

Journal of Government & Civil Society

Journal of Government
and Civil Society

Volume 9

No. 2

Pages 194 - 405

October 2025

ISSN 2579-4396



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Submitted:
08 August 2025

Revised:
21 October 2025

Accepted:
27 October 2025

Abstract

This article aims to highlight the typology of faith-based women's movements and organizations in the democratic era. This research focuses on religious women's organizations in West Java, including representatives from Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and indigenous beliefs. The purpose of this research is to determine the roles and strategies used by religious-based women's movements and organizations in advocating for civil society interests, particularly in promoting gender equality issues. The research results indicate that religious-based women's organizations or movements overall prioritize and consider religious values in their various actions and organizational decisions when advocating for gender equality issues. In West Java, religious-based women's movements and organizations exhibit various typologies, with some rooted in Islam. Three dominant typologies emerged from the organizations studied: religious-centered, religiously affiliated, and religiously backgrounded. These three typologies provide at least a glimpse of the differences and similarities in the strategies of women's movements and organizations in advocating for gender-responsive public interests, particularly how they collaborate with the government and other stakeholders.

Keywords: Women's movement, women's organizations, social movement, religious-based, faith-based

Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menyoroti tipologi gerakan dan organisasi perempuan berbasis agama di era demokrasi. Penelitian ini berfokus pada organisasi perempuan berbasis agama di Jawa Barat, yang meliputi perwakilan dari Islam, Kristen, Katolik, Hindu, Buddha, dan Penghayat. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk menentukan peran dan strategi yang digunakan gerakan dan organisasi perempuan berbasis agama dalam memperjuangkan kepentingan masyarakat sipil khususnya dalam memperjuangkan isu-isu kesetaraan gender. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa keseluruhan organisasi atau gerakan perempuan berbasis agama dalam memperjuangkan isu-isu kesetaraan gender memprioritaskan dan mempertimbangkan nilai-nilai agama dalam berbagai tindakan dan keputusan organisasi. Di Jawa Barat, gerakan dan organisasi perempuan berbasis agama menunjukkan berbagai tipologi, dengan beberapa di antaranya berakar pada Islam. Tiga tipologi dominan muncul dari organisasi yang diteliti, yaitu tipologi berpusat pada agama, tipologi berafiliasi dengan agama, dan tipologi berlatar belakang agama. Ketiga tipologi ini memberikan gambaran perbedaan dan persamaan strategi gerakan dan organisasi perempuan dalam memperjuangkan kepentingan publik yang responsif gender,

CITATION Bintari, A., Widianingsih, I., & Rahmatunnisa, M. (2025). Religious-Based Women's Movement Typology in Modern Indonesia as a Social Movement in West Java. *Journal of Government and Civil Society*, 9(2), 368-386.



khususnya bagaimana mereka melakukan kolaborasi dengan pemerintah dan pemangku kepentingan lainnya.

Kata Kunci: Gerakan perempuan, gerakan sosial, organisasi perempuan, berbasis agama, berbasis keyakinan.

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a country of some 230 million people, of whom almost 90 per cent claim to be Muslim, making it the largest Islamic nation in the world. Unlike some Islamic countries, however, Indonesia is not an Islamic state, meaning that its governments have never, like those in Iran or Pakistan, been committed to the enforcement of Islamic Law, with its many negative consequences for women (Blackburn, 2010).

Indonesia is a fascinating case study for democratization and women's empowerment because it is one of the few Muslim majority democracies with a long history of women's mobilization. Women's activism emerged along with the nationalist movement in the 1920s and remained a force through the 1960s. However, other social movements were subject to government suppression when the Suharto regime gained control in 1967. Nevertheless, a vibrant and diverse Indonesian women's movement arose in the 1990s and played an essential role in the democracy movement (Rinaldo, 2016). As alluded to above, the distinction between religious (particularly Islamic) and non-religious is significant in understanding organizations' activities and platforms (Blackburn, 2004).

The women's movement discussed in this study refers to the collective expression of Indonesian women's desires. This definition aligns with the views of Mazur & McBride (2008), who state that the women's movement is a form of collective action organized by women to assert their demands in the public sphere based on their identity as women. Two key elements are essential in defining the women's movement: first, it involves collective action by women specifically organized around their identity as women, and second, it emphasizes claims related to gender identity. Furthermore, Mazur & McBride (2010) argue that the fundamental characteristics of the women's movement include discourse and actors. Discourse encompasses the ideas, arguments, goals, and claims that articulate women's gender identity. The term "actors" in the context of the women's movement refers to collective actors, meaning they operate in groups within the socio-political arena while remaining independent of government structures. This development leads to building a space that provides equality for women individually and as part of society. The presence of women's organizations in the Indonesian women's movement has a significant role in fighting for women's rights and interests. The existence of women's organizations can influence policies that can change women's lives and make them equal to men as citizens. The 1998 reform movement provided

space for the democratization process in Indonesia. After the collapse of the New Order regime, the political situation in Indonesia that gave birth to reform brought openness to the existing political structure and system.

