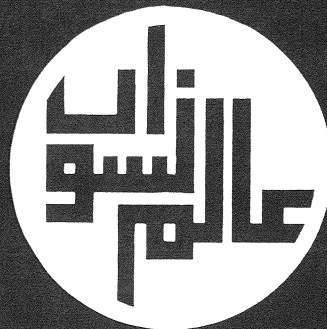


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WOMEN'S STUDIES AND GENDER STUDIES CENTRES: HOW THEY CONTRIBUTE TO FEMINISM

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Abstract In the late 1980s the Indonesian government founded Centres for Women's Studies/PSW/*Pusat Studi Wanita* or Centres for Gender Studies/PSG/*Pusat Studi Gender*), to promote women and gender equality and feminist advocacy in universities across the country starting in Yogyakarta and Jakarta. The PSWs and PSGs have become important sites for the weighing and propagating of the thought of nationally and internationally prominent scholars on feminism and of how gender issues should be understood from an Islamic perspective, particularly in Yogyakarta Islamic universities. The centres seem more focused upon gender issues rather than feminism and their core staff members are invariably male despite the fact that everyone does not agree that males should be the leaders of these centres. This paper also examines varying opinions and views of the respondents on issues of inheritance, women's prayer-leadership, and earning income for the family.

Keywords: Islamic Feminism, Women Studies, Gender Studies, Old & New Order in Indonesia, Islamic laws of inheritance

Introduction

The history of *Pusat Studi Wanita* (Centres for Women's Studies/PSWs) or *Pusat Studi Gender* (Centres for Gender Studies/PSGs) cannot be separated from the history of the women's movement in Indonesia. As Centres at the universities, PSWs/PSGs have important roles to play in bringing women's issues into the academic agenda and are expected to contribute to creating gender equality in Indonesia. In this effort, cooperation between the academics and grassroots activists is required when dealing with gender inequality and women's problems.

This paper, which presents the history of PSWs/PSG in Indonesia, considers the Centres' historical and social backgrounds, why they were established, the nature of their relationships with national and international women's organisations, their goals and programmes, and the challenges they face. The paper also provides a general overview of the universities with which these Centres are affiliated to enable a better understanding of their roles in a broader context. For the purpose of this study, five PSWs and one PSG have been selected. Three are affiliates of Islamic universities, i. e., PSW UIN (State Islamic University), Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, PSG UII (University of Islam Indonesia), and PSW UMY (University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta), and three of public universities: PSW UGM (Gadjah Mada University), PSW UNY (State University of Yogyakarta), and PSW UPN "Veteran" (University of National Development "Veteran"). Finally, this paper also presents examples of the understanding of some gender issues in Islam by Muslim gender activists in Yogyakarta. Before discussing the above Centres, I would first explicate the historical backgrounds of PSWs/PSGs across Indonesia.

Historical Background of PSWs/PSGs across Indonesia

In 1978, in response to the United Nations declaration of the Decade for Women as well as due to the activism of Indonesian feminists, the Indonesian Government established the office of the State Minister for the Role of Women (*Kementrian Negara Peranan Wanita*). In 2001, the name was changed to Ministry of State for Women's Empowerment (*Kementerian Negara Pemberdayaan Perempuan*), and again in 2009 to Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (*Kementerian Negara Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak*). The ministry aimed at increasing women's capacity to manage their dual roles in the domestic and public spheres.

Prior to 1978, The New Order¹ had ratified several international conventions / agreements concerning women, including the UN Convention for the Political Rights of Women. In 1984, the Indonesian Government ratified CEDAW (Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women), later endorsing the resolutions reached at the International Conference on Social Development in Copenhagen (1994), the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo (1994), and the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995. Although the Indonesian government ratified these laws, women remained subordinate to men, with few having any role in decision making regarding their families.

While the term "women" appeared in the 1978 Broad Guidelines on State Policy (GBHN), the term "gender" was not introduced until 1999 (Robinson & Bessell, 2002, p. 71). However, the summary report of the Ministry for the Role of Women, 1988-1993, informed that though Gender Analysis Training was included among its programmes, the

previous government had left two major issues unresolved, namely, increasing women's socio-political roles, and supporting a mechanism for the implementation of policies (Sulastri, 1993). During the period 1989 to 1993, there was a gap in women's access to and participation in education at the higher levels. In addition, gender stereotyping in the workforce and limiting women's power to make decisions at all levels persisted. During this period, the government cooperated with universities across Indonesia, in particular with the Centres for Women's Studies, to strengthen and support gender equality policies.

During the late 1980s, the Government of Indonesia (New Order) established PSWs at major universities across the country as a means of supporting government policy for women's empowerment and gender equality (Burhanudin & Fathurahman, 2004; Indonesia, 2004). One of PSWs' functions was to aid the process of developing methodologies and theoretical foundations for research for women (Committee on Women's Studies in Asia, 1995). According to Sadli (2010), the main objectives of these Centres were to provide research data on women issues, such as women's rights, and women's needs relevant to specific provinces. She approved the establishment of PSWs/PSGs for several reasons:

[...] they constitute an awareness raising process for decision makers at ... [all] levels of which majority are men. In particular they help to raise the awareness that women's issues should be given adequate attention in program development, and that women should be part of the decision making process in developing these programs ... adequate funds should be allocated in the provincial budget to do research into women and ... to develop relevant programs for women. These Centres are therefore also good vehicles to stimulate university-government-community partnership (Sadli, 2010, 366).

Majority of the workers at these Centres work as volunteers. They tend to be cultural brokers, crucial as opinion makers, able to provide channels for engaging with both Islamic studies and feminist writings across the West, the Middle East, and Asia. Furthermore, they can initiate programmes for gender-issue mainstreaming and undertake research on gender and sexuality. They act as agents of change by disseminating information, research findings, and new interpretations of women in Islam throughout Indonesian Muslim society, both at the academic and the grassroots levels (Jamhari & Ropi, 2003). Thus, since 2002, PSW IAIN/UIIN Yogyakarta has emerged as one of the most active Islamic institutions researching Islam and gender in Indonesia (Doorn-Harder, 2006).

Acknowledging the important roles of the PSWs/PSGs, an MoU (*Naskah Kerjasama* / letter of corporation) supporting the development of the Centres was agreed

upon by three ministries i.e., the Ministry of Women's Role (*Mentri Peranan Wanita*), the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) and the Ministry of National Education (MONE), and signed on 24 November 1998 at Cibogo Bagor. All parties agreed that PSWs/PSGs were research institutions, focused upon creating a gender justice system for women. In addition, they encouraged specific forms of thought and behaviour that would enhance gender sensitivity in all aspects of life. Support for Centres could engender an equitable democratic civil society (Kementrian, 2004).

