

PAPER NAME

IPSR-Network Institutionalism.pdf

AUTHOR

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WORD COUNT

6184 Words

CHARACTER COUNT

36055 Characters

PAGE COUNT

14 Pages

FILE SIZE

166.4KB

SUBMISSION DATE

Oct 21, 2022 1:41 PM GMT+7

REPORT DATE

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1 Network Institutionalism in Women's Political Interests Advocacy for Gender-mainstreaming of Development in Lampung, Indonesia

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Abstract

Advancing women's political interests is not an easy activity to do at least due to two factors. First, women political representation is low both in national and local level. Second, women's political interests is yet acknowledged as important subject compared to other more salient problems such as economic and political issues. This paper aims to present a critical analysis of how women put forward their political interests in local level through local legislations. I use mainly network institutionalism as my theoretical analytical tool. Data came from focussed group discussions (FGDs), interviews, participant observations, as well as documents from and with women groups in executive and legislative bodies, women non-government organizations (NGOs), women community based organizations (CBOs), professional groups, and academics. I argue that despite their differences, women groups were able to set a relatively coherent political agendas in local level in Lampung, Indonesia. This was shown by their ability to control sub-group identifications and develop a common identity with their slogan "united women will never be defeated" to work together for the success of their political interest advocacy. It was also shown by their ability to develop mutual obligations and reciprocities for the success of the advocacy of the new Lampung Province Regulation on Gender-mainstreaming of Development.

Keywords:

Network institutionalism; Advocacy; Women's political interests; Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

¹⁵ Sustainable development goals (SDGs) put gender equality as one of the 17 goals; it is goal number 5. Adopted in 2015, this document set forth standards that must be achieved by all United Nations (UN) members, both the developed and the developing countries. Gender equality as set forth in SDGs is not the latest documents regarding status of women. Gender equality can not be achieved either if women still suffer from discriminations in aspects of life.

Preceding the adoption of gender equality in the SDGs, the UN had initiated previous commitment to eliminate discriminations against women through the initiation and ⁷ adoption of Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979.

Following the adoption of CEDAW by UN, Indonesia implements the provisions of the CEDAW through ratification into national regulation which is Law number 7/1984 regarding Enactment ¹⁰ of the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discriminations Against Women. Until the year of 2000, however, the Law was

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not institutionally implemented, in national, provincial, and local levels since there was no guidelines for the implementation mechanism. Therefore, the first cabinet Minister of Women Empowerment in the Reformation Era initiated¹⁷ Presidential Instruction number 9/2000 regarding Gender Mainstreaming in Development which set forth standard institutional arrangements in national, provincial and local levels to gender mainstreaming all development policies and programs. Since then, national, provincial and local governments all over Indonesia have adopted⁸ the Presidential Instruction number 9/2000 into provincial and local regulations.

As a long time expert to the Lampung Province government on the issue of gender equality from 2007 to 2019, I witnessed the richness of history regarding gender equality in this Province. the Instruction was followed by the initiation and enactment of Lampung Province Regulation number 10/2011 regarding Gender Mainstreaming in Local Development of Lampung Province (or Perda Pengarusutamaan Gender/PUG Provinsi Lampung in Indonesian language). The provincial regulation was meant as an institutional base for achieving gender equality not only in provincial level, but also in local level in all regencies and cities in Lampung Province. Apart from this PUG Provincial Regulation, Lampung Province has also other regulations in provincial level such as Elimination of Human Trafficking, Elimination of Domestic Violence, and Child-Rights Protection.

