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MAINSTREAMING HUMAN SECURITY:

ASIAN PERSPECTIVES

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A Gendered Battle: Human Security and Women's Struggle for Equality in Indonesia's New Democratic Era

Abubakar Eby Hara

After more than ten years of reformation since the fall of Suharto in 1998, parts of Indonesian society are increasingly able to define their security concerns. However, the definition of security still depends upon who has political resources and power. In a patriarchal society such as Indonesia, men have strong position and power to define what security for society is without considering women's concerns. At the national level, some regulations are planned to limit women's role in political and social life. Similarly, in some regencies, through the regional autonomy programs, members of local parliaments and local governments support so-called *shariah* (Islamic law) regulations which limit a woman's freedom to work and conduct public activities. In this situation, democracy, according to some women activists, has not been gendered.

This chapter discusses further the contest of defining security by referring to how Indonesian women attempt to utilize the democratic opportunities and to make their voice heard in the new Indonesian political system. So far, some women activists have attempted to campaign for equal rights and opportunities in political and social life. This includes campaigns to change a gender ideology which places women in a subordinate position to men and to bring a gender perspective into government and society in general. Campaigns to increase women's representation in important political positions are also highlighted to overcome the continuing marginalization of women in society. All these efforts towards a gender perspective on human security are part of efforts to reduce direct and structural violence that women face and to establish and improve their safety (Mckay, 2004: 152).

It is argued that by having more representatives in political institutions such as political parties, parliaments and executive bodies, women can increase their influence in decision making processes and contribute to reducing the likelihood of violence and to creating safer conditions for women to undertake their activities. Although the number of women holding important political positions did not increase significantly in the 2004 general election, recently women have been able to voice their concerns regarding discriminatory regulations. In particular, women's voices are strengthened when women's security issues coincide with human security issues. Human security problems such as violence toward women at home, at the workplace and in public places, receive more attention because of campaigns organized by women activists.

Human Security and Gender

In numerous articles on human security, there have been some efforts to relate women's security with human security. In general, it is assumed that human security can advance women's conditions and gender justice because it concerns efforts to overcome violence, both physical and structural, that creates domination of men over women. Human security approaches aim at improving conditions in areas such as education, health, poverty and migration, all of which also relate to women's conditions in general. Human security approaches also support efforts to help and protect women and children as victims of war, rape and trafficking. Other issues related to the protection of human rights and democratization, and to global human security issues such as population growth, the gap in economic opportunities, migration pressures, environmental degradation, drug trafficking and international terrorism, also have implications for women.

The European Union has adopted a human security doctrine for Europe that establishes conditions for humanitarian intervention overseas or operations in situations of insecurity in a specific country (Liotta & Owen, 2006: 95). However, some criticisms, particularly from feminists, have been directed at human security approaches because of insufficient attention given to key gendered dimensions. As reported by Mckay (2004: 154), Beth Woroniuk has argued that what is missing within human security discussions are;

(1) Violence against women,

(2) Gender inequality in control over resources,

(3) Gender inequality in power and decision making,

(4) Women's human rights, and

(5) Women (and men) as actors, not victims

All of these aspects are not main priorities of a human security approach, perhaps because they are not seen as having direct or immediate impacts on human security. As will be discussed in the Indonesian case, these aspects are very significant, because without tackling the above five points; women's struggle to achieve a better place in Indonesia will fall short. It is also important to consider item number five about women as active agents of change, because in many parts of the world, women's roles are often defined by men or by the state. With regard to point number five, Kitch and Mills, for example, argue that women are often used solely for state purposes.

> Women's symbolic and actual lives throughout history have been shaped by state purposes. Whereas men have driven political and economic engines, thereby acquiring identities as

> active agents, women have remained the clients or even wards of their governments—those acted upon for the alleged common good. The problem is universal....
>
> Without a commitment to empower women to shape national policy both at home and abroad, to guarantee education and health care for all, and to listen as women speak for themselves, such rhetoric only contributes to women's historical role as shuttlecocks in men's political badminton games (2004: 66–67).

Addressing this criticism, giving the importance of women as active agents as Hoogensen and Stuvøy argue, human security needs to integrate feminist perspectives into its analysis (2006: 216).