Since 2000, subsequent to the launching of new forums, organisations, and Islamic books that redefined women and gender roles, some PSWs in Islamic universities began to reformulate their programmes. In a bid to promote women's interests, they started to challenge Indonesia's patriarchal culture to provide new, egalitarian interpretations of gender in Islam. They conducted research into 'misogynist' Islamic texts, employing historical and hermeneutics approaches to determine meanings of the texts and to reformulate egalitarian interpretations.² These new egalitarian interpretations were published and were used as important references while training Islamic leaders and judges.

The number of PSWs across Indonesian universities has steadily increased since their establishment: 16 in 1989, 52 in 1993, 101 in 2002, and, 123 in 2003 (Deputi, 2002; Kementrian, 2004; Sulasikin, 1993). The increasing number of PSWs across private and public Indonesian universities indicates that support for and interest in gender equality at the academic level in Indonesia has increased substantially.

Not all PSWs/PSGs have maintained their activities smoothly; several have had to contend with limited human resources often caused by some capacity building programmes directing their focus on the individual rather than institutional development. Some PSWs/PSGs have experienced difficulty finding cadres or new leaders. It was assumed that a PSW/PSG leader would complete several of the two-year tenures, just as Trias Setiwati served as a PSW/PSG UIN director for eight years, Nahiyah at PSW UNY for over five years, Ane at PSW UMY for five years, Susilaningsih at PSW UIN for more than six years. Further, work at the Centres' suffers when an academic is deputed to a capacity-building programme (interview with Erni, 23 January 2010). Another problem regards budget allocation. With PSWs/PSGs reliance on university and local government funding, and international donors, funds remain limited. Cislowski and Purwadi (2011) reported that when grants from government were terminated in 2010, about 75 per cent of the Centres became "inactive".

According to Erni (interview, 23 January 2010), a staff member of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, PSWs/PSGs were designed to contribute to the resolving of gender issues, and to interact with policy makers including local and

national governments, a goal that remains unachieved. Nowadays, many stakeholders recruit gender activists from PSWs/PSGs as resource persons. Many of the Centres' research findings fail to provide appropriate recommendations for policy makers. For these reasons, PSWs/PSGs are not considered able to effectively contribute to policy-making, Erni said. One recent study, "Knowledge Needs and Supply Constraints for Gender Research in Indonesia's Knowledge Sector" rightly observes that these Centres "have yet to perform such roles properly...They have neither played active roles in the networks in the specific roles of supplying knowledge for policy formulation...." (Poerwandari, pp. 67-68).

Selected PSWs/PSG at Islamic Universities

PSW State Islamic University Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta (PSW UIN)

Established in 1951, the State Islamic University (UIN/*Universitas Islam Negeri*) Sunan Kalijaga (previously known as State Institute of Islamic Studies (IAIN/*Institute Agama Islam Negeri*) is one of the oldest Islamic Universities in Indonesia under government control. In 2009/2010, the number of student applications for admissions reached 8,455, almost doubling the previous year's figure of 4,447 applicants. In 2008/2009, scholarships were granted to 1,029 students (Republika, 2009). Currently, the total number of students enrolled are approximately 15,000 (Kalijaga, 2011a).

In terms of gender equality policy, based on *Baseline and Institutional Analysis for Gender Mainstreaming in UIN Sunan Kalijaga*, the staff recruitment policy is still gender neutral, extending same opportunities to both men and women. In terms of selecting policy makers at the university, however, as affirmed by Amin Abdullah (2010), the UIN rector during 2000-2010, the leaders advocated affirmative action for women. As a result, three out of the seven Faculties in 2009 at UIN had female deans; at the structural level, 20 per cent of the leaders in the third level and approximately 47 per cent in the fourth level were women (Abdullah, 2010). Currently, one of the vice rectors is a woman (Kalijaga, 2011c). This growing gender equality awareness among UIN leaders cannot be separated from the programmes of PSW UIN Sunan Kalijaga, such as the gender mainstreaming and gender awareness programmes for staff, both at the academic and structural levels. Among these were workshops on gender responsive management, gender mainstreaming in the curricula, and gender awareness for faculty members of Islamic higher education.

PSW (*Pusat Studi Wanita*)/the Centre for Women's Studies at UIN Sunan Kalijaga was founded on 5 December 1995.³ Emerging from a 'Study Group on Women' (*Kelompok Program Studi Wanita/KPSW*), it was formed in 1990 by four committed lecturers⁴ in coordination with the Centre of Community Service and Research (*Pusat Penelitian dan Pengabdian pada Masyarakat/P3M*) IAIN. In 2004 it changed into UIN (PSW, 2009). The founders were Susilaningsih, Siti Aminah, Fathiyah, and Sugeng Sugiono. Susilaningsih was elected leader of the KPSW (interview with Susilaningsih 23 December 2009).

The establishment of PSW at an Islamic university served to enhance the study of women's issues from an Islamic perspective and represented the university's contribution to the national programme for women's empowerment. The mission of the PSW UIN, which has positioned itself within a moderate and progressive Islamic framework, is to foster gender equality in the Muslim community. It was expected to 'provide major support for mainstreaming progressive and moderate Islamic teachings ... [it] stimulate[s] and develop[s] academic discourse and scholarship on women's issues within progressive Islamic framework ... and to work on the promotion of harmonious gender relations in Indonesia' (PSW, 2009).

PSW UIN, Yogyakarta envisages "Men and women like the teeth of a comb, standing tall side by side in equality" to "develop and promote gender equality and women's empowerment based on progressive Islamic thought" (PSW, 2009, 4). The Centre has three main objectives:

1. To promote gender equality in higher education through gender mainstreaming in educational institutions, gender inclusive curriculum development, gender awareness trainings and seminars, and gender related-issues in research projects and publications.
2. To provide professional consultancies on gender in Islamic law, education and other social issues.
3. To build strong networks with multiples stakeholders including government and civil organisations and other agencies, which share a similar mission of promoting and upholding gender equality and social justice.

Since its establishment, the Centre passed through four phases: consolidation effort (1990-1995), institutional formation (1995-2001), strengthening the institution (2001-2006), and maintaining a good reputation (2006-present) (PSW, 2009). The first period was when the KPSW was established. The second growth period was important inasmuch as it was then that the institution developed in a broader context. The core members were mostly academics and women's rights activists. This potential combination of academics and activists within the Centre not only broadened the network to include government organisations and international donors. In the third period, which saw the strengthening of the institution, the Centre acquired suitable facilities, e.g., permanent office premises and a good library. In order to maintain a good reputation, the PSW UIN routinely undertakes institutional regeneration by electing a new director and new board members. Former board members usually become associate members, thus ensuring continuity of links at the Centre (PSW, 2009).