After about 10 years of implementation, Provincial Regulation

number 10/2011 faced a lot of criticisms as not up to date enough to many changes both in national regulations and to issues in social community daily life (sources: focussed group discussions/FGDs among women groups in Lampung Province between mid up to end of 2020; and Lampung House of Representative Board of Legislation's meeting in December 2020). The regulation was mainly challenged for the inability to provide institutional bases for preventing and solving problems of discrimination and violence suffered in day to day life by women and children in the Province of Lampung. As data shows (<https://kekerasan.kemenpppa.go.id/ringkasan>), Lampung Province was among provinces in Indonesia with quite good achievement in reducing the percentage of women victims of violence compared to the numbers of population. However, according to some reports on mass media as well as assessment of the⁹ Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (source: FGD between Ministry, Lampung Province Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, gender expert to Lampung Province House of Representative, and some NGOs on 15 November 2020), Lampung witness some extreme cases on women and children rapes, some were mass gang rapes. Some women groups, therefore, initiated meeting with the Lampung Province Office⁶ of Women Empowerment and Child Protection to advocate the need of the amendment of the Provincial Regulation number 10/2011. On February 6, 2021 informal FGD between FORKOM PUSPA, or¹⁴ *Forum Komunikasi Partisipasi Publik untuk Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan*

Anak (an umbrella NGO with 21 groups as members on the establishment period in 2018 and now with 36 members) and the Provincial Office for Women Empowerment and Child Protection was held as the starting of this initiation to discuss the need and the issues which might be included in the new regulation. Since then, further process was conducted until the enactment of the new Regulation at the end of 2021.

If, then, we want to understand how women groups from diverse backgrounds advocated their political interests into legally binding regulation, what perspective and theory should be applied as the tool of analysis? This study applied new institutionalism perspective, especially theory of network institutionalism, to understand of how these women groups advocating their different political interests into the new Lampung Province regulation on gender-mainstreaming of development. Network institutionalism has rarely been applied in the past to study women political interest advocacy that is why this theory is specifically applied. In current study of politics, some scholars have applied this theory in their researches. *Smeru* Research Institute (Syukri, M. 2021) for instance, used this theory on their working paper report regarding the Indonesian new developmental state of gender equality on new participatory village governance. In a slightly different theme, a USAID team (USAID, 2017) put attention on how civic and political participation of women needs to be increased especially to prepare the ability in understanding the risk of strong resistance in the advocacy of women's political interests.

Mackay, Kenny, and Chappel (2010) used the theory of network institutionalism for the purpose of publication in political theory than in understanding real political phenomenon. Meanwhile European Institute for Political Studies (Terzi-Barbarosie, D. 2013) highlighted the need for enforcement of institutional legal framework to achieve gender equality in the Republic of Moldova. This means that institutionalism, whether old or new, was a rigor framework for the achievement of gender equality. For a slightly different theme, new institutionalism was also applied by Scholte (2021) in his journal article publication about new institutionalism in the study of transformed global governance theory. Graber (2018) was another writer applied institutionalism to understand of how public law shapes institution and affect public behaviour.

On the second issue of this paper, which is advocacy of women political interests, some scholars have also produced papers on it such as Karen Beckwith's article (2011) about how women activists articulate their political interests, issues, and preferences. Meanwhile Junk, Romeijn, and Rasmussen (2020) studied the need of descriptive representation of women in lobbying and policy advocacy to make their agendas heard in legislations, specifically to understand of how well women were represented in political advocacy. Bratton (2005) used critical mass theory to study the behaviour and success of women politicians in state legislatures in the United States, and Strolovitch (2006) studied political representations of the disadvantaged

group in terms of race, class, and gender minority status.

This study aimed to understand of how women groups from different organizational backgrounds with different interests worked together, especially developed network, to get their common objective of a new Lampung regulation on gender mainstreaming on development passed into new provincial regulation. How many identified sub-groups may be found and how did they develop mutual obligation and reciprocity on their way to pass the new regulation. Indeed studying women's political interests advocacy is academically necessary especially from new institutionalism theoretical lenses due to at least the following considerations. First, network institutionalism is rarely applied in the study of gender equality issue. Second, it is important to study of how many women groups from different social, professional, and religious backgrounds work together to advocate their common interest on gender equality in local, especially provincial level. Third, the study of network institutionalism is methodologically challenging on how we as researcher may combine several qualitative research methods in our research especially participant observations, focussed group discussions, and documentations.