The research was conducted in West Java, mostly in Bandung City, with several considerations, including quite some faith-based women's organizations that are actively engaged in efforts to resolve various social, political, and economic problems of women. The Reformation era gave space to many mass organizations for action, leading to a diversity of advocacy patterns and strategies. Although many women's organizations in West Java have carried out activities in various fields and focus on women's issues, they do not seem significant to women's welfare in West Java. Women in West Java are still dealing with various cases of domestic violence, sexual violence, child marriage, marginalization, and discrimination.

Sakwan & Minan (2007) explains that the results of research by the Institute for Research and Community Development Studies (IRCOS) show perceptions among women activists from religious organizations regarding the position and role of women's organizations in Indonesia in fighting for gender equality and justice. Finding women to be leaders or chairpersons of religious organizations in Indonesia is still tricky. There is still a phenomenon of the domestication of women in religious organizations. Placing women in women's organizations separate from the core organization causes them to have limited access to fight for strategic positions in management, especially for top leadership positions. Only Walubi, as a Buddhist organization, has a female chairperson in the organizational structure at the central level.

Since the beginning, some religious organizations have indeed shown an accommodating attitude towards increasing the role of women in community life. To understand the strategy of women's movements or religious-based women's organizations in fighting for gender interests in West Java, it is necessary to compile a typology of these women's movements/organizations. This will be useful for researchers to ascertain the relationship between the typology and the agency built and fought for by religious-based women's movements/organizations in West Java.

THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

The study of social movements has experienced rapid development in recent decades. Tilly (1998: 306) defines social movements as "a sustained series of interactions between powerholders and people who successfully claim to speak for constituents without formal representation," involving public demands and protests. Tarrow (1998: 4) expanded on Tilly's ideas to define social movements as "collective challenges, based on shared goals and social solidarity, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities." McAdam,

Tarrow, and Tilly (2001: 5) include social movements as “contentious politics,” defined as “episodic, public, and collective interactions among claimants and their objects when (a) at least one government is a claimant, the object of the claim, or a party involved in the claim, and (b) the claims, if realized, would affect the interests of at least one of those claimants.”

New social movement theorists argue that social movements emerge from networks of activists or social movement communities that create a collective identity that can endure and change to maintain commitment within and between protest cycles. By developing this focus on collective identity, many researchers of the women’s movement emphasize the role of culture in shaping social movements; feminism is seen as a socially constructed collective identity that emerges from the interactions and achievements of participants within networks of women’s work and organizations involved in the struggle for changes in women’s status and opportunities. The collective identity approach to feminism broadens the scope of what is considered the women’s movement and shows how feminist culture and the maintenance of feminist collective identity contribute to their sustained vitality (Staggenborg & Taylor, 2005).

A comprehensive definition of the “women’s movement” is challenging because the women’s movement has never spoken in one unified language. A broad definition is more appropriate to encompass its heterogeneity, plurality, and complexity. The women’s movement can be viewed as the entire spectrum of conscious and unconscious individual or collective actions, activities, groups, or organizations concerned with reducing various aspects of gender subordination, which are intertwined with other forms of oppression, such as those based on class, race, ethnicity, age, and sexual preferences (Wieringa, 1999, pp. 75-76).

This range of definitions for women’s movements includes individual actions and collective efforts, with content that may have a diffuse human rights focus or a specifically feminist orientation, a sense of accountability, utilization of women’s social service agencies, and involvement in women’s rights organizations. However, this broad continuum of definitions, while commendably inclusive, poses a challenge in attempts to define the women’s movement, as there is a tendency to categorize any form of women’s activism as part of the women’s movement and to try to reclaim nearly any women’s activism as feminist (Beckwith, 2000).