Collaborating with government and non-government institutions, both at the national and international levels, has been one of the core policies of this Centre since its inception. Since 1995, the Centre has been collaborating with international donor agencies.⁵ These links have assisted the Centre in several activities such as holding workshops, seminars, conferences, and training sessions, and in undertaking research and its publication. Notable among the donor-led collaborative activities is the CIDA-Canada funded project spread over a period of ten years (1996-2007). The two major areas of focus of this link programme were (a) raising much needed gender awareness among academic staff, researchers, and university leaders, and (b) in the context of religious and cultural paradigms of Indonesia, production and promotion of an egalitarian interpretation of Islamic texts. With the help of the Asia Foundation (2004-2011), the Centre worked in yet another area where gender awareness is of crucial significance. This was offering workshops in religious courts to Muslim judges to help develop gender perspective in judicature, as these courts play a pivotal role in gender justice, equity, and equality through family law. With Lapis-AusAID Australia (2004-2009), the Centre reached another sensitive area of activity - holding workshops on gender responsive school-based management in *madrasahs* (Islamic schools) in six different cities of four provinces (Yogyakarta, Central Java, East Java, Makasar, NTB) over a period of three years. This activity, Learning Assistance Programme for Islamic Schools (ELOIS), aimed at creating and promoting gender equality in *madrasah* education. The activity was fruitful, considering that as of 2010, 28 books and 19 journals have been published, 24 in Bahasa Indonesian, and two books in Bahasa and English, and one book in three languages, Bahasa, English, and Arabic.⁶ The journals published papers on topics ranging from sensitive issues such as polygamy, temporary marriage (*nikah mut'ah*), homosexuality, women leadership, abortion, pornography, and menstrual taboo. Research papers also dealt with issues like trafficking of women, women and science, women and mass media, women and spirituality, women as witnesses, and gender and revivalism.

The PSW is supported by the University administration through its Advisory Board, having various cadres and membership sectors. All through this period, the PSW's UIN has not only laid emphasis on strengthening gender mainstreaming within the UIN but also in the Islamic community outside of the university, such as the Islamic schools and Islamic law courts.

The combined funding from the Indonesian government, MORA, and CIDA-Canada emphasised capacity building inside UIN, whereas programmes sponsored by international donors such as the Asia Foundation, the Ford Foundation, Lapis-AusAid Australia, and Danida-Denmark mostly targeted groups outside the university. The Indonesian government funded only five out of 29 programmes or approximately 17 per cent (workshops, trainings, conferences, seminars, and researches). These types of findings

are likely to influence the nature of the PSW UIN's programmes which focus on achieving women's rights and challenging patriarchal culture rather than maintaining state *ibuisism*.⁷ For example, one of the programmes challenging the notion of state *ibuisism*, sponsored by DANIDA-Denmark is *A Seminar on the Amendment of National Marriage Law for the Protection of Women and Children* (PSW, 2009).

PSW/PSG Islamic University of Indonesia (PSG UII)

The Islamic University of Indonesia (UII/*Universitas Islam Indonesia*), the oldest Islamic higher education institution in Indonesia, was established in July 1945. Currently, UII has approximately 20,000 students, and around 3,300 new students are enrolled each year (UII, 2008a). Several important structural positions were occupied by women during the current period (2010-2014) (Pikiran, 2009). Women accounted for five, (one dean, four vice deans) out of 16 faculty leaders). One reason only a few women lecturers occupy leading positions, as evident from research conducted by PSG UII Yogyakarta, may be because they allot more time as homemakers leaving little opportunity for higher level academic work. The lecturers responded "working-YES", "career-NO"(Pikiran, 2009). It is in this kind of environment that PSG UII runs its programmes.

Gender Studies Centre/PSG UII evolved from the Study Centre of Family and Development (*Pusat Studi Keluarga dan Pembangunan/PSKP*) in 1986. During this time, other Centres were also established including the Centre for Social Studies, the Centre for Natural Science Studies, and the Centre for Environment Studies. In 1997, PSKP's name was changed to the Centre for Women's Studies (*Pusat Studi Wanita Universitas Islam Indonesia/PSW UII*). PSW UII was established in coordination with the Institution of Community Service and Research (*Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian pada Masyarakat/LPPM*)⁸ and in 2006, PSW UII changed its name to the Centre for Gender Studies (*Pusat Studi Gender Universitas Islam Indonesia /PSG UII*) recognising that discourse and thought on gender justice had become more advanced and progressive (PSG, 2011).⁹ According to Mila Karmila, the director of the PSG during 2006-2010, the term 'gender' was neutral and thus it was hoped that men as well as women would participate and join in. Some lecturers did then show interest in joining the PSG (interview with Mila, 30 December 2009).

PSG UII's mission was to disseminate the principles of democracy and gender justice through *Catur Dharma UII* and to develop and strengthen both government and society by introducing gender mainstreaming into all aspects of life (PSG, 2011). Board members of PSG include the director, secretary, expert staff, and volunteers. One prominent PSG activist, Trias Setiawati, who has been a PSW director since its establishment, reported that staff members numbered approximately 20 and that more than half of them were male (interview, 25 December 2009). She further observed that

most of the current female executives and functionaries at the University were the alumni of the PSW from an early period. The recruitment process for new staff for the PSG is through internships and volunteering. The PSG does not necessarily require female staff to be activists; the most important requirement is that they should be interested and willing to become involved. Since its inception, in order to achieve its goals, the PSG UII has carried out many activities, e.g., training, seminars, research, consultation, community services, and publications.

Seminars and research run by PSG UII focus on the issues of women, child, sexuality, feminism and gender. A variety of research interests developed at the Centre focused on the role of women in society as active partners. There always remained an emphasis on the religious component and addressed issues such as women's testimony in courts of law, violence against women, female sexuality and reproductive rights. Active collaboration with mass media has proved effective in disseminating research findings and seeking public approval for its agenda (PSG, 2011).

PSW University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta/UMY (PSW UMY)

UMY (University of Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta), founded in March 1981 by the Muhammadiyah organisation, is one of the two largest religious organisations in Indonesia.¹⁰ UMY currently has approximately 9,000 students (*Republika*, 2009). Among 45 members of the executive board only two are women. The rector, the vice rectors and all of the deans are male (UMY, 2009a). It is within this context that PSW UMY was established, developed its Centre, and its programmes.