According to Ansell (Rhodes, Binder, Rockman, 2006: 75-90) network institutionalism is a theoretical approach which focus study on the interactions between individuals, groups, and institutions. There are 5 (five) substantive domains of this network institutionalism theory: (1) policy, (2)

organizations, (3) political mobilization and social movements as the bases of the network, (4) markets, and (5) social influence, social psychology and political culture. This means that according to the theory, we can either study policy, or organizations, or political mobilization and social movement as the bases the network, or markets (which means users), or social influence, social psychology and political culture of the institutions. We can also choose more than one domains for the purpose of our study. Choice of the domain or domains of our study is always the consequence of our study purpose.

Different from domains of study over network institutionalism which consist of 5 domains, Ansell further stated that aspects of study over institutions and institutional arrangements based on network theory are (1) social and affectual bases of relationships, (2) mutual obligation and reciprocity, (3) subgroup identification, (4) cohesion and equivalence as the bases for sub-groups, (5) egocentrism versus comprehensiveness, and (6) shortcut versus bridging strategy.

This study emphasized sub-group identifications and mutual obligation and reciprocity of the network as the aspects or focus of the research. This two aspects were chosen since based on my preliminary observations and understandings, there were many groups and institutions involved on the advocacy of women political interest for a new gender mainstreaming provincial regulation. The groups and institutions were varied greatly. Some came from "secular liberal" non government organizations (NGOs), some from

religious community based mass organizations (CBOs). Others were academics, politicians, bureaucrats, business women, et cetera. In my opinion, it is important for us to understand how sub group identifications may interrupt their effort to develop mutual obligation and reciprocity for the success of the advocacy of their interests. Meanwhile, the domains of this network institution study are policy and organizations. These two domains were chosen since both represented focus of the area of study I would like to explore. Purposively, this study excluded other domains (political mobilization and social movement, markets, and social influence, social psychology, and political culture) since these three excluded domains would need quite different data than what is already available. In short, the three excluded domains would need data from larger groups outside the network, or how the network interact with political society outside the network.

In this study, political advocacy is defined as the process of advocacy in inputs, activities, and outcomes, and can be studied further through five distinct advocacy strategies (enhancing a democratic environment, applying public pressure, influencing decision makers, direct reform, and implementation change). (Gen, S. and Wright, A. C. 2013). Other writer stated that political advocacy can be studied through the lenses of 5 categories of global theories ("large leaps" or punctuated equilibrium theory, "policy windows" or agenda-setting theory, "coalition" theory or advocacy coalition framework , "power politics" or power elites theory, and

"regime" theory), 5 tactical theories which include "messaging and frameworks" theory, "media influence" or agenda-setting theory, "grassroots" or community organizing theory, "group formation" or self-categorization theory , and "diffusion" theory or diffusion of innovations (Stachowiak, 2013)

This study applied political advocacy theory through the aspect of influencing decision makers and advocacy coalition framework. This means that study focused on how women organizations and institutions (academics, politicians, bureaucrats, women from NGOs and CBOs) develop coalition organizations, their mutual obligation and reciprocity to influence decision makers and the respective policy of the new regulation on gender mainstreaming on development.

METHODS

This qualitative study focused on how women organizations and institutions in Lampung Province developed network to advocate their political interests of a new provincial regulation on gender-mainstreaming on development passed into law. The period of study was between March and November 2021. Data were collected through interviews with 5 informants (academic, politician, bureaucrat, non-government organization, and community based organization), focussed group discussions (twice with academics, 3 times with several main stakeholders in Lampung Province House of Representative Board of Legislation, twice in the Lampung Province Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection,

and one with larger group for the finalization of the gender mainstreaming draft), and documents (meeting minutes and legislation drafts). Data were then processed through condensation, classification, and analysis. Since this is a qualitative research, data collection and analysis were a cyclical process in which some data were still collected and added while further process was in progress.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This result and discussions section will consist of the following sub sections. First is a description about groups and institutions involved in the legislation as well as process and progress of the provincial legislation. This sub section will describe all women groups that were involved in the advocacy of the provincial regulation: government institutions (Lampung Province House of Representative Board of Legislation and Lampung Province Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection), academics (University of Lampung Research Center for Women, Children, and Development and Faculty of Social and Political Sciences' Gender and Development Research Group), and the largest group which were NGOs and CBOs. This sub section will also describe the passage of the provincial regulation, from initiation up to final approval.

