender equality policy change is based on two assumptions: (i) gender policy is constituted by many different issues and (ii) the interactions between actors and context. Based on the first assumption, they argue that there many different policy issues within gender policy and the actors involved in policy making vary according to the policy issue. The actors that could support/oppose

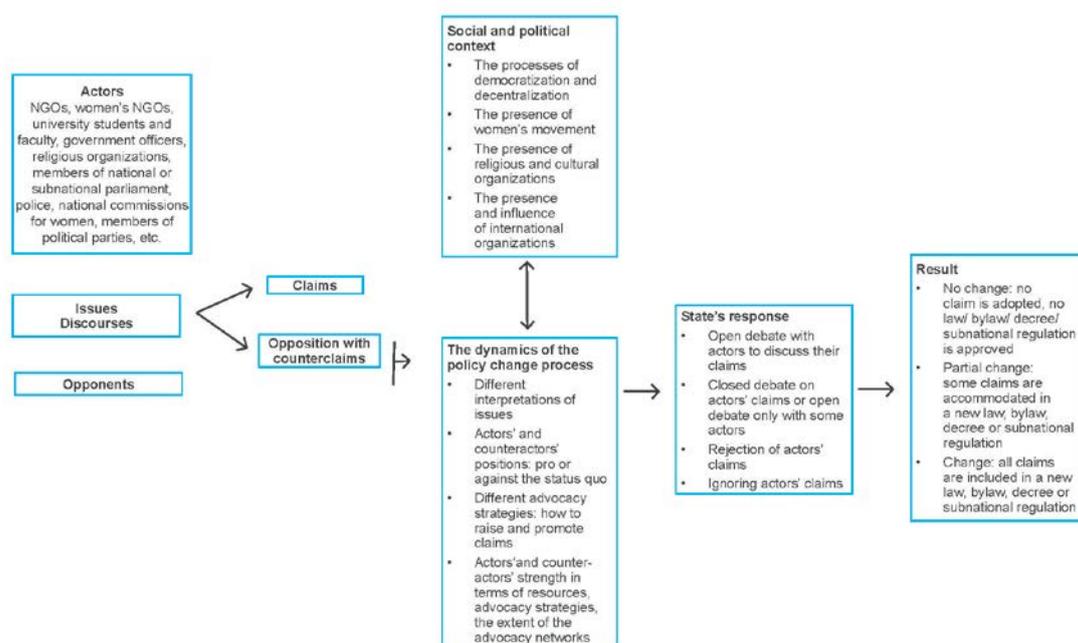
⁵ This study focuses on domestic workers within Indonesia and does not include the Indonesian migrants working as domestic workers in other countries.

women's claims mainly belong to: the state, the market and religion. Based on the second assumption, actors' power and impact vary according to the context.

Yet Htun and Weldon (2010) do not address the emergence of counter-actors within the policy arena that are opposed to women's rights advocates and can equally influence policy makers. According to Fraser (1989), multiple "publics" are involved in the process of policy change and each of them has their interests. Different "publics" raise their claims and articulate their interests in order to influence the outcome of the process. All of these "publics" influence the state, and in the Indonesian context, they have demonstrated deep knowledge of legislative mechanisms and have the skills to sustain their advocacy efforts over time (Munti 2008a).

Based on the above arguments, figure 2.1 shows the elements of the process of policy change that are analysed in this research: (i) the interactions between actors who first raise a policy issue; (ii) the emergence of counter-actors who oppose change around that policy issue; (iii) the social and political context in which actors and counter-actors debate the policy issue; and (iv) the response from the state.

Figure 2.1: Analysis Framework



First, similarly to what Mazur (2009) finds in many European countries, processes of gender equality policy change in Indonesia are usually started by women's movements, which significantly influence the whole. According to Blackburn (2004), women's movements express women's desire to speak out together and to incorporate voices within groups (either formal or informal) in order to articulate their claims within the public sphere. Therefore, apart from women's organizations, we include women's rights activists from other organizations and institutions (religious organizations, academia, trade unions, state institutions, etc.) within the Indonesian women's movement. All actors engaged in the women's movement carry interests that at times might converge or diverge, leading to a very diverse movement (Blackburn 2004; Robinson 2009; Noerdin 2013). This diversity of interests influences the political dynamics among the actors, particularly when it comes to articulating and prioritizing the policy issues to be pursued (Fraser 1989). Therefore women's movements can collaborate or be in conflict

depending on how they interpret the debated policy issue (Eddyono 2010b). For instance, Indonesian women's rights activists and organizations shared common interests while advocating the approval of the Anti-Domestic Violence Act, 2004, but they split into different factions when the state started to discuss a law against pornography (see chapter 4).