Some researchers distinguish between the women’s movement, feminism, and women’s organizations. While “women’s movement” carries a benign or nonthreatening connotation, “feminism” is often highly charged. Some scholars are even hesitant to provide a strict definition of feminism due to concerns about being labeled ethnocentric or hegemonic, particularly when examining feminist issues in diverse national and cultural contexts (Mazur & McBride, 2010)

Most analysts of the women's movement believe that it differs from other movements (in which women may also participate) in that the category of women is defined as "a distinct constituency instead of, within, or against their other potentially competing allegiances and identities." (Ferree & Mueller, 2007), is central to its political identity. In a wide variety of historical and cultural contexts, women have organized as women (based on typically female roles as mothers, daughters, sisters, or wives) to pursue a vast range of goals, such as the abolition of slavery, the fight against alcoholism, prostitution, and poverty, promoting peace or nationalism, the protection of nature, or improvement in women's status. The very definition of the women category is, of course, one of the issues at stake for these movements, which maintain varied and often conflicting relations to this identity referent.

However, women's movement scholars have been quicker to investigate these boundary issues and to utilize a wider view of movements to provide new insights into the nature of women's struggles, old questions, and central theoretical concepts in the social movement literature (Banaszak, 2008). In short, Stetson, D. M. and Mazur, A. G. (2002; cited by Beckwith, 2007) explain that women's movements involve collective challenging actions that make them move. Recognizing women's movements as subsets of social movements allows us to employ and test social movement theorizing in our assessments of women's movements' strategies and outcomes. Women's movements can be defined as social movements where women are the major actors and leaders, make gendered identity claims as the basis for the movement, and organize explicitly as women.

The women's movement in this study refers to the collective articulation of Indonesian women's desires organized by women who explicitly make demands in the public sphere with gender identity as women. Thus, the definition of the women's movement includes two elements: collective action by women organized as women and gender identity claims.

Several references show two different terms for organizations or social movements based on a particular belief or religion. Some researchers use the word "faith-based," and others choose "religious-based." However, the researcher in this paper does not separate the two terms because the interviewees in the research are representatives of organizations with religious backgrounds and belief systems in Indonesia. Both terms will be used interchangeably in this paper. Fiddian-Qasmiyeh (2015) explains that a "faith-based organization" can be defined as "any organization that derives inspiration from and guidance for its activities from the teachings and principles of faith or a particular interpretation or school of thought within a faith".

Just as "secular" organizations are highly diverse, so too are FBOs involved in development and humanitarian activities, ranging from small-scale local-level religious congregations, to national inter-denominational coalitions and networks, to international faith-based humanitarian agencies with multi-billion dollar budgets; in turn, organizations may combine the provision of assistance and protection with proselytization and/or faith-centred

delivery strategies, or reject these processes and strategies in respect of the international humanitarian principles which prohibit this. Clarke (2006 as cited in Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2015) identifies five ‘functions’ guiding FBOs’ activities worldwide, leading to the following typology: faith-based representative organizations; faith-based charitable or development organizations; faith-based socio-political organizations; faith-based missionary organizations; and faith-based radical, illegal, or terrorist organizations. Clarke’s typology is helpful because it recognizes organizations’ diverse aims and modes of operation broadly motivated by “faith”, highlighting the potential role of FBOs in tackling poverty and social exclusion via charitable or development initiatives. Nonetheless, such classificatory systems must be critically examined for the following reasons.

Contrasting religious and secular organizations also includes elements of organizational control, expression of religion, and program implementation. Religious traditions have a substantial influence on social service provision. An organization’s founding religion provides an identity reflecting the way the religion views service, and this outlook usually stays with the organization (Bielefeld & Cleveland, 2013). Delineating a comprehensive typology of both organizations and programs providing social services or education, Sider and Unruh (2004; as cited in Bielefeld & Cleveland, 2013) developed a six-fold typology. The six categories include faith-permeated, faith-centered, faith-affiliated, faith background, faith–secular partnership, and secular.

Table 1. Typology of Religious-Based Organizations

	Characteristics of Organizations					
	Faith-Permeated	Faith-Centered	Faith-Affiliated	Faith-Background	Faith-Secular Partnership	Secular
1. Mission statement and other self-descriptive text	Includes explicitly religious references	Includes explicitly religious references	Religious references may be either explicit or implicit	May have implicit references to religion (e.g., references to value	No explicit reference to religion in the mission statement of the secular partner, but religion may be explicit in the mission of faith partners	No religious content
2. Founding	By religious group or for religious purposes	By religious group or for religious purpose	By religious group or for religious purpose	It may have a historical tie to a religious group, but the connection is no longer strong.	Faith partners founded by a religious group or for religious purposes; No reference to the religious identity of the founders of the secular partnership may or may not be religious.	No reference to the religious identity of the founders of the secular partner