Second sub section is about sub-group identifications. In this sub section will be presented characters of each category of group involved in the advocacy. Identifying the characters of groups are important since these characters will affect their ability to develop mutual obligation and reciprocity to achieve their objective, the

new provincial regulation. Third, the last sub section is about mutual obligation and reciprocity. This sub section will critically analyse the ability of the groups to develop mutual obligation and reciprocity on their effort to advocate their common interest.

Groups and Institutions Involved in the legislation, Process and Progress of the Lampung Province New Regulation on Gender-mainstreaming of Development

The advocacy for a provincial regulation regarding gender-mainstreaming in development needs support and networking from all stakeholders. This study revealed that organizations and institutions which were mostly involved in the passing of the Lampung Province Gender-mainstreaming Regulation or Perda PUG were government institutions, non government organizations (NGOs), community based organizations (CBOs), professionals, and academics (source: FGDs between FORKOM PUSPA and Lampung Province Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, March 2021). This part will be directed to describe the groups and their critical roles in the advocacy of the new provincial regulation.

The first institution which was critically important on the advocacy was Lampung Province House of Representative Board of Legislation. The two most important figures in this Board, the Chair and Vice Chair were women politicians with long history of political careers and strong commitment for women's political empowerment. For the year 2021, both Chair and Vice Chair, with previous consultations with other

members of the Board and Board's experts, set target that at least one among legislations initiated by the Board must be dedicated for women. (source: meeting minute of Lampung Province House of Representative Board of Legislation, January 2021). There were some options for 2021 provincial regulations offered by meeting participants such as violence against women, protection of women migrant workers, prevention of stunting, prevention of child marriage. The meeting decided that revision of the old existing Lampung Province Regulation on Gender Mainstreaming in Development should be prioritized to be revised since it was old and obsolete and could not cover new issues.

Second institution was Lampung Province Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection. In daily government service, this institution is the most important stakeholder for carrying out all government duties in women empowerment and child protection, and of course for carrying out the new regulation once it was passed. It was also the institution the House of Representative must conduct formal discussions in all legislation processes. Other government institutions that should be involved in the advocacy but with less importance were Lampung Province Office of Social Affairs, Board of Development Planning, Office of Education, and Office of Health.

Academics involved in the advocacy were mostly came from University of Lampung Research Center for Women, Children, and Development and Faculty of Social and Political Sciences' Gender and Development

Research Group. In the process, some academics from Raden Intan State Islamic Institute and from Lampung Muhammadiyah University also joint the advocacy. These academics had significant roles in the advocacy since they were the groups with credible data and research findings to support the advocacy of new regulation. They were also independent in terms of political position, bridging interests of government, political parties, and other NGOs and CBOs.

The largest groups involved in the advocacy came from NGOs and CBOs. In total, they came from more than 20 groups representing diverse interests and groups. First category was CBO religious groups (Islamic groups of Fatayat Nahdlatul Ullama, Aisiyah, and Nasyiatul Aisiyah; Katholik; Hindu). The second category was NGOs working with victims of violence and grass roots women empowerment (Damar, LADA, Empowomen, Women March, Tapis Blogger, Perempuan Timur, PKBI, etc). These were groups in grass root level, directly serving diverse women interests. Their knowledge and experiences were important in developing issues to be covered in the new regulation.

The last organizations were professionals (mid-wives, psychologists, journalists, business, and). Each group raised different interests for the new regulation. Journalists, for instance, raised the issue of gender sensitive media coverages for women and children interests. Mid-wives needed government policy for reproductive rights. Psychologists raised the issue of psychological treatment for the recovery of violence victims. Business women

raised the issue of the importance of economic empowerment of women so they will have stronger social position.