Human security approaches share a similar concern with feminist approaches in the sense that they depart from individual security. Shinoda has reviewed the UNDP's 1994 *Human Development Report,* and identified the connections to human security. For human development, it is defined as; "a process of widening the range of people's choices." In that context human security means "that people can exercise these choices safely and freely – and that they can be relatively confident that the opportunities they have today are not totally lost tomorrow."

The Report attempts to make a transition from the narrow concept of national security to the all-encompassing concept of human security. It represents a change from "an exclusive stress on territorial security to a much greater stress on people's security' and 'from security through armaments to security through sustainable human development" (Shinoda, 2004: 10).Attention to personal security, such as protecting human lives from various kinds of violence by the state and other elements of society, is also one of the main aims of feminists. As Ann Tickner argues, in contrast to the state security approach, feminist approaches to security look at security from the perspective of the individual, not the state (1999: 42). Moreover, many universal explanations, according to her, contain hidden gender biases because they mainly depart from men's experiences. In this situation, feminist perspectives on security focus on women's subordinate position and their insecurity, and, in response, attempt to reconstruct gender hierarchies (Tickner 1999), where women's situation has worsened because of local cultures and religious traditions.

Based on this point of departure, the contribution of feminists to human security departs from an assumption of how individuals can take part in the process of defining their security and formulating efforts to overcome their subjugation. As mentioned by Mckay (2004) feminists attempt to analyze how women experience insecurity. A key feminist question about human security is 'Whose security is emphasized and how?' One response is that,

> boys' and men's security is prioritized over that of girls and women because of sexism whereby women and girls are discriminated against because of their gender. Other feminist questions are, "how do ordinary women define human security as compared with prevailing meanings?" and "what forces in a nation or community create, reinforce, and maintain gendered conditions of human insecurity, and what are these?" (Mckay 2004: 155)

Feminists propose that human security approaches need to address the conditions that suppress women. Human security must prioritize issues of physical, structural, and ecological violence rather than military security. The attention to structural factors that suppress women in particular is one important contribution of feminists to human security approaches. Feminist approaches to security attempt to uncover the source of domination over women. Feminist interpretations of human security attempt to uncover threats of violence that are both direct and structural, so "reducing direct and structural violence must be an international priority, if girls and women are to experience improved human security" (McKay (2004: 156).

In line with Mckay, Hoogensen and Stuvøy (2006: 216) argue that by using a feminist framework to understand and explain human security, the visible relations of dominance and non-dominance on the basis of race, ethnicity and class, often disregarded by the dominant paradigms, can be revealed. Feminist perspectives expand human security by uncovering 'fundamental power relations' and inequalities created deeply by gender discourses which put women in weaker position compared to men. Mckay listed some problems that women should uncover such as women's lack of decision making authority within political and economic systems, the inability to participate in elections and public life, and religious-based oppression. These, according to her, are sources of structural violence experienced by women (Mckay, 2004: 161).

An integral part of gender theories is the empowerment of the individual and the creation of a good security environment. Women activists use many types of resistance to fight against injustice and play significant roles in society. Empowerment, as mentioned by Basch (2004: 7), is important because women are often treated as victims or powerless agents. Kitch and Mills put it this way:

> The constructions of female agency in these discourses varied from zero (the helpless, innocent victims of the Iranian case) to retrograde agency (the superstitious/irrational agents of social decay of Hindu and Muslim reformers in India) to latently revolutionary (the Soviets in Central Asia). In all cases, increased or reformed agency for women was not an end in itself but a tactic for shifting power from one male-dominated interest group to another (2004: 69).

Empowerment, therefore, needs to be encouraged using a bottom-up approach, departing from individuals' and groups' experiences in local practices (Hoogensen and Stuvøy, 2006: 211). Thus women who play active roles in society need to be supported. Their own experience under cultural and religious traditions must be highlighted. In this process, women must gain access to religious education and participate in decision making processes so that they have equal rights and positions as men to interpret religious texts and to have a say in society. Their whole efforts may be viewed as processes which can interrupt what Kitch and Mills describe as 'the cycle of exploitative, top-down, ineffective, and cynical claims to represent, organize, and protect women' (2004: 72).