3. If affiliated with an external entity, is that entity religious? (e.g., a domination)	Yes	Yes	Often	Sometimes	May have dual religious/secular affiliation	No
4. Selection of the controlling board	Explicitly religious; may be (a) a self-perpetuating board with explicit religious criteria or (b) a board elected by a religious body.	Explicitly or implicitly religious; may be (a) a self-perpetuating board with explicit or implicit religious criteria for all or most members or (b) a board elected by a religious body.	Some, but not all, board members may be required or expected to have a particular faith or ecclesiastical commitment.	The board might have been explicitly religious at one time, but is now selected with little or no consideration of members' faith commitment.	Board selection is typically controlled by a secular partner, with little or no consideration of board members' faith commitment and input from faith partners.	The commitment of board members to faith is not a factor.
5. Selection of senior management	Faith or ecclesiastical commitment is an explicit prerequisite	Faith or ecclesiastical commitment is an explicit or implicit prerequisite	Usually (perhaps by unwritten expectation shared by the organization) religious orientation but Explicit religious criteria are considered irrelevant or improper	Religious criteria considered irrelevant or improper	Required to respect but not necessarily to share the faith of religious partners	Religious criteria are considered improper
6. Selection of other staff	Faith commitment is important at all staff levels; most or all staff share the organization's religious orientation, with faith as an explicit factor in hiring decisions.	Faith commitment may be an explicit selection factor for jobs involving religion, but may be less important in other positions.	Staff are expected to respect but not necessarily share the religious orientation of the organization; religious beliefs motivate the self-selection of some staff/volunteers.	Little or no consideration of the faith commitment of any staff; religious beliefs may motivate self-selection of some staff/volunteers	Staff are expected to respect the faith of religious partners; programs rely significantly on volunteers from religious partners.	Religious criteria for any staff member are considered improper.
7. Financial support and nonfinancial resources	Intentional cultivation of support from the religious community; a policy of refusing funds that would undermine religious	Intentional cultivation of support from religious	May cultivate volunteer and in-kind support from the religious community	May or may not cultivate support from the religious community	Significant cultivation of volunteer and in-kind support from faith partners	Little cultivation of support from religious

8. Organized religious practices of personnel (such as prayer or devotion)	Religious practice plays a significant role in the organization's functioning; personnel are expected or required to participate.	Religious practice often plays a significant role in the	Religious practices are optional and not extensive	Religious practice is rare and peripheral to the organization	Faith partners may sponsor voluntary religious practices. secular partners do not	No organized religious practices
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Source : (Sider & Unruh, 2004)

Unlike the typology presented by Sider & Unruh, Doorn-Harder (2006; as cited in Qibtiyah, 2009) Specifically, it categorizes women's organizations during the early twentieth century into two distinct types: secular-nationalist and religious-nationalist. A religious organization is grounded in particular religious beliefs and doctrines, while a secular organization is characterized by its religious neutrality and asserts independence from religious affiliation. It is important to note that membership in secular organizations does not necessarily imply irreligiosity; indeed, many members of such organizations maintain their religious beliefs (Wieringa, 2002). The various permutations arising from the combinations of organizational establishment-independence and ideological backgrounds give rise to various women's organization types. These combinations encompass (1) religious subsidiaries, (2) religious semi-autonomous entities, (3) fully independent religious organizations, (4) secular subsidiaries, (5) secular semi-autonomous entities, and (6) fully independent secular organizations (Qibtiyah, 2009). Hence, the typology of religious-based organizations exhibits a rich array of variants, with a common thread being the distinction between those closely affiliated with a parent organization and those operating independently.

METHOD

This research uses a qualitative method, basing this decision on the research focus, including social experiences, values, and societal dynamics. This research also incorporates a Feminist methodology, specifically concerned with how knowledge produced about social life can relate to the social realities of women in contexts dominated by men and neglecting consideration of the gendered nature of social life (Landman, 2006). Lupton (2020, as cited in Putera et al., 2022) theorized that data collection and analysis techniques have adapted to the new norms in research data collection, particularly after the COVID-19 pandemic.

Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were employed for this research. FGDs are valuable tools for gaining insight into attitudes or issues rather than measuring them. With the increasing use of the Internet, message boards, and chat rooms, both synchronous (conducted live with all participants) and asynchronous (conducted over time via message boards, allowing for comments and discussion) virtual focus groups can provide opportunities to collect qualitative information (Mayer et al., 2014).