Further, Blackburn (2004) categorizes Indonesian women's movements into the following categories: religious and non-religious, membership and non-membership based, class-based and non-class-based. While this study acknowledges the importance of Blackburn's categories, it argues that the key variable to distinguish Indonesian women's movements is their overall vision towards the patriarchal system: (i) changing the patriarchal system, (ii) supporting the patriarchal system, and (iii) a middle ground ideology that falls between the first and second category (table 2.1). Thus, some religious women's groups aim to change the patriarchal system, while some support it. Other religious organizations might have a less defined ideology and sometimes they support patriarchy, while sometimes they oppose it. This is valid also for class-based and non-class-based organizations and for membership and non-membership organizations. In this research, we refer to the women's movements that challenge patriarchy as feminist movements.

Table 2.1: The categories of women's groups in Indonesia based on their vision

	Category		
	Challenging patriarchy	Confirming patriarchy	In between
Framework	Feminism; women's rights	Religious values; morality	Formal conventions recognized by the state
Women's groups	Religious and non-religious;	Religious and non-religious	Religious and non-religious
	Class-based and non-class-based;	Class-based and non-class-based	Class-based and non-class-based
	Membership and non-membership organizations	Membership and non-membership organizations	Membership and non-membership organizations

Source: adapted from Blackburn (2004)

Second, as illustrated in figure 2.1, the actors who start a process for policy change can cause a reaction from counter-actors, who resist such change and raise their arguments (Fraser 1989). Resistance from counter-actors may affect how initiators revise their claims and develop their advocacy strategies, which could include, for example, building alliances with other civil society organizations to establish broader support.

Third, actors that seek policy change raise demands within a social and political context (Htun and Weldon 2010; Mazur 2009). Htun and Weldon (2010:208) argue that state capacity, institutional legacies, vulnerability to international pressure, and degree of democracy are contextual factors that influence the processes of gender equality policy change in a specific country. Similarly, we identify four contextual factors that influence policy change in Indonesia: (i) the processes of democratization and decentralization, (ii) the presence women's movement, (iii) religious and cultural agendas and ideologies, and (iv) the presence/influence of international organizations. These factors and their influence on the process of gender equality policy change are discussed in the next chapter.

Fourth, the state's response varies according to the policy issue and to the four contextual factors listed above. The state may entirely disregard demands for policy change, by silencing them, or it may allow a number of other discourses to develop. In addition, states can also use arguments expressed by the initiators to support claims of counter-actors. As argued by Blackburn (2004), the state is not a monolithic entity. It is constituted by institutions that work independently from each other, especially in the case of a decentralized state like Indonesia. A decision at national level may be different from those made at subnational level. State institutions are run by those who have different interests that determine the state's response to women's claims. Further, policy making is political process in which not all actors have the same power to voice their interests, and in which the power relations among state actors strongly impact the claims that are included in the final policy/law.⁶

Fifth, violence against women (especially domestic violence), protection of domestic workers and unpaid care work are controversial issues to be articulated within the public sphere as they are usually perceived as relegated to the private sphere. Htun and Weldon (2010:209) categorize policy issues into four types: doctrinal versus non-doctrinal, and gender status versus class-based. A policy issue is doctrinal when it challenges religious doctrines and/or cultural traditions rooted in a specific context or country. An issue can become doctrinal further to changes in the social and economic systems of a country. For instance, economic development usually enhances women's ability to participate in the labour market thereby challenging the existing intra-household gender relations in which women only work inside the house on an unpaid basis. According to Htun and Weldon, doctrinal and non-doctrinal issues are very contextual—an issue may be doctrinal in one region but not in another. Not only can doctrinal issues conflict with religious doctrines, they may also conflict with the traditions and customs of a given society. This study argues that some policy issues might actually overlaps both the categories of doctrinal or non-doctrinal suggested by Htun and Weldon (2010). Using Htun and Weldon's framework, this study hypothesizes that violence against women, protection of domestic workers and unpaid care work are doctrinal issues. Violence against women and unpaid care work are doctrinal policy issues because both challenge views on gender roles that stem from religious and customary doctrine rooted in Indonesian society. The protection of domestic workers is also a doctrinal issue because it challenges the division of roles and labour between men (husband) and women (wife) within the household, which stems from religious doctrine and relegates women to the role of unpaid carer and domestic worker. In contemporary Indonesian society, while women are permitted to join the labour market, they are still expected to perform unpaid care and domestic work. In this context, claims to regulate domestic work bring the intra-household division of labour into the public sphere.

The recognition of domestic workers' labour rights is a cross-cutting issue that involves gender status and class-based considerations. For example, upper-middle class women usually have more opportunities to enter the public workforce and hand over their household chores to other women (domestic workers) who are generally from the lower class.

⁶ Fraser 1989; Mazur 2009; Schuler 1986.