Women's Security: The Indonesian Context

In a patriarchal society such as Indonesia, security has been defined by men. Many policies were informed by masculinist discourses. The discourses create, reinforce, and maintain gendered conditions of human insecurity. It is interesting to see how Indonesian women have attempted to break this patriarchal situation, cultures and also religious interpretations, and how they struggle for equal rights and positions with men. In the struggle for equal rights against a patriarchal culture and demeaning religious interpretations, Indonesian women activists depart from individuals and communities, similar to human security perspectives.

The struggle of women in the new democratic Indonesia after the fall of President Suharto's New Order government in May 1998 is the same as it has always been: to promote equality. The problem has been that this struggle has too often been confined to the private sphere and sublimated by a male-dominated public sphere. This opportunity is something many Indonesians and many Indonesian women had hoped for after a long period of domination under the New Order, which placed emphasis mainly on state stability and security as its main justification for Indonesian development. During the transition to democracy, amendments were made to the 1945 Constitution which stipulates that women and men have equal rights to hold positions in both legislative and executive bodies. In addition, a new general election law was introduced which contained an article that requires political parties to draw up candidate lists for local and national parliamentary elections with at least 30 per cent women. In executive bodies, women also have equal rights with men to be elected as president, governors, heads of regencies and mayors. The amended 1945 constitution also states that 'all citizens are equal before the law' and that the 'government guarantees freedom of union and association, and to express opinions both in speech and writing'.

However, Indonesia's democracy remains an oligarchic democracy where certain groups of people have access to power and resources and are therefore able to control the political process. These groups use money, resources

and political networks to win general elections. They have access to the decision making process. A majority of people, particularly women, cannot meaningfully participate in politics because they do not have access to those resources. Politics is still dominated by elites. Hadiz argues that politics in the reformation period is still conducted within a New Order political culture, in that;

> many of the elements of the *ancient régime* – who were always more organized, coherent and endowed with material resources in the first place – and a non-liberal form of democracy, run by the logic of money politics and political thuggery' (Hadiz 2003: 594).

In this context, democracy as a whole does not lead to laws and regulations, as well as programs and policies which are pro-poor and pro-women. In the case of women, the system even produces some policies which strengthen the patriarchal system and discriminate against women. To understand the policies and regulations that marginalize women in Indonesia today, we need to briefly look at the definition of security adopted by the state before the reformation era. This discussion is important, since women's present condition cannot be separated from the top–down policies of the New Order, which made women subordinate to men.

During the New Order government, state security was the main priority. Suharto's New Order emphasized a strong state capable of maintaining stability and silencing opposition. In its further development, state security was defined as a comprehensive security covering whole areas such as ideology, politics, economy, society, culture and defense (Muna, 2004: 4). This meant that government policies regarding all these areas should be maintained and supported to ensure state stability, unity and security. Within the New Order framework of security, women should also support and maintain the state's security and stability. The New Order established organizations such as a corps of civil society wives' organizations to co-opt women into supporting its development agenda.

In the Broad Guidelines of State Policy (GBHN, or *Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara)* formulated during Suharto's government, 'endorsed' by the parliament every five years, women were given the task of taking care of domestic matters as mothers (*ibu*). As citizens, women were represented as mother and wife, and their position as professional workers was secondary. Their main task was to support their husbands, who worked outside the house. The ideology of motherhood (*ibuism*) reflected the condition of a patriarchal society where women were only allocated jobs defined as appropriate for women (WRI–Women Research Institute, 2007). Women's rights were also limited in terms of representation. A woman was not supposed to become a leader, but only be a partner and a supporter of a man. Women's public role was limited to participation in social groups and women's organizations. The division of labor

was based on this structure, and women's organizations were also made to serve the functions demanded by the state. A significant number of women's organizations were formed or co-opted by the New Order state at that time and functioned according to state guidelines. Most of these organized social activities and gatherings to support the husbands' political positions. Many of the above assumptions and practices continue to shape Indonesian society today.

Changes in the political system are expected to be able to empower women's position in society. In theory at least, there have been increased opportunities for women to participate in politics and social activities, particularly with the adoption of decentralization policies by the central government in 1999. Decentralization gives opportunities to all citizens, including women, at the regency level to control the local government directly. Women can participate in local politics, mobilize masses, protest, monitor the process of governance and form organizations to ensure the accountability and transparence of local government.