Pusat Studi Wanita Yogyakarta Muhammadiyah University (PSW UMY) was established in 1997. PSW UMY was initially an independent organisation directly under Muhammadiyah University, but has been under LP3 UMY since 2010. Its new status has made it harder for the Centre to progress and run its programmes although one benefit is in allocation of funding from the Research Department (LP3)

Being an Islamic university, the visions and missions of PSW UMY are synchronous with Islamic teachings. Its aim is to enlighten people by drawing upon and developing Islamic perspectives, and improve women's lives by promulgating Islamic teachings (UMY, 2002). By aiming to create harmonious relationships between men and women in all aspects of life, the Centre envisages increasing and meaningful participation in the nation's state development programme. To achieve this goal, the Centre has set out three goals:

1. To explore and develop women's roles in the family, society, and development from an Islamic perspective.

2. To explore the equal relationship pattern between men and women based upon the Qur'an and Hadith.
3. To network with other parties who express the same concerns about women and disseminate research findings among society (UMY, 2002, 1).

Similar to the pattern of governance of other centres, PSW UMY is also managed by board members including the rector UMY, advisory board members, vice rectors and the leader of LP3M. Research priorities follow the same pattern with an emphasis on issues related to family, children, education, with focus on marriage, and reproductive rights. Efforts are made to fight gender bias in the interpretation of the Quran. Research studies were undertaken, for example, on gender bias in the learning process in elementary school of Muhammadiyah Sukonandi Yogyakarta, and in Islamic religious education curriculum, and the position of the victim in instances of rape. PSW UMY pioneered the establishment of child-care at the University.

Among PSW UMY's infrastructure facilities are an office, a meeting room, and a library. A current visit, however, revealed that most of these facilities existed between 2001 and 2002. On enquiry, the current director's response showed that the Centre was stagnant in terms of recording its programmes. Further, the director, from 2006 up until the present, has been a member of one of the teams working on "development" (*pembangunan*) with a gender perspective in DIY at the provincial level, and since 2010 has been a gender budgeting expert for local government (interview, 22 June 2010). It becomes clear that capacity building in some PSWs/PSGs is dominated by individuals rather than by group advisory members.

Selected PSWs at Secular Universities

PSW Gadjah Mada University/UGM (PSW UGM)

The Gadjah Mada University (UGM), the oldest and the largest state university in Indonesia, founded on 19 December 1949, has an enrolment of 50,000 students. Although UGM does not adhere to a certain religion or faith, one of its orientations in education is generating graduates who are capable, religious, and pious (UGM, 2009c). University leadership has traditionally been male dominated; currently, out of 15 important structural positions, only one is held by a woman, a vice rector for education, research and community service (UGM, 2009b). Only two out of 22 board members/ trustees are women (UGM, 2009a).

PSW UGM, established in 1991,¹¹ was designed to support gender equality and justice among academics drawn from multidisciplinary studies and non-academic levels. It prepares its students 'to uphold the equal rights of women and men, have the same

recognition, respect, and value from the society in development process, [have] equal access to services and well-balanced in social and economic status” (Sumarah, Kyagulanyi, Al-Mamun, & Sispariyadi, 2009, 1). As the Centre’s aim is to produce policies and strategies that are gender sensitive and responsive, it was hoped that the studies conducted by PSW UGM could be used to provide information, feedback and recommendations to local government Ministry of Women’s Empowerment, and to the public (Sumarah, et al., 2009, 5). Gender mainstreaming in management, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of projects is also part of its agenda.

PSW UGM has the following vision:

- 1) to become an advanced centre of excellence for multidisciplinary studies effectively involved in activities concerning gender equality and human rights at the local, national and international levels.
- 2) To implement *Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi* (Three Main Responsibilities of Higher Education).
- 3) To minimise and eliminate gender inequality in society, at both formal and non-formal levels.

The Centre’s five missions include: 1) increasing gender equality and justice through education and training; 2) improving the research quality of its multidisciplinary studies concerning human rights and gender perspectives; 3) improving community services, especially for marginalised and vulnerable groups; 4) encouraging innovation and social empowerment from a gender perspective; 5) increasing networking with stakeholders both nationally and abroad (Sumarah, et al., 2009).

In order to achieve its goals, PSW UGM is pursuing the following programmes concerning gender, both at the academic and at grassroots levels:

- 1) conducting research on problems related with women and gender issues; 2) developing gender-related concepts; 3) providing intellectual support for policy formulation at the national and regional levels; 4) developing and providing feedback for its gender studies-related curriculum; 5) conducting training and development of gender studies in Centres for Women Studies at other universities and various government institutions; 6) conducting consultancy and advocacy *vis-à-vis* gender-related issues; and, 7) empowering the community from gender perspective (Sumarah, et al., 2009, 1).

PSW UGM functions in cooperation with national and international donor institutions.¹² PSW UGM’s pursues wide-ranging programmes for training, education, research, seminars and publications, such as gender research methodology, planning for gender mainstreaming, gender perspectives on leadership, gender analysis for small industry and trade,

reproductive health, adolescent girls, gender issues in education, agriculture, law, women and political representation. PSW UGM conducted research such as Women's Empowerment through the UMKM (MSMEs) in Gunung Kidul District, Profile of Adolescence in Special Territory Yogyakarta, Development Model for Socialisation of Reproductive Health of Adolescents, and Integration of Gender in Disaster Management, with around fifteen publications between 2006 to 2008. For community services it had several programmes namely, giving assistance to gender budgeting, monitoring and evaluating programmes in schools and advocacy for women's cooperation in DIY. Many PSW UGM's programmes support government programmes rather than stressing women's empowerment and women's rights. Like other Centres, PSW UGM also concentrates on Gender Mainstreaming as it pertains to women, children, and life in general. This perhaps relates to the source of funding which is mostly granted by the central government, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, and local governments (Sumarah, et al., 2009, 1).

PSW *Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta/Yogyakarta State University* (PSW UNY)

YSU/Yogyakarta State University or UNY/*Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta* (originally catered for the education sector and produced professional teachers) was founded on 21 May 1964. Based on 2008 end-of-year data, total student enrolment was 28,362. Unlike UGM, though UNY is not a religious institution, one of its goals is to implement education with religious values (UNY, 2009, 1). Currently UNY has only one female leader, the vice rector for Academic Affairs. Based on data compiled end December 2009, there were 391 female lecturers against 655 males (UNY, 2009).