Table 2.2: Recognition of domestic workers' labour rights as a cross-cutting issue

Domestic workers' labour rights	<i>Doctrinal</i>	<i>Non-doctrinal</i>
<i>Gender-based</i>	<p>Challenge to the gender division of labour between men and women within the household, as understood broadly and as part of religious and cultural practices.</p> <p>Challenge to the interpretation of domestic work as a job exclusively for women.</p>	
<i>Class-based</i>	<p>Challenge to the inequality between women: between employers and domestic workers.</p>	<p>Promote the idea of domestic work as decent work.</p>

2.3 Research sites

The research was conducted in Jakarta, in three provinces and in three districts. Jakarta was selected as the location of mobilization and advocacy toward the national state, while the research in the provinces and districts aims at exploring women's mobilization and claims toward subnational assemblies and governments. The three districts and three provinces have different socio-political features, different kinship systems and customary traditions (see table 2.3). The Islamic religion is very strong in all six research locations, but its practice is mediated by local kinship systems and customary traditions. Both religious and cultural practices are included in the analysis in order to determine their influence on women's mobilization efforts. Indeed, we argue that the social and political context is one of the factors that influence women's mobilization and gender equality policy change (see chapter 3). Background information for each site is provided below to explain the context in which women's mobilization is embedded.

2.3.1 The province of West Nusa Tenggara and the regency of East Lombok

The province of West Nusa Tenggara consists of several islands in the Nusa Tenggara archipelago, while East Lombok is a regency situated in one of these islands. The regency of East Lombok constitutes 20 districts. The entire province embraces both Hinduism and Islam. Most of the population is of Sasak ethnicity and considers religion as a vital part of Sasak culture. Violating a religious norm is seen as tantamount to violating a customary tradition and the violator can receive a strong sanction from the community. Religious and customary leaders, called *Tuan Guru*, are important and well respected within the community and the kinship system is patrilineal (women are excluded from inheritance) (Kingsley 2012). Islamic organizations are under the influence and direction of the parent Islamic organization called Nahdlatul Wathan (NU), which also runs schools across the province.⁷ The religious doctrines of Hindusim and Islam and the customary norms tend to position women as subordinate to men, both within the family and the community (Bartolomew 2001). West Nusa Tenggara is also the province of origin of many overseas migrants who work in Muslim countries such as Saudi Arabia and Malaysia.⁸

⁷ Interviews with AD, ZC, RD and JL, activists from local NGOs.

⁸ The West Nusa Tenggara Department of Labour reported that 56,672 citizens were working abroad in 2014 (45,256 men and 11,416 women).

2.3.2 *The province of East Java and the district of Jember*

In East Java, the majority of the population is Muslim, who mostly support the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), one of the traditional Islamic organizations in Indonesia. East Java was one of the regions affected by the riots in May 1998 against the citizens of Chinese ethnicity, who were considered the cause of the economic crisis. The capital, Surabaya City, is the second most politically and economically important city after Jakarta. Its economy is based on industry, which attracts many women workers from the villages.⁹ The context of East Java is however very diverse: poor rural villages are scattered between the urban areas (Peters 2013), and the province of East Java is among the top three in terms of the number of migrant workers (BNP2TKI 2015). Jember is one of the districts of East Java. The majority of the population consists of Muslims, Javanese and Madurese migrants, and people of Chinese and Osing ethnicity. The mixture of Javanese and Madurese cultures has created a new culture, called *Pendalungan* (Sutarto 2006). Based on this cultural background, the “cultural pot” is based on three principles of solidarity: between Muslims, between citizens and between humanity. Although the Nahdlatul Ulama is predominant in the district, the more progressive Islamic organization called Muhammadiyah is accepted and there is no conflict among the two organizations. In terms of gender perceptions, women’s position within the society is understood differently among the Islamic organizations and groups across the province, particularly because of the presence of women’s organizations that promote discourse on women and religion.

2.3.3 *The province of West Sumatra and the district of West Pasaman*

The majority of the population in West Sumatra and West Pasaman are of Minangkabau ethnicity and practice Islam (Rahayuningtyas and Noerdin 2013). The Minangkabau people follow a matrilineal system in which lineage and inheritance rights are passed on to women. Women are responsible as guardians of property (lands and houses) and of culture. In Minangkabau society husbands are considered to be guests in the homes of wives. However family decisions are generally made by the male lineage, by *mamak*, or the brother of the woman (Blackburn et al. 2008). Kato (1982) emphasizes that all decisions made by the *mamak* should be discussed with women in the *Bundo Kanduang* (female representative council) in the *gadang* (longhouse) or in the *nagari* (the area where the family resides). There are very strong linkages between Islam and Minangkabau traditions, like two sides of a coin (Romli 2008). There is a proverb “*adat basandi syara’, syara’ basandi kitabullah*” (custom relies on religion, which relies on the Qur’an) that echoes constantly in all aspects of social and political life of the province (Rahayuningtyas and Noerdin 2013). In this province, Islam is very influential and at least 14 local regulations are based on Islamic law. In this context, however, the matrilineal system has managed to survive.