However, in some regencies, these opportunities have not materialized. In the regencies, regional regulations are made based on men's perceptions of women's roles. For example, in defining threats to society, male-dominated parliaments in some regencies make regulations, such as the obligation for women to wear a Muslim headscarf *(hijab)* and not to be in public places at night, which limit women's freedoms. These parliaments also define security as being free of immoral activities, the source of which, is alleged to be the behavior and appearance of women.

At the national level, a draft of the anti-pornography law attempts to limit the entertainment industry based on the assumption that the industry has exploited women's bodies and has instigated violence against women in society. This is a typical example of how a regulation regarding women is formulated. It is oriented to male perceptions, whereby women will experience sexual harassment or even rape if they show certain parts of their body. However, it is revealing that the draft does not specify the punishment for the rapists. The draft seeks to emphasize the supposed danger both of woman's bodies and women's sexuality, and the need for these to be 'secured' (WRI, 2007).

At the regional or regency level, according to Budianta, indigenous local governance systems attempt to strengthen local traditions and regional identities (2006: 920). The difficulty for women is that this phenomenon often means a return of patriarchy, which threatens women's individual rights. The return to the *Nagari* (or local council system) in West Sumatra Province, for example, has limited women's participation, since women traditionally do not participate in this local political entity. In Tasikmalaya Municipality, an Islamic vision was chosen as the city's cultural identity. To strengthen this identity, regulations were made to oblige all female students and civil servants to wear a veil. On a similar note, the regional parliament in Banda Aceh Municipality proposed regulations to

elect village leaders based on selected religious teachings, which close the opportunity for women to become leaders. One article in the regulation stipulates that leaders should be able to lead Islamic prayers, a role which in Islamic teaching is reserved for an adult male. The above examples of cultural revival illustrate that local patriarchal values, rather than weakening, have strengthened. This, in turn, closes public spaces for women and limits their freedoms (WRI, 2007).

Given these facts, while in the political structure there have been democratic processes, such as free general elections and opportunities to participate in monitoring governance processes, women's position is weakened and their voices cannot be heard. As Lily Zakiyah Munir notes, women's 'invisibility' is not only evident in the political dimension of public life, but is also evident in the fundamental nature of public life which supports a specific gendered conception of women's role. Munir's statement is quite profound:

> a continuity in the New Order's gender ideology, in which women are seen as pillars of the nation – meant to serve the interest of the state and the male citizens. This ideology has been propagated in the society using references to religious texts such as the Qur'an or hadiths. The idealization of women becomes the very means by which women are discriminated against, for women who fall out of this ideal type of female citizenship are stigmatized. (quoted in Budianta, 2006:918).

Women's Bottom-Up Strategies

The argument thus far illustrates that democracy does not automatically guarantee women's security. Democracy forming within a patriarchal structure has created direct and indirect violence against women. In regencies, democratic processes produce some regulations that endanger women's lives and work against their aspirations. Much if not all of the following definition of structural violence against women provided by Deborah Du Nann Winter and Dana Leighton (quoted in Mckay, 2004: 159) is relevant for understanding the Indonesian scenario:

> [structural violence is] embedded in ubiquitous social structures, normalized by stable institutions and regular experiences. Structural violence occurs whenever people are disadvantaged by political, legal, economic, or cultural traditions. Because they are longstanding, structural inequities usually seem ordinary – the way things are and always have been. But structural violence produces suffering and death as often as direct violence does, though the damage is slower, more subtle, more common, and more difficult to repair.

In order to stabilize the safety of women, women's activists continue their campaigns for equal opportunities, rights and representation in many areas in society as part of their effort to create a situation that is conducive to their security. The efforts can be seen as an attempt by women, as a dominated group, to change their situation. This reflects Basch's argument that security must be defined 'as freeing individuals and groups from the social, physical, economic and political constraints that prevent them from carrying out what they would freely choose to do' (2004: 9).

In Indonesia women's struggle covers three main areas. There is an attempt to build a new epistemological framework for gender relations, to introduce a gender perspective in government and society, and to promote more women's representation in politics. First, in terms of changing perceptions of values and norms, the campaigns of women activists attempt to revise the interpretation of values and norms often used to justify women's gender status in society. The sources of justification particularly relate to certain interpretations of Islamic teachings, which for a long time have strengthened men's control over women. Women activists try to increase awareness that the teachings are only interpretations of certain religious texts, which have been strengthened by social processes, and they are not the essence of the teachings themselves.