PSW UNY, formerly *Kelompok Studi Wanita* (KSW/Study Group on Women), was initiated and established by Sulasikin Murpratomo from the State Ministry for the Roles of Women, when she visited the University in 1990. In a speech, the Minister emphasised the importance of programmes concerning women's improvement and education, thereby meaning female/male equality (Ghafur, et al., 2002). In 1994, KSW's name was changed to PSW for institutional reasons; the main programme remained unchanged.

PSW UNY's vision is one of an institution that supports social change, especially gender equality, by conducting research and exploring community services. PSW UNY's three missions are as follows:

1. Develop research into all aspects of women's lives and their implications from a female perspective.
2. Develop studies by discovering and understanding gender issues, with the aim of achieving gender equality and justice for women.
3. Develop studies of welfare and child protection problems. (Lemlit, 2010)

PSW UNY aims: 1) to help UNY alumni by encouraging their commitment to gender equality; and 2) to conduct special activities for female students related to women's needs. In addition, its community services-related missions include, disseminating research findings and making research recommendations to stakeholders, conducting gender courses at the academic, government and community levels, and becoming an advocacy Centre, facilitating child-welfare and protection (Lemlit, 2010).

According to Nahiyah (interview, 15 January 2010), one of the Centre's founders and a former director PSW UNY initiated the establishing of child-care at the University. Research activities and programmes focused on education, e.g., preparing modules of family management, women and education, advocacy for poor women, and the study of women's roles in politics. Some of these activities were funded by the Department of National Education via the research Centre of the university, and UNESCO, UNDP, AUSAID and MORA. PSW UNY have also collaborated with PSW UII and PSW UMY (Ghafur, et al., 2002).

Since 2010, a male, a lecturer of Islamic Studies, and a female secretary have led PSW UNY. The main activities of PSW UNY are based upon the five-point national agenda of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment: 1) women's equality in all aspects of life; 2) gender equality and justice; 3) recognition of women's values and achievements; 4) eliminating violence against women; and, 5) empowering women's organisations to become equal and independent institutions (Lemlit, 2010). Similar to PSW UMY, PSW UNY does not hold current data pertinent to its programmes. This suggests that currently PSW UMY is not as organised as PSW UGM or UIN. However, according to Nahiyah, currently PSW UNY runs programmes addressing women's empowerment in the Bantul and Kulonprogo districts (batik craftswomen and *Jamu*/herbal medicine sellers) (interview, 15 January 2010).

PSW University of National Development "Veteran" Yogyakarta (PSW UPN)

UPN was established on 15 December 1958 by a group of soldiers/military veterans. In 1994, its status was changed to that of a private university. Lately, UPN "Veteran" has approximately 14,000 enrolled students (UPN, 2010a). The founding philosophy of the University is to promote human resources and to produce devoted alumni in Indonesia through the vehicle of higher education at UPN "Veteran"(UPN, 2010b). UPN's main goals are to support national development in higher education, to develop skilled human resources that are essentially, professional, faithful and devoted to God, to maintain discipline, and encourage responsibility and devotion to a high sense of concern for public welfare (UPN, 2010b). In terms of women's leadership in this military university, only two of 12 top university leaders are women: one is a vice rector for Academic Affairs and the

other is dean of the Agriculture Faculty (UPN, 2010). The military environment clearly influences the existence and types of PSW UPN's programmes.

Initially in 1995, PSW UPN had trouble at the hands of its leader who was reluctant to give approval claiming that the PSW was not necessary. Nevertheless, some female activists, for example, Sari Bahagiarti, Istiana Rahatmawati, Siti Hamidah, and Euis Maria Nirmala voluntarily conducted some activities concerning women. Because women number statistically more than men in Indonesia, they realised the need to introduce activities for women, so they don't become a burden on the nation's development (interview, Istiana, 21 January 2010). Simultaneously, the government, through the Ministry of Women's Roles, initiated programmes for women so that the PSW at UPN could contribute to the national development programme (interview, Istiana, 21 January 2010). Today, 75 per cent of UPN executives are women. In four out of its five Faculties, the vice deans are women and two out of UPN's three vice rectors are women. Most of these women have been actively involved in PSW UPN. Thus, clearly at the management level, UPN is not gender biased (interview, Sri Wuryani, 20 January 2010).

For almost seven years, women's activists at the UPN worked on gender issues without formal institutional support. Finally, in 2002, a new female leader at LPPM (*Lembaga Penelitian dan Pengabdian pada Masyarakat*/Centre of Community Service and Research) inaugurated PSW UPN as a formal centre under her direction. Before the inauguration, several gender activists at UPN, who had contact with UNESCO, commenced collaboration with this international organisation through LPPM (interview, Istiana, 21 January 2010). By now, many universities in Yogyakarta had established PSWs and some of them invited women activists at UPN to participate in their programmes. Subsequently, in order to fulfil this need and because many male and female gender activists at the UPN had expressed an interest in gender and women's issues, the UPN also established a PSW (interview, Sari Bahagiarti, 25 January 2010).

The mission of PSW UPN is to carry out research and community service by applying gender-based science and technology, and to conduct and participate in training, workshops and seminars on gender issues. One of the regular activities undertaken by PSW since 2008 is the Monthly Talk Show "*Serambi Jender*". Gunawan and Virgawati, both PSW UPN board members, host the programme. (Interview, Virgawati 20 January 2010). The talk-show focuses on gender and technology topics as part of a trend marking PSW UPN. Like other Centres, PSW UPN's board members consist of an advisory board (rector), a director, assistant director, and a secretary and several persons who are in-charge of research, community service, training and conference and networking. In addition, there are other activities such as celebrating Kartini Day and developing a village model based on community empowerment/life skills (UPN, 2010).

Similarities and Differences among six selected PSWs/PSG

Examination of the nature and programmes of PSWs/PSG reveals similarities and differences. Among the similarities, the Centres' focus on gender issues rather than feminism tops the list. All the Centres have similar general visions and missions, which aim to improve women's lives, achieve gender equality and raise gender awareness. Among all the six, only PSW UIN and UII programmes mention the term 'feminism'. Also, their main programmes are for both men and women as almost all recognise that gender issues include both and provide a yardstick to monitor equality between them. It is because of this emphasis on gender that both men and women participate in projects at Indonesian universities. This finding is in line with the women's movement in Indonesia in general.