The FGDs were led by the researcher, who posed a few basic questions that could spark a three-hour discussion. They were conducted online through Zoom meetings. The first FGD included representatives of Islamic faith-based women's organizations: Fatayat NU, Aisyiyah, Salimah, and Cherbon Feminist. The second FGD comprised other faith-based women's organizations: Wanita Budhis, Wanita Hindu Dharma Indonesia, Persatuan Wanita Kristen Indonesia, Wanita Katolik RI, and Puan Hayati. Given the researcher's long-standing focus on gender and feminist studies, the subjective interpretation of the obtained data may be influenced by the researcher's prior knowledge and experience. To mitigate this bias, important statements conveyed by interviewees were discussed and reconfirmed through additional interviews conducted outside the FGDs. The resulting data were documented in the form of interview transcripts.

RESULTS, DISCUSSION, AND ANALYSIS

Most women's organizations in this study fell into the semi-autonomous religious category. Semi-autonomous implies that they were initially affiliated with men's organizations upon their establishment, but these women pursued their interests within their programs. Only Cherbon Feminist and Salimah belong to fully independent religious organizations. Fully independent refers to women's organizations without affiliation with men's organizations. Most informants representing Islamic faith-based women's organizations prominently emphasized the dimension of education through da'wah, which conveys Islamic teachings. Da'wah was employed to mobilize women's groups to join and participate in their organizations. These educational approaches encompassed both formal and non-formal education.

As more established organizations, Fatayat and Aisyiyah already possessed an educational structure aligned with the Ministry of Religion curriculum. Having been active within their organizations for a longer duration, Fatayat and Aisyiyah have naturally developed educational structures that adhere to the guidelines of the Ministry of Religion. In contrast, Cherbon Feminist and Salimah exhibited independent characteristics and did not rely on large umbrella organizations such as Aisyiyah and Fatayat NU. Most of the interviewees also emphasized the role of education through da'wah as a significant dimension of their work. Da'wah was selected to mobilize women's groups and encourage their participation in these organizations. The educational approaches employed included both formal and non-formal education. As organizations with longer histories, Fatayat NU and Aisyiyah already possessed educational structures that complied with the guidelines set by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Religion, and they had gained recognition within the country. On the other

hand, the other two organizations primarily operated within the non-formal education framework.

Cherbon Feminist and Salimah, as millennial organizations, exhibited independent characteristics and did not rely on the broader organizational structure as Aisyiyah and Fatayat NU did. Cherbon Feminists expressed their views and executed their movements independently. In the context of their struggle regarding feminist issues, they collaborated with liberal organizations to emphasize the gender-based face of Islam and ensure equal rights for women, children, and minority groups within Islam. In terms of management elections, Fatayat NU and Aisyiyah still employed conventional strategies, which is evident from the continued influence of previous leaders in determining management. Salimah, despite its claim to be a modern Islamic organization, did not automatically enjoy complete freedom in its activities, as its practices of dakwah (Islamic missionary work) and education had to align with the characteristics of its ideology.

All interviewees raised the issue of sexual violence against women and children, but only Cherbon Feminist declared it as a priority program, particularly when discussing Islam and gender justice. In contrast, the other three interviewees did not demonstrate alignment on issues or innovations, including religious-based organizations other than Islam. Except for Cherbon Feminist, all organizations primarily focused on accelerating their respective programs, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. These programs could be mandates from the central organization or initiatives emerging from their regions. All organizations emphasized membership, data management, and methods for retaining members while maintaining their distinctive characteristics. Cherbon Feminist, as an exception, possessed extensive knowledge of interpreting the Quran to mobilize women and promote their involvement in social welfare initiatives.

In contrast to women's organizations rooted in Islam, the level of participation of individual members in Catholic, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, and indigenous faith-based women's groups appears to exhibit significant variation. For instance, Hindu and indigenous faith-based groups seem primarily focused on internal organizational restructuring to garner support and foster collective consciousness within their faith communities. On the other hand, Catholic and Christian groups demonstrate a higher degree of dynamism due to their relatively long-standing organizational histories.

A common religious foundation fosters unity among women within these organizations and ensures the continued transmission of religious values to cadres or successors. These non-Islamic religious organizations collectively contribute to cultivating internal values and increasingly extend their support to women's groups across various spectrums. In this context, it is worth noting that only Catholic organizations have a history of branching out to preserve the Catholic faith. They originated from concerns regarding factory laborers and gradually expanded into the realm of personal beliefs or shared religious affiliations. The overall

dynamism of women's organizations underscores the need for a nuanced assessment, considering specific criteria to gauge the maturity of each organization, thereby facilitating dynamic growth.