In this respect, works by some members of the Islamic boarding school *(pesantren)* community revising the classical Islamic books about women are worth mentioning. In the Forum to Discuss Classical Books (*Forum Kajian Kitab Kuning*–FK3), some Muslim thinkers and Muslim feminists have regular meetings led by Sinta Nuriyah, wife of former President Abdurrahman Wahid, to challenge religious interpretations about gender. They made a new interpretation of *Kitab Kuning,* or classical Islamic texts, which are the main reading books in *pesantren.* These texts generally privilege man over women in society. For instance, some classical books which have been taught in *pesantren* for long time contain many unjust rules regulating behavior within the family and between husband and wife. FK3 then published one of the results of the discussions in a book titled *Wajah Baru Relasi Suami Isteri: Telaah Kitab 'Uqud al-Lujjayn' (A New Interpretation in Husband and Wife Relations: an Analysis to 'Uqud al-Lujjayn' Classical Book),* which soon became a new reference for women activists in *pesantren* (*Tempo,* 26 March–1 April 2007). The book has also been circulated in the *pesantren* community and the public in general.

As the *pesantren* community and those reinterpreting the text have strong influence in society, the result of the reinterpretation had quite a significant influence in the *pesantren* community and society in general. One women's organization, Nahdina from Cipasung, Tasikmalaya, West Java, publicizes this new interpretation through discussions and religious gatherings. It attempts to provide perspectives about relations between men and women, about reproductive health and other relevant women's issues. People around the *pesantren* in particular become the target of this socialization. Nahdina also

attempts to include a gender perspective in some subjects in school curricula. It often brings together school teachers to increase their understanding of a gender perspective in different subjects. After the meetings, the teachers are then expected to introduce this gender perspective to students. The subject of biology for example has been taught using a gender perspective that explains how the biological differences between men and women do not necessarily lead to differences in social roles.

The acceptance of the *pesantren* community of this reinterpretation is most significant. In research conducted by the Economic and Social Research Institute (Lembaga Penelitian Ekonomi and Sosial–LP3ES) and *Forum Sebangsa* in 2004, it was found that gender issues had become part of the public discourse and that some *pesantrens* had actually empowered women before the gender equality campaigns were started.

However, the opposition to this kind of interpretation to gender relations is very strong because the current openness in Indonesian society has given opportunities for people to speak. The openness has strengthened conservative Islamic groups which are against this new interpretation. Kamala Chandrakirana, the director of the National Commission on Violence against Women, states that these groups have grown significantly and attempt to discredit this new interpretation by claiming that this is part of a Western conspiracy to destroy Muslim society (WRI, 2007). According to Chandrakirana, the so-called right-wing groups get strong support because they are able to use the media and have a strategy of using a cell system to recruit young people, including middle-class students in secular universities.

Second, to create a safer place for their activities and life in general, women attempt to increase gender awareness at different levels of society. In mainstreaming the gender perspective, women's efforts have apparently become part of the government program through the Ministry of Women's Empowerment. Indonesia has also issued Law No. 7/1984 to prohibit discrimination and violence against women. Presidential Decree Number 9, issued in 2000, incorporates the issue of gender mainstreaming (GMS) into all aspects of national development. This is also part of the Broad Guidelines of the State Policy in 1999 and Law No. 25 in 2000, about the National Development Program, which states the importance of creating gender equity and equality in all policies made by both local and national governments

The GMS activities involve many community organizations, such as Family Health Assistance (PKK), Center for Women Studies, Mother Friendly Movement, Team Work for Preventing and Managing Pornography, Efforts to Eliminating Violence against Women (EVAW) and other institutions. With those GMS programs, it is expected that women will be seen as part of society Azis Hussein (2001), former Deputy Minister of Women Empowerment raised a very

critical point that the National Action Plan to eliminate violence against women will need "a political will" of regency and province managers.

Third, on the issue of women's struggle to have more representation in public institutions, Edriana Noerdin of the WRI points out that from a feminist perspective, one has to ask the following questions: 'Who participates in democracy, and what democracy is for?' Indonesian feminists, according to Noerdin, need to ask these questions because 'citizenship in Indonesia is gendered, and it is by default male' (Budianta, 2006: 917). Despite the fact that gender mainstreaming attempts to give awareness of equality between male and female in public spaces, and that it has been widely supported in public discourse, the number of women in public positions is small. Democracy in Indonesia seems to be happening without women. They get involved in political campaigns and general elections, but their position remains as vote getters. Some political parties added women's names on their candidate list only to abide by the political regulations requiring 30 per cent women candidates, but these political parties put them at the bottom of the list with little possibility of being elected.