Next, one of the unique characteristics of women's studies Centres is the involvement of male activists. For example, one of the founders of PSW UIN Sunan Kalijaga, was Sugeng Sugiono, a male lecturer. Similarly, male activists have been part of core staff at all other PSWs/PSG. Even today, PSW UNY has a male director, Ismail Marzuki. However, some Centres, e.g., PSG UII, according to Trias, are mandated to have a woman director (interview, 25 December 2010). PSW UIN also, according to Ruhaini, requires the leader be a female as the Centre is named PSW (interview, 3 May 2010).

Both national and international donors fund the Centres, however, the terms applying to the duration and variety of funding vary. Based on its programmes and funding resources, PSW UIN has the longest programme financed by international funding (from 1996 onwards). PSW UGM has also enjoyed frequent and lengthy national funding. The different sources of funding seem to affect the types and themes of the programmes conducted by PSWs/PSG. For example, PSW UIN, which is mostly funded by international donors, tends to carry out activities that challenge and critique the 'state *ibuisim*' promoted by the government. Conversely, almost all of PSW UGM's programmes support "National Development" which support 'state *ibuisim*' promulgated by the government.

Funding resources are not the only elements that influence the nature and characteristics of PSWs/PSG in the six Yogyakarta universities differently. Factors such as the histories of the establishments, their university affiliations (public *vs.* Islamic) and the academic backgrounds of the Centres' leaders contribute to the varying natures of the PSWs/PSG. Centres that were established on their own initiative are seen as recommendatory or as simply responding to the trend or market. For example, external motivation clearly underpins PSW UNY and UPN. PSW UNY was established following the visit of the Minister of Women's Roles to the University. PSW UPN, in the case of many universities in Yogyakarta, established PSWs and some sent invitations to women

activists at UPN to participate in their programmes. Thus, their backgrounds impact upon the existence and working of the Centres' at universities and the frequency of the programmes they implement. These two Centres have neither physical offices nor other support facilities, such as a library for example. In addition, they have limited programmes.

The different types of university backgrounds also contribute to the varying interests of each Centre. Religion-based Centres, i.e., UIN, UII and UMY, include Islamic teachings in their programmes and set Islamic institutions as part of their targets. However, not all the Islamic university Centres lay emphasis either on Islam or Muslim-related issues. The levels of interest in these issues vary. For example, since its inception, about 90 per cent of the programmes at UIN Sunan Kalijaga's centre have focused on gender in Islam. PSW UIN conducts gender awareness training for Islamic leaders, judges, internal lecturers and the staff of the UIN. UII and UMY conduct activities related to Islamic teaching and/or the Muslim community, albeit the number is not as high as it is at the UIN. Ane (interview, 22 June 2010), a director of PSW UMY, claimed that PSW UMY's programmes depend upon the donor. Programmes offered by public universities, e.g., UGM, UNY and UPN, exclude religion-based programmes.

Different types of universities, for example private *vs.* State, do not always link their support to "National Development" programmes. Thus, despite being a state university, PSW UIN Sunan Kalijaga's programmes do not seem to solely follow the government's gender ideology. PSW UIN staff offer new interpretations that differ from mainstream understandings of Islam and women in the Muslim community. They even run programmes relating to amendments in the Indonesian Marriage Law. On the other hand, none of PSW UPN's (a private university) programmes challenge government policy on women and development.

Another factor that affects the nature of the Centres is the level of support from university leaders. PSW UIN and UGM have good office facilities and a library, but other Centres, e.g., UPN and UNY, have fewer facilities.

People in PSWs/PSG and their Understanding on some Gender Issues

Most of those associated with PSW/PSG, especially active female members, are prominent individuals in their field/alumni. Two vice rectors at UPN, and two female deans at UIN had been activists of PSW. One active PSW UIN member, Ruhaini Dzhayatin, received a National Award from the Ministry of Religious Affairs for her achievements in the field of gender in Islam in 2010 (Kedaulatan Rakyat, 2010), and since 2011 she has been Chairperson of the Independent Permanent Human Rights Commissions (IPHRC) an Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, Jeddah (Dzhayatin, 2012). Similarly, several people from the UPN, UNY, and UMY Centres act as women's representatives in Parliament.

Using three main ways of approaching religious texts - the so called 'literalist',¹³ moderate and 'progressive' approaches, I argue, based upon my research findings, that there is a substantial amount of disagreement amongst Indonesian Muslim gender activists and scholars at universities over many gender issues, although the majority have adopted a progressive approach to most issues.¹⁴ The issues on which almost all the respondents took a progressive approach are equality in gender roles, equality of sexual expression, and equality in decision-making in the family. The issues towards which a high percentage adopted a progressive approach but a relatively substantial percentage endorsed a non-progressive position include equal rights to inheritance, equal value as a witness, and the creation of the first woman. People tended to be wary when expressing their views on these matters because (a) inheritance and witness issues are issues of Islamic jurisprudence and are dealt at the religious law courts, and (b) the issue of woman's creation relates to a creation story that is strongly socialised in the Indonesian society.

My findings on gender issues in the context of polygamy and the status of women in general show fairly equally divided responses between progressive and non-progressive views. The weaker progressive response can be explained by the fact that these matters have sparked controversy throughout history, even among women activists themselves. Finally, the response to the one issue on which the majority held a moderate position is on women leading prayer congregations *sholat* (*imam sholat*). It seemed that the respondents were less progressive on this issue as they perceive this relates to ritual activity (*ibadah*)¹⁵ seen as specified in the original revelation via the Qur'an and Hadith. Some examples of their concept on gender issues in Islam related to *Nafkah* (wives maintenance by husbands) (*pencari nafkah*) and inheritance are discussed below.

Among those in PSW/PSG whose responses tended towards the progressive, a variety of understandings were found during the in-depth interviews regarding the main breadwinner in the family. The progressive insisted that women, being biologically different from men, have reproductive tasks such as pregnancy and breast-feeding, tasks that cannot be undertaken by men. They argued that women's reproductive tasks should be given special attention and they should not be doubly burdened with the responsibility of earning for the family. On the other hand, some respondents argued that reproductive tasks are negotiable and can be managed.

Although all the respondents were employed at universities as lecturers, researchers etc., their ideas about the main breadwinner were different. Some argued that *nafkah* (maintenance of the family in terms of food expenses, accommodation, security and protection to the family) is the responsibility of both men and women, others that *nafkah* is the man's responsibility.

