

#### Women and the State in Modern Indonesia

In the first study of the kind, Susan Blackburn examines how Indonesian women have engaged with the state since they began to organise a century ago. Voices from the women's movement resound in these pages, posing demands such as education for girls and reform of marriage laws. The state, for its part, is shown attempting to control women. The book investigates the outcomes of these mutual claims and the power of the state and the women's movement in improving women's lives. It also questions the effects on women of recent changes to the state, such as Indonesia's transition to democracy and the election of its first female president.

The wider context is important. On some issues, like reproductive health, international institutions have been influential, and as the largest Islamic society in the world, Indonesia offers special insights into the role of religion in shaping relations between women and the state.

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#### Acknowledgments

This book has been many enjoyable years in the making. Over that time I have collected an enormous amount of information yet still feel, as a non-Indonesian, that it is presumptuous of me to write about what Indonesian women want. During the New Order period I could reassure myself that Indonesian women could not produce such a book because of the restrictions of censorship and the education system, and the lack of support for research. All this is rapidly changing, so it is high time to publish my own reflections before Indonesian women write their own books on the subject.

Many people have helped me over the years. I have had excellent research assistants and wish to thank particularly Elizabeth Martyn and Helen Pausacker. Others who have helped and stimulated me include Sharon Bessell, Barbara Hatley, Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, Lynette Parker, Kathryn Robinson, Maila Stivens and Norma Sullivan, and numerous Indonesian activists including Nursyahbani Katjasungkana, Sri Kusyuniati and Damai Pakpahan. I learned a great deal too from the information and lively exchanges on the e-perempuan email discussion list. Jean Gelman Taylor provided helpful comments on the book manuscript. I am greatly in debt to librarians at Monash University, the Kalyanamitra resource centre and the Perpustakaan Nasional in Jakarta, and the KITLV in Leiden. I also wish to acknowledge the assistance of research grants from the Australian Research Council and Monash University.

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I dedicate this book to my mother, Jean Blackburn, who died in 2001 but whose example remains an inspiration to me.



### Note on spelling and terminology

The spelling of Indonesian words and the naming of places and groups changed in the course of the twentieth century. To facilitate reading, this book will use current spelling, place names and terminology.



## Glossary: abbreviations, acronyms and Indonesian terms

adat Custom bapak Father

Aisyiyah Women's wing of Muhammadiyah, modernist

Islamic organisation

BTI Barisan Tani Indonesia (Indonesian Farmers

Front)

Dharma Wanita Women's Service: organisation of wives of civil

servants

Gapi Gabungan Politik Indonesia (Indonesian Political

Coalition)

Gerwani Gerakan Wanita Indonesia (Indonesian Women's

Movement)

Golkar Sekretariat Bersama Golongan Karya (Joint

Secretariat of Functional Groups)

hadis Reports of the words and actions of the Prophet

Muhammad

IBI Ikatan Bidan Indonesia (Association of Indonesian

Midwives)

*ibu* Mother

ILO International Labour Organisation

Istri Sedar Aware Women

kampung Lower-class urban residential area

kawin gantungkiaiSuspended marriageIslamic scholar

kodrat Natural character/destiny

Kowani Kongres Wanita Indonesia (Indonesian Women's

Congress)

LBH-APIK Lembaga Bantuan Hukum – Asosiasi Perempuan

Indonesia untuk Keadilan (Legal Aid Foundation -

Indonesian Women's Association for Justice)

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Glossary ix

LSM Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat (literally

'Self-Reliant Social Institutions'), a term used in the New Order period to refer to some kinds of

non-government organisations

MMR Maternal Mortality Rate

Muslimat NU Muslimat-Nahdlatul Ulama (women's wing

of NU)

Nahdlatul Ulama Traditionalist Islamic organisation

P4A Perkumpulan Pemberantasan Perdagangan

Perempuan dan Anak-Anak (Organisation for the Eradication of Trade in Women and Children) Five principles of Indonesian state ideology

Pancasila Five principles of Indonesian state ideological PDI Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (Indonesian

Democratic Party)

PDI-P Partai Demokrasi Indonesia – Perjuangan

(Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle)

perempuan Indonesian word for woman, commonly used in the

first four decades of the twentieth century and making a comeback since the fall of the New Order

regime in 1998.

Perwari Persatuan Wanita Republik Indonesian (Union of

the Women of the Indonesian Republic)

pesantren Islamic boarding school

PKI Partai Komunis Indonesia (Indonesian Communist

Party)

PKK Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (Family

Guidance Movement)

PNI Partai Nasionalis Indonesia (Indonesian Nationalist

Party)

PPII Perikatan Perkumpulan Isteri Indonesia

(Federation of Indonesian Women's Associations)

priyayi Traditional Javanese upper classPSII Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia

selir secondary wife

SOBSI Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia

(All-Indonesian Labour Unions Federation)

SPSI Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia (All-Indonesia

Workers' Union)

syariah Islamic law

TBA Traditional birth attendant

VVV Vereeniging voor Vrouwenkiesrecht (Women's

Suffrage Association)



x Glossary

wanita Indonesian word for woman, in common use from

the Japanese occupation onwards as a more 'respectable' word than *perempuan*, with

connotations similar to that of 'lady' in English

WHO World Health Organisation

Yasanti Yayasan Annisa Swasti – Annisa Swasti

Foundation