

Implementing Gender Mainstreaming in Indonesian Local Government: The Case of Tangerang Regency

Nurdin*¹

¹ Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta

Abstract. This research is about the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies in local governments in Indonesia since the enactment of Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. After running for almost two decades, the implementation of gender mainstreaming has not succeeded in having a significant impact in realizing gender equality in Indonesia in general and Tangerang Regency in particular. Indicators of poverty, domestic violence, and unemployment are still experienced by women. The low index of gender empowerment and women's representation in politics is another indicator that shows the failure of gender mainstreaming in development. Gender inequality in development is caused by internal and external factors that directly impact the achievement of gender equality. Internal factors refer to the low political commitment of regional leaders in initiating the making and stipulation of local regulations on gender mainstreaming in development. Meanwhile, external factors refer to the strong patriarchal culture in Indonesian society which still views women as incapable of political leadership and policy making.

Keywords: Gender Mainstreaming; Gender Equality; Gender Inequality; Political Commitment; Patriarchy.

Abstrak. Penelitian ini tentang pengimplementasian kebijakan pengarusutamaan gender pada pemerintah daerah di Indonesia sejak ditetapkannya Instruksi Presiden Nomor 9 tahun 2000 tentang Pengarusutamaan Gender dalam Pembangunan Nasional. Setelah berjalan hampir dua dekade implementasi pengarusutamaan gender belum berhasil memberikan dampak signifikan dalam mewujudkan kesetaraan gender di Indonesia umumnya dan Kabupaten Tangerang khususnya. Indikator kemiskinan, kekerasan dalam rumah tangga, dan pengangguran masih dialami oleh perempuan. Rendahnya indeks pemberdayaan gender dan keterwakilan perempuan dalam politik menjadi indikator lain yang menunjukkan ketidakberhasilan pengarusutamaan gender dalam pembangunan. Ketidakadilan gender dalam pembangunan ini disebabkan oleh faktor internal dan eksternal yang secara langsung berdampak pada pencapaian kesetaraan gender. Faktor internal merujuk pada rendahnya komitmen politik pimpinan daerah dalam menginisiasi pembuatan dan penetapan peraturan daerah tentang pengarusutamaan gender dalam pembangunan. Sementara faktor eksternal merujuk pada masih kuatnya budaya patriarki di dalam masyarakat Indonesia yang masih memandang perempuan tidak memiliki kemampuan kepemimpinan politik dan pembuatan kebijakan.

Kata Kunci: Pengarusutamaan Gender; Kesetaraan Gender; Ketidakadilan Gender; Komitmen Politik; Patriarki.

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***Correspondence:**

Universitas Pembangunan Nasional Veteran Jakarta
Jl. RS. Fatmawati Raya, Pd. Labu, Kec. Cilandak, Kota
Jakarta Selatan, Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta 12450
Email: nurdin252005@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

Gender mainstreaming is a strategy to remove gender inequality through gender empowerment between men and women of the cultural, social, economic, and political fields. It has become a global policy for every country in realizing gender equality, especially in the field of economic development. It emphasizes that there are different needs between men and women in social, cultural, economic, and political development programs and activities. The success and failure of the implementation of gender mainstreaming are largely determined by the main actors. It must involve all supporting components starting from government institutions, local and global activist communities. In the 1990s it has been adopted by global institutions such as the United Nations, the European Union, the Council of Europe, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and other international organizations. This is a change in the paradigm of gender and development into gender mainstreaming which is the UN's global agenda. As a global strategy to achieve gender equality, it is the result of the 1995 Beijing Platform Action initiated by the United Nations which aims to realize sustainable economic development in each member country (True, 2003, p. 369).