⁹ In this industry, women workers have made attempts to mobilize for their labour rights. However, the leaders have often been harassed. For instance, Marsinah was a worker and labour activist who was raped and murdered because of her activism in 1993 (Waluyo 2013). Since then, she has been an icon of the struggle of female workers in Indonesia.

Table 2.3: The research sites and socio-political features

Province	District	Socio-political features
West Sumatra	West Pasaman	Matrilineal kinship system
East Java	Jember	Culture and religion mutually influence each other Parental kinship system Strong Islamic culture Second largest Indonesian province by urbanization, but urban centres are surrounded by large rural communities
West Nusa Tenggara	East Lombok	Patrilineal kinship system Combination of strong local culture and religion Rural and urban settings

2.4 Research methods

This study compares processes of claims making (i) between national and subnational governance levels, (ii) among provinces and districts, (iii) across policy issues (violence against women, domestic work, unpaid care work); and (iv) across the social, cultural and political contexts that influenced the advocacy process.

In accordance with UNRISD (2013), this research uses process tracing and analytical narratives. Process tracing is a systematic process of analysing selected evidence within the context of the research framework to answer research questions and hypotheses (Collier 2011). Process tracing requires sufficient evidence, an explanation (narrative) that describes how the evidence relates to the research, and links between the various factors that influence responses to the research questions. This approach is not focused entirely on proving a hypothesis, but rather examining the factors that affect changes in social phenomenon and the tendencies of the actors involved (Lupovici 2009). This approach reconstructs the unfolding/evolution of a particular set of claims over time, including the actors raising them and the important events that occurred when they were raised (UNRISD 2013). Narrative analysis provides a bridge between theoretical approaches and empirical experience (Bates et al. 2000). This method of analysis integrates theory and empirical experience and influences the development of new knowledge rather than simply putting forward theories and data. According to Bates et al. (2000) there are two complementary driving forces in this approach, applying theory to data and using data to construct theory. Specific findings in the case studies are linked to theory and theories are constructed from experiences within the case studies.

Further, this research used a series of qualitative data collection methods, as described in the following sections. Feminist research methodology, as explained at the beginning of this chapter, informs all of these methods.

In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were mostly used to collect the experiences of the actors involved in processes of advocacy and policy change (table 2.4). According to Ackerly and True (2010), interviews are often regarded as the most appropriate method to answer research questions. The snowball method was used to identify respondents.

Table 2.4: List of organizations interviewed during the research

Type of organization	Location							Total
	Jakarta	West Pasaman	West Sumatra	Jember	East Java	East Lombok	West Nusa Tenggara	
NGO	11	–	6	8	3	4	9	41
Religious organizations	6	–	1	–	–	1	–	7
Customary/ indigenous organizations	–	5	3	–	–	1	1	10
Academics	4	–	2	–	–	–	1	7
Government	6	5	4	4	–	2	4	25
Members of Parliament	–	2	2	1	–	2	1	8
Human rights organizations	9	–	–	–	–	–	–	9
International organizations	2	–	–	–	1	–	–	3
Total	38	12	18	13	4	10	16	111

Focus group discussions

The researchers organized two focus group discussions. The first discussion was held in the province of West Sumatra and was attended by representatives from NGOs. Representatives from local government and a religious women's organization (*Aisyiyah*) from the district of West Pasaman participated in the second discussion.

Observation and participant observation

Observation and participant observation were used to gather data on the day-to-day social lives of respondents via observing, accompanying, talking, and, in the case of participant observation, participating. These methods were used to understand the behaviours and views of respondents about a particular issue (Baker 1999; Fenno 1986). While doing participant observation, researchers participated in the respondents' activities (Baker 1999) and critically reflected upon their dual role as researchers and activists. The specific objectives of participant observation were to:

- understand the opinions and practices on the research issues from respondents' perspective;
- analyse in-depth the dynamics (including conflictual dynamics) between the advocacy actors during the making of strategies; and
- examine the extent to which state institutions respond to women's claims through the implementation of state programmes.

We participated in 13 meetings and demonstrations organized by NGOs mobilizing on the research issues. At national level, we joined meetings between NGOs and state actors, and international networking meetings. In East Lombok, we participated in actions urging the revocation of a 2014 mayor's decree permitting civil servants to engage in polygamy if they paid a sum of money to the subnational government.

Review of secondary data

The review of documents and literature is another way to obtain relevant data, to prepare the field research, and to triangulate the data collected in the field. Apart from academic literature, we reviewed reports, news, press releases and other documents published by women's movements, state institutions, civil society and newspapers.