The process and progress of the new regulation can be described briefly into several stages. First stage was the drafting of the provincial regulation program of 2021. The 2021 regulation program drafting was decided on a meeting of the Board of Legislation of Lampung Province House of Representative in December 2020 (source: FGD meeting minute report, December 2020; expert team report of December 2020). This Board of Legislation was the initiator of the new regulation. Further, the initiative then was discussed on early months of 2021 with representatives from the executive side, especially from Lampung Province Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (source: FGDs meeting minutes, January to March 2021; expert team reports January to March 2021).

The following process was initial drafting of the new regulation by Gender and Development Study Group of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, University of Lampung as the organization which was mandated by Board of Legislation of Lampung Province House of Representative to prepare the draft. This drafting was conducted in around three months in mid 2021. Gender and Development Study Group conducted combinations of documents, interviews, and discussions as the data collection method (source: observations of the discussion serials, June-August 2021).

Between August-October 2021, the finished version of the new provincial regulation draft provided by Gender and

Development Study Group was then thoroughly discussed in the Board of Legislation. First serial discussions were held internally between Board Chairs and members with Board's expert team members and drafters of the regulation from the Gender and Development Study Group. In this first discussion, several issues were raised both by Board members and experts to analyse and decide whether the draft was thorough and meet the requirements of a good draft of provincial regulation. Several oral and written comments were raised and sent back to the drafters to be incorporated in the revision process (source: meeting minutes, August 2021).

Second discussion in the Legislation Board was held by involving larger groups consisted of Chair and members of the Legislation Board, drafters, experts to the Legislation Board, representative of the Lampung Province Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, and representatives from other Lampung Province government offices (Law and Legal Bureau, Organization Bureau, Office of Education, Office of Health, Office of Social Affairs, Regional Planning Office, Office of Finance, Internal Audit Office). This discussion was held with the purpose of reviewing the revised draft and identifying certain important actions (such as institutional and organization adjustments, new programs and activities as well as financial supports) that need to be taken for the success of the new regulation implementation. Important issues from the discussion were: the need for follow up implementation regulation base in the form of Governor Decree for

implementation mechanism, duties distribution of each office, plan for finalization of the new regulation). (source: discussion meeting minute, September 2021).

Last discussion, the largest one, was held in October 2021 involving government organizations (already mentioned in the previous paragraphs), representatives of NGOs and CBOs, women activists, academics from several universities, private sectors, journalists, representatives from legal sector (police, judge, prosecutors), woman youths, and some other participants. The final version of the draft was presented, evaluated by some experts invited for the purpose of commenting on the legal and social implementability of the regulation and the community agreement of the draft. This final discussion raised some important issues such as the need for incorporating girl-child specific need protection, the need for a speedy development of Lampung Province Governor Decree, the need for more support from private/business sectors for the effort of reducing poverty among women, and the need for vertical support from regencies and cities in Lampung Province to develop similar regulation in regency and city level. (source: discussion meeting minute, October 2021).

Final stage of the process of the regulation was final revision by drafters, small internal discussion on the Legislation Board. The final revised draft was then sent to the Lampung Province House of Representative secretariat. On November 2021, this last final revised version of the draft was formally approved by the House through its "Rapat Paripurna Pengesahan Raperda"

or House Grand Meeting for Legislation Approval (source: meeting minute, November 2021). These were the process of the new regulation, from initial idea of the Legislation Board up to approval by the Lampung Province House of Representative. Following paragraphs will sketch the aspects of ¹ network institutionalism theory in women's political interests advocacy for gender-mainstreaming of development in Lampung.