Liberal feminists argue that gender mainstreaming is a way to achieve sustainable gender development. Women as part of gender are given essential roles of managing economic, social, political, and cultural development within their society. So those women with the potential can participate in realizing sustainable development (Brenner, 2009, p. 4). Supporters of liberal feminists also view gender mainstreaming as a development strategy to eliminate poverty. Gender-just economic development involving women is believed capable of improving women's economic well-being. The elimination of women's poverty can be implemented by integrating the issues of gender inequality into a just economic development program. It is carried out by compiling, assessing, and separating poor women from those who are not poor. In addition, coordinating poverty perspectives in economic development must involve stakeholders. It is to develop guidelines for implementing economic development of poor women alleviation (Kabeer, 2003, p. 104).

Otherwise, supporters of radical feminists claim that gender mainstreaming does not have a significant effect in changing gender inequality. It is regarded as not being able to eliminate gender inequality and inequity. It still has limitations and shortcomings in its implementation, especially the way of involving women through development projects. This criticism is related to public policies involving women in development is considered disappointing. In practice, many government institutions and various groups in society still associate it with women's development programs. The obstacle in implementing it both the government and other institutions is how to change people's mindsets that are still dominated by masculinity and patriarchal culture. So that the fundamental change that must be taken is that women can play an important role in leadership and economic and political power that allows them to make gender-responsive policies, programs, and activities (Lombardo & Meier, 2006, p. 152; Parpart, Jane; and Mcfee, 2017, pp. 244–246).

The success and failure of implementing gender mainstreaming are largely determined by the strong political commitment from the elite. Gender analysis skills and gender-aware organizational culture also influence this success (Clisby, 2005, p. 16). Criticism of the failure of gender mainstreaming implementation is caused by the loss of the political dimension and technical shortcomings. The technical problem is the failure to monitor the relationship between gender mainstreaming and changes in gender relations in women's lives. So that it is more defined as only part of neoliberal governance in a broader logic (Milward, Kirsty, 2015, p. 1). The failure to implement it can be evaluated from various aspects. External environmental barriers and inherent weaknesses are some of the factors that influence it. This external obstacle is due to the weakness of donor agencies or gender mainstreaming sponsors in monitoring the implementation of gender policies by recipient countries. Donors do not see recipient countries as prioritizing gender mainstreaming in development programs. Meanwhile, inherent weakness refers to the paradigm of applying the term 'gender' which cannot be fully understood by the government and society (Brouwers, 2013, pp. 23–24; Zalewski, 2010, p. 3). The failure to implement gender mainstreaming is also caused by the weak support from the community in the arrangement of gender mainstreaming laws at the national level. The establishment

of a gender equality law in development will certainly have a significant impact in the context of its implementation at the regional level. The enactment of this law is very important in integrating gender-responsive development programs and activities down to the local government level (Clisby, 2005, pp. 1–2).

To support the importance of gender mainstreaming implementation, I will emphasize that gender equality can be reached through gender-responsive development. This aspect is a significant element that the government and local government has to implement. So, I agree with developmental feminism which focuses on how the results of developments not just involve women in developments but how to empower them well. I argue that empowering women can be implemented through gender mainstreaming policy. It must be carried out by all stakeholders at all levels of government. It can be successful if all development programs are integrated into gender needs so that it will create equality and equity. Therefore, this policy will increase women's economic prosperity and result in decreasing poverty in society as well.

The policy for implementing gender mainstreaming in Indonesia was initiated by the issuance of Presidential Instruction Number 9 of 2000 concerning Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. The arrangement of gender mainstreaming in regional governments is regulated in the Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 67 of 2011 concerning Amendments to the Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 15 of 2008 concerning General Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the Regions. After two decades the evaluation of gender mainstreaming implementation in Indonesia and local governments particularly in Tangerang Regency has not shown progress and has even slowed down in line with global trends. The delay in the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Indonesia is caused by socio-cultural factors. The role of women in making economic and political policies is still constrained by the support and opportunities obtained from the community. The patriarchal culture is still the main obstacle that hinders the success of gender mainstreaming in the regions. The failure of women's empowerment in the economic field is also caused by patriarchy in society who still thinks that women do not have the competence to be

entrepreneurs compared to men. Women are also still considered unable to hold political leadership and policy-making at various levels of local government. Some people assume that women are more suitable for dealing with domestic problems than being actively involved in political participation and policy making (Kollo & Sunarso, 2018, p. 101; Wayan & Nyoman, 2020, p. 2158).