The dimension of community organization empowerment illustrates how these organizations' leadership instigates social change within and beyond their structures. This encompasses aspects such as the length of membership, issues related to narcotics, and more. Based on this FGD, it is evident that most of these organizations are primarily capable of influencing policy internally, following decisions made by the central organization, and only subsequently at the external level. Issues outside the organization are approached with caution, and when it comes to influencing policies, these organizations often collaborate with broader networks. Regarding women-specific issues, they entrust relevant segments within the organization to develop programs according to their needs. However, collective autonomy for women within these groups is limited, except in exceptional cases, such as those observed within the Hindu organization.

By the mid-1990s, many organizations, including some Islamic ones, were instituting "gender training" to raise members' awareness about gender inequality and the need to improve women's positions in society. Gender issues were increasingly linked to ideas about human rights and democratization more generally, and activists in liberal women's organizations maintained a dialogue with members of other NGOs concerned with social justice, political reform, pluralism, and human rights. More organizations were devoting their efforts to raising public awareness about problems like domestic abuse, sexual assault, and the exploitation of female workers—problems that they felt were being inadequately addressed, or even exacerbated, by the government. (Brenner, 2011). Although not explicitly biased towards gender issues, several religion-based women's organizations have strategic concerns. For instance, Aisyiyah, for example, has several strategic issues such as Strengthening the Strategic Role of the Muslim Community in Enlightening the Nation, Strengthening Peace and National Unity (related to conflicts and violence against women and children), women's representation in politics, utilizing digital means to address disparities and sustainable proselytization, strengthening literacy, family resilience, food sovereignty (with a focus on women farmers and fisherwomen), disaster mitigation, and the impact of climate change on women and children.

Similarly, Fatayat NU has several strategic issues, such as advocating for women's rights and basic needs for life (education, health, and economics). Catholic Women in Indonesia engage in various activities related to gender issues, such as empowering women economically, improving women's quality of life, and promoting gender equality and justice in all aspects of life. In Buddhism, there is no distinction between women and men. The status of women in Buddhism is very different from other teachings, as Lord Buddha granted complete freedom for women to participate in religious life. This has resulted in female leadership in

today's leading Buddhist organization (Walubi). However, in West Java, the presence of religion-based women's organizations other than Islam in implementing gender equality-related programs is not very prominent and even tends to face resistance.

Nevertheless, the political climate's openness significantly impacts the emergence and growth of social movements. A more open political climate allows social movements to emerge and develop, while a closed political climate restricts such opportunities. A democratic political system provides ample room for public engagement in influencing various public policy processes. For example, during the Reform Era in 1998, women's movements in Indonesia, including West Java, emerged and flourished in various forms. The Reform Era offered significant opportunities to grow women's organizations in Indonesia, including in West Java. For example, if in the past, groups like Penghayat Puan Hayati, which did not belong to a religion but rather a belief system, were not given the chance to participate in public spaces, the progression of democracy allowed them to be present alongside other groups.

In addition to providing opportunities for specific faith-based organizations, democracy fosters the progressiveness of religion-based women's movements, especially those targeting millennials. This can be seen in the proliferation of various women's movements advocating for gender equality and justice from a religious perspective that is relatively easy for younger generations to understand. Examples of such movements include Cherbon Feminist, initiated by young members of NU.

Cherbon Feminist is a community in Cirebon that spreads its message through social media. Through its Instagram account @cherbonfeminist, the Cherbon Feminist community has established an online presence since August 10, 2017. Through this account, Cherbon Feminist shares its activities and reposts various content related to gender equality from an Islamic perspective, using language that is easily understandable to millennials. Initially, the Instagram account @cherbonfeminist was created due to an interest in gender equality, stemming from the marginalization of women. Cherbon Feminist aims to promote gender equality between men and women and eliminate women's marginalization.

Another relatively new women's organization in West Java is Salimah. The Muslim Sisterhood community (Salimah) was founded when political and cultural structures opened up, providing broad opportunities for women to express their needs and interests as citizens in the public sphere. Salimah is also one of the Tarbiyah movement organizations that formalize Tarbiyah values. Its goal is to spread Islamic teachings to women. Therefore, Salimah is a product of the historical context and internal processes of actors who can interpret and mobilize their internal resources to achieve their vision and mission.

In their leadership selection processes, pre-modern practices are not yet evident in Fatayat NU and Aisyiyah. Hence, the practices or influences of previous leaders continue to shape the movements of these two organizations. This phenomenon is indicated in two ways: first, the (though not formal) limitation of women's access to the top leadership positions within the parent organizations, and second, the reduced access of women to allocate strategic women's programs within the parent organizations' work and policies. At the formal legal level, almost all internal regulations of religious organizations do not restrict women's opportunities to occupy top positions. The absence of rules limiting women's access substantively demonstrates the commitment of each religious organization to achieving gender equality and justice. Interestingly, this does not apply to women's movements initiated by millennial groups like Cherbon Feminist, which tend to be more independent even though the initiators are young members of a large organization, Fatayat NU.