Sub-group Identifications

In the theory of network institutionalism, sub-group identification is the first aspect which might affect the success or the failure of interest advocacy. The logic is that if sub group identification is strong and each hold to their own identification, then advocacy might fail. The reverse means should sub group identification is not so strong and there is a room for common identification (among groups), then the room for the success of interest advocacy will be better. The study results show that according to their different visions, missions, as well as roles and functions, sub group identifications among all institutions and organizations as stated in previous section was quite strong.

The government institutions were organization with strict structures and clear institutional roles and functions. They could not operate and functions other than what laws and regulations allow. Their institutions also function based on rigid budget year. The institutions were also vertically regulated. All of these identities made government institutions sometimes "unfit" for the need of 24 hours seven (7)

days and 12 months services principle of women and children needs. Victims of discriminations and violence need constant year round services, could not wait for budget to come, could not wait for orders to be given to lower officers (source: internal FGDs of FORKOM Puspa, January 2021).

Despite those "flaws", these government institutions had a strong commitment for the advancement of the interests of women and children, especially the need for a new regulation as the basis a better service. Based on several FGDs both in the Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection and Board of Legislation of the Lampung House of Representative, resource persons from these two most important government institutional stakeholders stated strong commitment for the need of new regulation. They were aware of the flaws in the old regulation as not being able to catch up with new regulation and institutional frameworks as well as changes in the interests of women and children. (source: FGD between FORKOM PUSPA and Office for Women Empowerment and Child Protection, and FGD in Legislation Board, January 2021). To be put briefly, government offices can be called as initiator and facilitator of the new regulation.

Academics had different identities and identification towards the policy advocacy for the new regulation from government institutions. Although they are government officers, their three institutional functions (in teaching, research and community service) enable them to put distance with government institutions and keeping academic

freedom and being critical towards government policies and government services. They were also assumed to be more knowledgeable about issues need to be put in regulation (source: FGDs between Gender and Development Study Group with Board of Legislation, Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, and NGOs, March to October 2021). Based on FGD with the academics, they took the stance as "mediator" on the debates and discussions of the new regulation. They were aware of the need to pursue the interest for a new regulation based on available data not only about the magnitude of public's needs and expectations but also on the capability of the government institutions to perform services.

Professional groups, especially mid-wives and psychologist, put themselves in the position of "safeguarding the interests of victims of violence", or women and children with mental and physical problems. (source: FGD with professional groups, June 2021). They wanted to ensure that Lampung Province government provides adequate policy framework, technical units or institutions, human resources, and especially budgets to cover all expenses to perform a minimum standard operating procedures set by Central Government of Indonesia. According to the professional groups, almost all regencies and cities in the Province of Lampung did not and still do not meet criteria and standard operating procedure for performing government services to eliminate discrimination against women, especially in economic and social life. This professional groups can be categorized as interest as well as

pressure groups (Holyoke, 2014) in the advocacy.

NGOs and CBOs were two kinds of organizations with different identity and identification in the advocacy for the new regulation. Both represented “grass roots interests” and were most vocal about the need of the new regulation with new ideas to adjust to new facts and trends about women human rights and rights of the children in Lampung (source: FGDs with NGOs and CBOs). Almost similar to professional groups, this most diverse group covering many kinds of organizations (religious, social, cultural, provision of services for victims of violence, self-help groups, professional groups, and some other types) mostly work at grassroot community level, safeguarding their respective group identity. They demanded that the new regulation must conform not only to minimum service and standard operating procedures, but also contain articles inline to their identity. One religious group said “it must not against our religious belief”, whilst group for promoting breastfeeding demanded that the new regulation contain provision for their interest (source: internal FORKOM PUSPA FGDs, end of 2020). Another NGO working for women empowerment and violence victim service, which according to their internal rules of conduct is “secular”, demanded that the new regulation provide article for mandatory service provision of DNA testing for women of mass rape victims and endorse the principle of the rights of free and safe abortion for rape victims. Business women and organization for women economic empowerment stated their concern that government must

provide economic resources and trainings so grassroots women (whether violence victims or not) will be able to be economically independent (source: internal FORKOM PUSPA FGDs, end of 2020). These groups, as professional groups, were also categorized as interest and pressure groups.