Some research on the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies in Indonesia and the regions has been carried out by academics. Political commitment is the most important factor and gender analysis is another key factor in initiating the integration of the concept of gender mainstreaming in local development planning. The implementation of the gender responsive budget in the planning of the Regional Revenue and Expenditure Budget is also a determining factor (Martiany, 2011; Susiana, 2011; Yuslin, 2021). The absence of legislation of gender equality and equity is also an important factor that hinders the progress of gender mainstreaming in Indonesia (Kusumawardhana, 2018, p. 153). The stagnation of progress in the regions is also determined by the political commitment of regional leaders, governors, regents and mayors, as well as local house of representatives. So, to accelerate it, strong political support is needed. This will provide a legal basis for local apparatus in planning and implementing gender-responsive development programs and activities (Muhartono, 2020, p. 117).

This research elaborates on the obstacles of local government in promoting gender equality in Tangerang. It is different from the previous research in the aspects of causes of the failure of public policy implementation concerning gender mainstreaming. Although there are some similarities with previous research it is distinguished in some aspects. They refer to the low commitment of local political leaders to enact the draft of local regulation on gender mainstreaming and the incapability of local civil servants to implement the policy. The local bureaucrats or officials of Tangerang local government are still in gender blind condition and lack understanding of gender equality especially in planning gender-sensitive programs and activities.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Feminist Theories

The scholarship that discusses gender mainstreaming in feminist perspectives has been widely studied in several researches. Feminism is a doctrine, ideology, and political movement that emerged at the end of the Enlightenment and the beginning of the Revolutionary Thought era (1770-1848). Feminism as a concept first appeared in 1837, when Frenchman Charles Fourier used the term feminism. It is used to describe a movement that aims to achieve legal, economic, political, and social equality between the sexes, and to end sexism and the oppression of women by men (Douglass, 2019). Feminism as a political thought at the beginning of its emergence was influenced by the feminist movement in fighting for power inequality between men and women in all areas of life. In its journey, feminist theory is heavily influenced by ideology and politics so that it forms a variant that is adapted to ideology and political interests. Liberal feminism and radical feminism are the two variants that dominate feminist-related theories in much of the literature. There are several other variants of feminism that have also been researched, ranging from Marxist-Socialist, Postmodern, Existentialist, Multicultural/Global, and Ecofeminism (Ferree, 2012; Marinucci, 2010; Mccann, Carole and Kim, 2017; Tong & Botts, 2017).

In this research, the theories of liberal feminism and radical feminism will be a reference in analyzing cases of gender mainstreaming implementation in Indonesia in general and Tangerang Regency in particular. Thus, liberal feminism and radical feminism will be discussed in more depth. The aim is to provide an explanation of the phenomenon of implementing gender mainstreaming in Indonesia, both success and failure. So that by analyzing the cases that occurred in Tangerang Regency, it will be able to explain the findings of this research. Liberal feminism is strongly influenced by the views of liberalism regarding the relationship between men and women in the structure of modern society. This theory seeks to find explanations related to gender inequality, especially in the social, cultural, economic, and political order. The basic view of this theory is that women must have the same rights as men in all aspects ranging from culture, politics, and economics (Mill, 1869, p. 146). However, liberal feminist proponents reject complete equality between men and women. They argue

that there are still distinctions between men and women, for example, related to reproductive and production rights (Chafetz, 2006, p. 45). It also argues that gender roles between men and women in all areas of development can be balanced and complementary to each other and not based on the dominance of one gender. Thus, the assumption that women can only play a domestic role can be eliminated. Women think that their nature as women who give birth is not a reason for them to be able to play a significant role in development (Abbey, 2013; Baines, Beverley, 2012; Barrett, 2016; Bryson, 1992; Calasanti, Toni M., and Slevin, 2006; Flynn, 2003; Hooks, 1984; Lazar, 2005; Marchand & Parpart, 1995; Mohanty, 2003; Scott, 1996; Whittier, 1995).