In a critical note, after the first fair general election in Indonesia in 1999, some prominent women's organizations stated that Indonesia had experienced democracy without women being significantly represented in Indonesia. In political parties and parliament, the number of women representatives is only about ten per cent. This means that the aspirations of more than 50 per cent of Indonesians, namely women, are not reflected in the decision making process. The following table shows the number of women in important public positions.

Table 17.1 Women in Formal Political Institutions in Indonesia, 2005

Institution	Women	%	Men	%
DPD (Upper House)	27	21.0	101	79.0
DPR (Constituent Assembly)	63	11.5	487	88.5
Supreme Court	8	14.8	40	85.2
State Audit Agency	0	0.0	7	100.0
National Election Commission	2	18.1	9	81.9
Governor (provincial level)	0	0.0	30	100.0
Mayor/Regent (metropolitan regency/regency level	5	1.5	331	98.5
Civil Service Echelon IV and III*	1,883	7.0	25,110	93.0
Judges*	536	16.2	2,775	83.8
State Civil Court*	35	23.4	150	76.6

Source: Data formulated by the Division on Women and the Elections (CETRO); Profile of DPD Members 2004–2009; and the Secretariat of the Indonesian Legislature (DPR-RI).

Women do not get involved in the formulation of some regional regulations partly because they are underrepresented and partly because of the perception that politics is a male preserve. Women's representation at the national and regency level is relatively small compared to the number of women candidates in the general election.

In overcoming this situation, some women activists actively lobby political leaders and members of parliament. Two women's political caucuses, for example, have been formed, namely the Women's Legislative Caucus *(Kaukus Perempuan Parlemen)* and the Indonesian Women's Political Caucus *(Kaukus Politik Perempuan Indonesia)*. A key issue of their lobbying effort is legislation to adopt a quota of at least 20–30 percent women as members of parliament. The result was the inclusion of a provision which states that political parties 'should bear in their hearts' to have 30 per cent of all their electoral candidates be women. The provision is included in the new Electoral Law passed in February 2003. Although the provision is not binding, Parawansa (2005), former Minister of Women's Empowerment, stated that this is a victory for women's groups that had lobbied hard for quotas, even though the implementation is very weak.[1]

New Significance: Integrating Feminism into Human Security Issues

The campaigns and strategies mentioned in the previous section are part of the bottom–up strategies adopted by women, although they show relations of dominance and non-dominance in Indonesian society. The campaigns, which include efforts to change Islamic interpretations of women in society, to mainstream gender perspectives and to increase their participation in politics, are conducted in the spirit of uncovering structural male domination in Indonesia. These strategies have also brought a feminist perspective into human security issues.[2] In today's development, women's campaigns in Indonesia to support their security have become part of the struggles they face in daily life. This is particularly the case because some regulations issued by local parliaments and regents, which have more autonomy in Indonesia today, have weakened women's freedoms and security in their daily activities.

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[1] These efforts gained a fruitful result since women could increase their representatives in parliament (DPR) from 11.5 per cent (63 members) in 2004 to 18.03 per cent (101 members) in the 2009 general election. See www.cetro.or.id.

[2] In Indonesia's case, the concern for human security, as for many states, started after the end of the Cold War. Human security as a new concept introduced by NGOs and international institutions got more attention because of natural disasters in Aceh and Yogyakarta. Issues such as human trafficking, piracy, and transnational crimes have also started to become prominent. The term 'non-traditional security' has been more popular than 'human security' for some time, since it relates to issues having cross-border significance. ASEAN has also discussed non-traditional issues and adopted a concept of comprehensive security. In the concept, ASEAN, would now also control cross-border and transnational issues, beside its traditional concern for state security matters.