According to theory of network institutionalism, subgroup identities may affect network strength and success of common objectives. As stated in previous parts, organizations and institutions involved in the advocacy of the new Lampung Province Regulation for Gender-mainstreaming in Development came from varied identities and beliefs. As such, the success of their common interest would rely on their readiness to compromise to other groups’ identities and interests. So far, these diverse organizations and institutions were able to compromise and reached common agreement on the principle, agendas, and most important articles to be put in the new regulation (source: series of FGDs from early March to October 2021).

Mutual Obligation and Reciprocity

The strength and success of network depend on mutual obligation and reciprocity of the members of network. Based on data from FGDs and interviews, the organizations and institutions shared informal “obligations” and reciprocally work together to come to their shared end which was the approval and enactment of the new Provincial Regulation. The government institutions initiated the Lampung Province Legislation Program and put it on the agenda of both

Lampung Province House of Representative legislation program and Lampung Province Government. Without this step, the new regulation would never be materialized.

The professional groups and academics shared their expertise and data to make first draft and helped draw "issues inventory list" to be put on the draft. To do so, they should work hand in hand, shared data, ignored the desire to compete one another, and develop mutual obligation and reciprocity. They could not be indifferent to their own interest and agenda.

The NGOs and CBOs were also keen to contribute positive inputs for the advocacy, put aside their differences and agendas. Different from other kind of NGOs and CBOs in Indonesia which sometimes foster competitions and conflicts in pursuing their interests, NGOs and CBOs involved in the advocacy for the new regulation shared mutual obligation and reciprocity in their efforts for the success of the advocacy. During FGDs, it was noticed that no one of the NGOs and CBOs tried to be dominant, even they discussed over and over that they need to share responsibility and bound together to the principle, agendas and articles of the new regulation. Their slogan that was sometimes chanted on the FGDs was "perempuan bersatu tidak terkalahkan" (united women would never be defeated). This slogan was also chanted several times on FGDs involving larger groups such as FGDs with academics, professionals, government organizations and institutions.

The word "united" in the slogan means not only formal involvement, but

also sharing duties and works to be succeed together. Informal interviews with some key persons in the advocacy showed that this mutual obligation and reciprocity was shared among all members of the advocacy. All groups were treated equally, even with the understanding that government institutions and organizations had stronger position and roles. Interviews with women bureaucrats and politicians showed that they need critical contribution from all women organizations in all levels. They could not act alone to be able to pass the new legislation.

CONCLUSION

Having these aspects discussed, I would like to come to my critical summary of my study. First, women political interest advocacy is a necessary step to realize the fifth goal of SDGs which is gender equality. Although Lampung Province fared quite good in the achievement of low percentage of women victims of violence compared to numbers of population (compared to other provinces in Indonesia), Lampung Province still face worst case of mass gang rapes to women and children and got special attention⁶ from the Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia. Beside that, the 2011¹ Lampung Province Regulation on Gender-mainstreaming of Development as considered obsolete and could not cope with new dimensions of⁴ discrimination and violence against women and children. Women groups in Lampung therefore advocated the need to develop new regulation to replace the 2011 one.

The advocacy of women political interests to pursue Lampung Province new regulation on gender-mainstreaming of development was conducted by diverse women groups from government offices, academics, NGOs and CBOs, and professional groups. The women groups from government institutions (Office of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, and Lampung Province House of Representative's Board of Legislation), NGOs and CBOs, professionals, and academics were able to develop networking for advocating this new regulation. The success of their networking was shown by their ability to overcome sub-group identifications and develop a common identity as "united women would never be defeated" for advocating their common interest. It was also shown by their ability to develop mutual obligations and reciprocities to advocate their interest. This research is therefore suggesting that for further success of the application of the new Lampung Province Regulation on Gender-mainstreaming of Development, the studies need to be conducted whether regencies and cities in Lampung Province develop similar regulations to achieve the fifth SDGs target on respective levels.

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