Fundamentally, there is no significant difference between religion-based women's organizations and non-religion-based ones in framing their collective actions regarding the issues they advocate for. What sets them apart is that religion-based women's organizations prioritize and consider religious values in various organizational actions and decisions. This condition is not surprising when considering the backgrounds of religion-based women's organizations, which are closely tied to the policies or decisions of their parent organizations, typically led by men. Of the ten organizations studied, only Cherbon Feminist does not formally affiliate with a specific organization (core organization). However, it maintains a relationship with the religion-based organization (NU) but does not fall within its structure.

Unlike other Islamic religion-based organizations, Cherbon Feminist appears to be more open and egalitarian in presenting its issues and framing itself as a progressive young Islamic women's movement. Cherbon Feminist is proactive in disseminating ideas and concepts related to gender, especially women's empowerment, through various methods. It can be categorized as a moderate and progressive religion-based women's movement. It structures itself systematically around current gender issues, feminism, tolerance, and diversity. The language used on social media is primarily directed at millennials, making its target audience clear and focused.

Unfortunately, other religion-based women's organizations have not demonstrated a similar level of segmentation as observed in Cherbon Feminist. Instead, they remain within conventional women's organizations or movements, primarily focusing on education, family resilience, and other social activities. All the informants raised the issue of sexual violence against women and children, but only Cherbon Feminist emphasized it as a priority when discussing gender-just Islam. In contrast, the other informants have not shown an apparent inclination towards specific issues or innovations. Except for Cherbon Feminist, their focus remains primarily on accelerating their respective programs, especially in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. These programs may either be mandated or initiated at the regional

level. All organizations concentrate on membership, data management, and strategies for retaining members, each with its unique approach.

Except for Cherbon Feminist, there is limited information available from other organizations regarding their engagement with the tradition of interpreting the Quran to mobilize women and promote women's social well-being. Funding issues appear to be a shared challenge for these organizations, except for Aisiyiah and Fatayat NU, which possess school assets. Familial patterns heavily influence the character of these organizations and movements, including their funding approaches. Aisiyiah and Salimah fund their activities through partnership dues. Aisiyiah and Fatayat NU are also extensively involved with international partners, making foreign funding a significant source of financing for their activities. Other faith-based organizations and belief systems, such as Christianity and Catholicism, also utilize donor institutions to support their organizational endeavors. Only Penghayat appears to be more self-reliant in funding its movement and organization due to limited access to external funding. *A study by Qibtiyah (2009) categorized Aisiyiah as a religion-based organization with a subsidiary/dependent pattern before 1966. However, in 1966, Aisiyiah decided to become autonomous after a period of semi-independence starting in 1951. Autonomy in this context means that 'Aisiyiah occupies the same level as Muhammadiyah and has the right to manage its programs and budget. In this way, it acts as a leader, not a mere supporter or assistant (Qibtiyah, 2009). On the other hand, Fatayat Nu and Aisiyiah, after 1996, can be categorized as a semi-autonomous religion-based organization.*

Thus, the typology of religion-based women's movement/organizations in West Java is based on the framework presented by Sider. & Unruh (2004), categorized most of these movements and organizations, including Penghayat (except Cherbon Feminist and Salimah), as "Faith-centered organizations. Faith-centered organizations are established with a religious purpose, maintain strong connections with the religious community through funding sources and affiliation, and require the governing board and most staff members to share the organization's faith commitments. Faith-centered programs include explicitly religious messages and activities, but are designed so that participants can opt out of these activities and still receive the benefits of the program's services. (Sider & Unruh, 2004).

This characteristic assesses an organization's connection to a religious heritage and its ongoing relevance. Many social service and educational organizations have their origins in a religious movement, although the ongoing influence of religion can vary. (Weston et al., 2000). Salimah can be categorized as a religion-based organization with a "Faith-affiliated" type. Faith-affiliated organizations retain some influence from their religious founders, such as in their mission statement. However, they do not require staff to adhere to specific religious beliefs or practices, except for some board and executive leaders, possibly. While faith-affiliated programs may have minimal or no explicitly religious content, they may affirm faith in a general manner and make spiritual resources available to participants. Faith-affiliated

programs may intend to convey a religious message through nonverbal acts of compassion and care. (Sider & Unruh, 2004). This aligns with the reality that Salimah, despite identifying as a religion-based women's organization, accepts membership from backgrounds other than Islam.