Some respondents, who expressed a progressive view, argued that both the husband and the wife have the same responsibility to be breadwinners; but the responsibility is flexible given that the wife's reproductive tasks cannot be undertaken by the husband. This means that if a wife is engaged in reproductive tasks such as pregnancy or breast-feeding, then the main responsibility for *nafkah* must be borne by the husband. Permata and Rama argued that the involvement of both partners as breadwinners is not rigid but should be flexible:

I think women's *kodrat*¹⁶ is not a barrier for a woman to get involved in contributing to the family income as long as there is cooperation from her husband...in the consequences of reproduction and other domestic tasks (Permata, interview, 22 June 2010).

In my opinion, ideally both partners have the same responsibility for earning *nafkah* ... because for me women's *kodrat*, such as pregnancy, is negotiable and socially constructed.... (Rama, interview, 11 June 2010).

According to Ita, a female respondent from a public university, the family benefits if both husband and wife contribute to the family income. In this way, the economic burden is lessened, particularly in the context of the rising cost of living.... (Ita, interview, 27 May 2010). Another female respondent, Tria (interview, 20 May, 2010) argued that a dual breadwinner family will relieve the stress of earning on the husband. More importantly from a gender perspective, it erases the notion that the economic contribution of a woman to the family is not simply additional or complementary income. She can be considered a main breadwinner in her own right, creating a balance in the relationship and assuming an equal share of power in the family.

Moderate respondents argued that *nafkah* is the man's responsibility because women have difficult and complex reproductive tasks. For example, Sita, a female respondent from an Islamic university, claimed that *nafkah* is a man's obligation because:

In the Qur'an...in *Al Baqoroh*... Islam recognises women's reproductive tasks...the fundamental values which in *nafkah* is designed to support them. If a wife earns money, it is for herself...in society the problem is not about *nafkah* but the logical consequences behind that. People say that *nafkah* is the husband's duty then as a consequence he must be obeyed and have absolute authority...this is the logic of capitalism. When the Qur'an states *nafkah*, it is as a reminder that the reproductive tasks for a woman are very hard, so she does not need to earn *nafkah* ... actually, the Qur'an does not state that it is an obligation (*wajib*), it emphasises that earning *nafkah* for the husband is equal to reproductive tasks for the wife. It does not mean that just because he earns *nafkah* he automatically

becomes head of the family. For me it is not the case. (Sita, interview, June 3, 2010.)

Some literalist respondents argued that the husband/father's main responsibility/duty was to provide *nafkah* and if a wife/mother earns money, it is only additional or complementary *nafkah* for the family. A woman's main duty is to take care of the home and children. For example, Joko (interview, 24 May 2010), a male respondent from an Islamic university, reported that *nafkah* is the husband's obligation and that if the wife earns money it is part of her charity (*shodaqoh*) to the family. Hary, a male respondent from a public university, asserted that the husband has to fulfil the needs of his wife and children (Hary, interview, 2 June 2010). Laila, a female respondent from a public university, said that *nafkah* is a man's obligation because:

Physically a man is stronger.... He...has more freedom in the community than a woman. In Islam, a woman has to get her husband's consent to go out in public...if a woman goes to paid work then the money belongs to her, it is not a *nafkah* for her family although there are many working women who spend their money on their families. So, a woman's salary is a woman's by right ... it depends on her how and for what the money will be spent (Laila, interview, 3 June 20110).

As regards inheritance rights, people in PSW/PSG argued that the value of inheritance involves upholding justice (*adl*). However, respondents had different views of understanding justice. I will first show a few progressive responses, then moderate responses, and lastly, the literalist responses.

Some progressive respondents argued that the difference in share of inheritance between men and women in the contemporary Indonesian context does not portray the justice value of Islam which is *adl* (*keadilan*), not the portion itself. Most took a progressive approach i.e., that men and women should inherit equally or that inheritance should be divided based on need, regardless of gender. The following are the views expressed by Tria, Aisyah, and Abdullah respectively:

Tria explained that although the Qur'an clearly states two portions for men and one for women, this cannot be implemented in the current situation because, I think it is not fair.... For me, in Islam the basic value is justice and care for the needy. I imagine that the inheritance text was revealed to respond to the context at that time when women were part of the property, therefore they did not inherit property; from their parents even they were part of inheritance itself (Tria, interview, 20 May 2010).

Asiyah argued in favour of a double portion for men because there was a reason for it 'at that time', but things are changed now (Aisyah, interview, 23 June 2010). Abdullah's response was different. He argued that 2:1 was unfair because currently both men and women earn *nafkah*:

For me, the inheritance text in the Qur'an is part of Madaniyah [revealed in Madinah]; therefore it can be contextualised with current situation ... it is not a fixed verse ... in reality when in the family both men and women contribute earning *nafkah* then the number [portions] should be changed... also many *ulama* in Islamic schools of thought have different interpretations of inheritance distribution. It means that the inheritance text can be contextualised (Abdullah, interview, 22 May 2010).

Two examples of respondents who adopted a moderate position were Darma and Permata. Darma argued that although the religious text states two portions for men and one for women, this can be interpreted differently based on circumstances:

In my understanding, theologically Allah and the Prophet have reason...why women got a half inheritance compared to men. I try to understand what Allah thinks about inheritance. For me...we could still implement 2:1 but we have to raise awareness to share property with the one who needs most. Secondly, ...parents should divide inheritance equally between men and women and ask their sons to feel that they got double...that's what happened in my family (Darma, interview, 9 May 2010).

Permata, a female respondent from an Islamic university, argued that the Islamic system of philanthropy placed very good value on inheritance but it is not implemented well in Indonesia:

In the Prophet's era, a brother or uncle would fulfil a widow's basic needs; therefore, although women got a single portion...there is somebody helping to fulfil her basic needs...but this system does not exist anymore. As a result, it seems that Islamic law on inheritance 2:1 is not fair.... In my family my eldest brother yelled at all heirs for a double portion.... But then I asked him to be responsible in *nafkah* to my older sister, a widow, until she remarried. He did not agree so the inheritance was divided equally between men and women in my family based on consensus among family members (Permata, interview, 22 June 2010).

Some examples of literalist respondents who agreed to two portions for male heirs and one for female heirs were presented by Laila and Maman. Laila, a female respondent from a public university, stated:

[As] men have a double portion in inheritance, all the heirs should negotiate and give other types of charity for women. The negotiation is in the best interests of all the heirs. For example, if a female is poor and a male is rich, the inheritance should be given to the female. But if the male does not agree, it is his right to take double (Laila, interview, 3 June 2010).

Maman, a male respondent from an Islamic university explained that 2:1 portion is equal because if it is combined in the family, the husband gets two portions from his family and the wife gets one portion from her family: then the result is 3 portions (Maman, interview, 5 May 2010).