Women's struggles are part of campaigns against a patriarchal system which has justified a situation where women are often discriminated against and exploited in their work place, at home and in society. It is also clear that women's campaigns to protect their rights and to improve their conditions find new significance when democratic processes at both national and regency levels have produced some regulations which discriminate against women. At the national level, the drafting of the anti-pornography law has instigated protests from women's groups, since it is based on the assumption of male supremacy. In practice the law will discriminate against women and limit women's activities. At the regency level, there are regulations relating to human security and women's security, such as an anti-prostitution policy, which controls morality. The concerns of many Indonesian women regarding this regulation relate to the likelihood that they may experience difficulties while conducting routine activities. The anti-prostitution policy in Tangerang Regency, West Java, for example, which states that women should not go home late at night, has limited women's activities. If women are still around after ten o'clock at night, they will be suspected of being a prostitute and will be arrested. This happened to Ms. Lilis Lindawati, a single woman who returned home late at night. She was arrested by a Tangerang Regency security guard and following the morality regulation in the regency, she was arrested because she was still around after ten o'clock at night, although she insisted that she had just come back from work and was not a prostitute. She stayed in jail for a few days before her family could prove that she was not a prostitute.

According to research conducted by WRI and the Wahid Institute, some regulations in regencies threaten women's security and rights. The report of the research also uncovers the limited role of women in the decision making process, particularly as it relates to natural resources, to the tax system for women workers and to women's reproductive rights as workers (Noerdin & Aripurnami, 2007: 4–5). The research, however, also shows that some women activists are able to fight successfully and their views are sometimes accepted in parliament. In North Sulawesi Province, for example, women activists support and are able to push North Sulawesi's parliament to form a regulation to protect women from trafficking. In this province, trafficking of women has taken place since the Japanese occupation over six decades ago. Many women from this area are brought to West Papua Province to contract as sex workers and bar hostesses. They are also vulnerable to HIV/AIDS. In Mataram, women demanded a regional regulation to protect women workers against violence. On the contrary, members of parliament and the local government are only interested in generating income from the workers in order to increase the regional budget. Regulations have been passed which charges for worker's services, worker's permits, and for worker's health schemes. Women activists in this city, through an organization like Jarpuk, therefore, demanded the inclusion of some provisions to protect women from violence, which female workers often experience before their departure to destination countries (WRI, 2007).

Although the target to strengthen women's representation in parliament has not been fulfilled, organizations such as the National Commission on Violence against Women *(Komnas Perempuan),* the All Acehnese Women's Conference *(Duek Pakat Inong Aceh),* the Indonesian Women-Headed Household Program *(Perempuan Kepala Keluarga),* and the Voice of Concerned Mothers *(Suara Ibu Peduli-SIP)* have all experimented with democratic processes in their efforts to protect and support the role of women in public. The All Acehnese Women's Conference works with women in the warring camps to find alternative programs to survive. The Women-Headed Household Program works to support female single parents and widows in conflict areas to learn from each other, to organize, and to make their voices heard. The SIP is a middle-class advocacy group which has strong economic and political awareness of women's rights.

Similarly, to solve women's common problems, there are women's organizations, in particular women's crisis centers based in regencies, and *pesantren,* which help women victims of violence. These include Mawar Balqis Crisis Center in Cirebon, West Java, Women Protection Center *(Puspita)* in Tasikmalaya, Rifka Anissa in Yogyakarta, Putroe Kandee Foundation in Banda Aceh, and many other women's organizations. All these organizations give counseling and help women who experience domestic violence, rape and sexual harassment.

Conclusion

This chapter attempts to show that women's security is integral to human security. It is argued that by using a feminist perspective, human security can be more fruitful. Of particular importance here are feminist perspectives which promote women as active agents and uncover relations of dominance and non-dominance between women and men. An analysis with a feminist perspective in particular is able to uncover structural, ideological and political dominations which lead to the oppression of women. By using a feminist perspective, women are also seen from a bottom–up approach as agents who have their own needs and aspirations.

Reflecting on the Indonesian case, it can be seen that Indonesian women have been struggling to overcome their insecurity by challenging structural and patriarchal domination. In a new democratic system, women have indeed broader spaces and opportunities to express their interests. In contrast to the Suharto period, in which the state controlled society, in today's democratic period, women can challenge the patriarchic regulations issued by the state. Women's organizations have been able to occupy the public sphere to monitor the law making process on issues such as laws and regulations on pornography, the trafficking of women, and women workers. They protest regional regulations that discriminate against women and take action against the implementation of regulations which disadvantage women in their daily activities.

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