In contrast to Salimah, Cherbon Feminist, although its founders have a background in Islam-based women's organizations, tends to be independent and dissociated from specific religious claims. Cherbon also operates as an open organization with affiliations outside the religious/secular basis. Therefore, Cherbon can be categorized as having a "faith background." Faith-background organizations tend to adopt a secular appearance and approach, even if they have historical ties to a faith tradition. While religious beliefs may motivate some personnel within faith-based organizations, faith commitments are not considered when selecting staff or board members. Faith-background programs typically do not contain explicitly religious content, aside from their potential location within a religious setting, and they do not expect religious experiences to contribute to program outcomes (Sider & Unruh, 2004). Based on the above presentation, the typology of religion-based women's organizations in West Java can be summarized in the table below:

Table2. Typology of Religion-Based Women's Organizations in West Java¹

Organization Name	Religious Background	Organizational History	Characteristics of Organizations
Aisyiyah	Islam	Established Organization, exists in other regions	Faith-centered
Fatayat NU	Islam	Established Organization, exists in other regions	Faith-centered
Cherbon Feminist	Islam	New Organization, only in West Java	Faith-background
Salimah	Islam	A new organization exists in other regions.	Faith-affiliated
Wanita Budhis	Buddhism	Established Organization, exists in other regions	Faith-centered
Wanita Hindu dharma Indonesia	Hinduism	<i>Established Organization, exists in other regions</i>	Faith-centered
Persatuan Wanita Kristen Indonesia	Christian	<i>Established Organization, exists in other regions</i>	Faith-centered
Wanita Katolik RI	Catholicism	<i>Established Organization, exists in other regions</i>	Faith-centered
Puan Hayati	Penghayat	<i>Established Organization, exists in other regions</i>	Faith-centered

1); Established Organization refers to organizations that existed before the 1998 reform era, while New Organization are organizations that emerged and developed during the post-1998 reform era.

Source: Research Results (2021)

Furthermore, there are several aspects to consider when examining the landscape of women's organizations and movements based on religion. Women's organizations based on Islamic faith appear to have a greater capacity to build organizations or movements that reach grassroots levels due to shared ideologies and a majority of religious adherents. This can be observed in the networks established by Fatayat, Aisyiyah, and even Salimah. In contrast, organizations based on religions other than Islam do not seem to engage in such extensive grassroots efforts, possibly due to societal resistance to minority religions and belief systems, particularly among Penghayat groups. This resistance may be influenced by specific rules agreed upon by religious leaders of respective faiths.

Additionally, religion-based women's movements must possess counter-discourse in the face of the growing fundamentalism and conservatism within religion. This counter-discourse is essential for reclaiming space within the public discourse. Historically, public discourse has often treated women as objects, with narratives focused on regulating women's bodies. Women have not yet become subjects capable of speaking and creating counter-discourse about the conditions they experience. Strengthening this discourse is crucial for public education as it is a foundation for the women's movement's struggle. Given that organizing without a stock of knowledge discourse would yield minimal results, religion-based women's movements must, inevitably, seize the interpretation of religion from a patriarchal perspective. These issues are more easily grasped and developed by modern women's organizations/movements like Cherbon Feminist. Cherbon Feminist appears highly critical and provides an excellent platform for dialectics through social media on gender issues, feminism, capitalism's impact, and women's liberation.

CONCLUSION

The research on the typology of religion-based women's movements/organizations in West Java paints a picture of the diversity of strategies chosen for the struggle, with considerations of their religious beliefs. Although there have been changes in strategies and issues within the movements, most religion-based women's movements/organizations often intersect with conventional values, referring to the core organizations, which men generally lead. Nevertheless, democracy provides ample space for the emergence of progressive women's movements based on religion, often initiated by younger generations or millennials and involving men as partners in their movement. However, this tends to be more prevalent within the Islamic faith or Muslimah groups and is not as evident in other religious contexts.

The existence of religious-based women's movements contributes to gender studies by providing a better understanding of the implications of this typology for movement strategies. These movement strategies are expected to expand social movements in society that fight for women's issues and build collaboration and partnerships with other stakeholders (government, universities, and communities outside of organizations/movements). This

research still has limitations because it has not provided a more comprehensive view of religion-based women's movements that emerged in the reform era. The presented overview primarily showcases women's organizations established in the previous regime or those with a history before the reform era. Further research is essential, emphasizing comparisons between religious-based and secular women's movements, as well as comparisons between women's movements in other regions or countries where the majority of the population is non-Muslim.

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