Summary

A government strategy employed to improve women's lives in Indonesia is to work with universities to establish PSWs or PSGs. Between 1988 and 2003, the number of PSWs/PSGs increased from 16 to 123. I noted some similarities and differences among the selected PSWs/PSG in Yogyakarta universities. All of the Centres seemed more focused upon gender issues rather than on feminism. Their core staff members were invariably male, although some do not agree with males being leaders of the Centres. All the Centres receive funding from national, local, and international donors, albeit the frequency differs.

The different funding resources, types of universities and levels of support from university leaders tend to influence the nature and character of the Centres. Islamic university (UIN, UII, UMY) Centres are different from those of public universities (UGM, UNY, UPN) in terms of focus of interest. Islamic-based university Centres focus more upon gender equality from an Islamic perspective; e.g., Islamic marriage laws, new egalitarian interpretations of the Qur'an and Hadith, and spreading new egalitarian interpretations among stakeholders in the Islamic community. Centres attached to public universities, however, tend to focus more upon gender equality in general, such as gender in education, gender and technology, and gender and economy. University backgrounds, support from university leaders, and the amount of funding received do not seem to influence the character of the people engaged with the Centres. Most PSW/PSG activists are impressive, persistent, and inspiring people; and many become leaders of women.

On all but one issue (women's right to lead public mixed-gender prayers (*imam sholat*), I rated the majority of respondents' views on gender issues as 'progressive', with less than half holding either a 'moderate' or 'literalist' view. This was understandable given the involvement of all the respondents in gender activism. However, what could not be

anticipated was the variation in the responses to the different types of issues, and the exceedingly high rate of progressive responses to some particular issues. To conclude, I would argue that these issues are not particularly religiously contentious as they are not issues taken to religious courts.

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Endnotes

- ¹ The terms *Old Order* and *New Order* refer respectively to the two-post war regimes of Presidents Soekarno and Suharto who have headed the state of Indonesia since 1945.
- ² The historical approach considers the influences of place and time on the revelation and recording of texts, understanding them as shaped by the prevailing socio-cultural and geographical conditions. It follows the principle of fallibility of human knowledge (Abdullah, 2002). The hermeneutic approach focuses on three aspects of the text: the context in which the text was written, the grammatical composition of the text, and the world-view of the text (Wadud, 1999).
- ³ Based on the Rector's decree No. 128, year 1995.
- ⁴ Based on the Rector's decree No 127 year 1990.
- ⁵ Included among some such collaborating partners are the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and the Ministry of Research and Technology. The list of local NGOs includes, such as *Rifka An-Nisa Women Crisis Centre*; LKIS; PKBI; '*Aisyiyah* and *Nasyiatul 'Aisyiyah* (Muhammadiyah Women's organisation); and *Muslimat* and *Fatayat* (NU Women's divisions). The global donor agencies include CIDA-Canada, The Ford Foundation, Danida-Denmark, The Asia Foundation, and Lapis-AusAid Australia.
- ⁶ These publications include, *Buku Saku Khutbah Nikah: Menuju Keluarga Bahagia*. (Sermon Pocket Book, Toward A Happy Family), *Gender dan Islam antara Text dan Context* (Gender and Islam, between text and Context), *Anotasi Dinamika Gender di IAIN Sunan Kalijaga 1995-2003* (Annotation on Gender Discourse in IAIN Sunan Kalijaga 1995-2003), *Telaah Ulang Wacana Seksualitas* (Rethink about Sexuality Discourse), *Baseline dan Analisis Institusi PUG di IAIN Sunan Kalijaga* (Baseline and Institutional Analysis for Gender Mainstreaming in IAIN Sunan Kalijaga), *Amandemen Undang-Undang Perkawinan Sebagai Upaya Perlindungan Hak Perempuan dan Anak* (The Amendment of Marriage Law as a struggle for protection of women and children), and *Men's Involvement in Reproductive Health*.
- ⁷ State *Ibuism* (*Ibu* mean Mother) in the words of Julia Surykusuma 'defines women as appendages and companions to their husbands, as protectors of the nation, as mothers and educators of children, as housekeepers, and as members of Indonesian society--in that order'. See Julia I. Suryakusuma 'The State and Sexuality in New Order Indonesia'. In Laurie J. Sears

ed. *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 92-119. The New Order government of former President Suharto (1968-1998) started promoting 'State Ibuism', the roles of wife and mother (*ibu*) were mandated for women and government guidelines for those roles were implemented nationally.

- ⁸ Based on Badan Waqaf UII Decree no 13 year 1997.
- ⁹ Based on Rector's Decree No. 615a/SK-Rek/DOSDM/VII/2006 on 17 July 2006
- ¹⁰ Established in Yogyakarta in 1912, Muhammadiyah is the largest modern organisation in Indonesia to bring Islam into harmony with modern day concerns. The organization has built thousands of Islamic schools, medical centres and hospitals in the country. Women's education has remained a focus of Muhammadiyah.
- ¹¹ Based on the Rector's Decree of UGM, No. UGM/02/UM/01/37 on 1 March 1991.
- ¹² Among the international institutions that have collaborated with PSW UGM are the Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan, the International Recovery Platform (IRP) and the Post Disaster Livelihood Recovery Status of Women in the Recovery Process of the Central Java Earthquake 2006. National institutions that have collaborated with PSW UGM include the Ministry of Women's Empowerment, Department of Forestry (Indonesia), Department of Tourism (Indonesia), Regional Education Department (Sleman, Bantul, and Gunung Kidul Districts), PSW UMY, PSW Sarjanawiyata Tamansiswa Yogyakarta, STAIN Ternate, STIE Ternate and Regional Governments (DIY).
- ¹³ People adopting a literalist approach tend to interpret religious texts literally; on the other hand, a progressive understands said texts contextually and applies a hermeneutical approach. Between the two lies moderate thought, which interprets religious texts sometimes using the textual/literal approach and at others - or for other issues - using the contextual approach.
- ¹⁴ My analysis in this paper is based upon the responses from PSWs/PSG people at six universities in Yogyakarta. One hundred and sixty-five participated in my short-answer survey and 25 in my in-depth interviews.
- ¹⁵ *Ibadah* an Arabic word means following Islamic beliefs and practices - its commands, prohibitions, particularly concerning the act of worship
- ¹⁶ *Kodrat* (from the Arabic word *qudrat* meaning power, potential) in Indonesia refers to biological predestination of women. *Kodrat* is a power; the ability or capacity to do a particular thing; aptitude; everything that men and women have that have been determined by God and that humankind cannot change or reject.

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