In contrast to liberal feminism, radical feminism argues that men are responsible and benefit from the exploitation of women. Men perpetuate patriarchal culture as a justification to dominate power over women. Thus, the proponents of this theory argue that the family is the main source of women's oppression. They also argue that men exploit women by entrusting the domestic affairs of the family to women. Men, thus, hinder women's access to sources of power and leadership in society. At the beginning of its emergence, it strongly opposed patriarchal culture which was based on the nature of women as mothers who take care and responsibility of children at home (Walby, 1990, p. 3). This assumption is also reinforced by the patriarchal culture which emphasizes that women are biologically destined to give birth rather than work outside the home and be independent economically. Because women are very dependent on men in economic matters, thus it causes a lot of violence against women in the family. Radical feminism demands a change of gender roles, especially the patriarchal culture in the family. They argue that the demand for total equality between men and women is a solution for women to escape the oppression and exploitation of male domination (Barrett, 2016; Bryson, 1992; Flynn, 2003; Mahon, 1997; Nicholson, 2013; Sylvester, 2002; Whittier, 1995).

Gender Mainstreaming in Development

Gender mainstreaming in development theory is based on assumptions and beliefs as well as approaches. They are the welfare state, women in development, and gender and development. The theory of the welfare state emphasizes the role of

the state to improve the welfare of its people, both men and women, girls and boys, minorities, the disabled, and the elderly. The state as the highest entity that has a monopoly of power and regulation plays an important role in advancing and prospering society through economic, political, and socio-cultural development. To prosper society, the welfare state must realize three conditions, starting from economic development, basic security, and identification of the structure of citizens' rights (Spicker, 2000, pp. 83–88). The essence of this theory is how the role of government (executive and legislative) as a representation of the state can minimize social problems, especially poverty in society. The welfare state implements social policy through development strategy to improve the welfare of its citizens. The state also seeks to realize social protection in the form of social security. As a form of protection, the welfare state implements a social safety net for citizens (Spicker, 2000, pp. 121–176).

The concept of women in development begins to pay attention to women's involvement and participation in development policies and practices. It emphasizes the need to integrate them into the development process. This approach focuses on women's empowerment in development. It aims to ensure that women are involved in all aspects of development. Women's involvement and participation in development, however, do not benefit them (Goetz, 1997, pp. 2–4). In the perspective of feminism, the integration of development has become a challenge for stakeholders, both the state and the society. Thus, women must be actively involved in efforts to empower them through various development programs. Even though this concept has created contradictions and contestations, it is the duty of the state to improve and resolve problems arising in society (Cornwall, Andrea, 2007).

Meanwhile, the gender and development approach focus on state policy interventions to resolve unequal gender relations. The state facilitates and initiates the active role of women in equitable and fair development. This approach tries to balance the roles of women and men to participate, make decisions, and mutually benefit from the implementation of development. It also aims to meet practical needs and promote the strategic importance of men and women (Goetz, 1997). This approach seeks to lead changes in roles and responsibilities between women and

men. The direction of development in this approach is to balance the roles of the two in all aspects of development, from social, economic, political, and cultural. according to the feminist perspective, the active role of women in development is a rational choice that must be implemented. Empowering women in various developments will change the institutionalization of the role of the state to be more gender-responsive (Chappell, 2010; Driscoll & Krook, 2009).

In the context of empowering women in various fields of development, the Indonesian Constitution has mandated efforts to create a welfare state. Important points related to social welfare are contained in Article 33 and Article 34 of the 1945 Constitution. Of course, to realize social welfare for the community, the state carries out policies related to the social security system, fulfillment of citizens' basic rights, equitable economic distribution, and bureaucratic reform. These policies are in line with the objectives of the establishment of a welfare state, namely the elimination of poverty and the equitable and fair distribution of development outcomes. Thus, the theory of the welfare state when it is linked to the concept of gender will produce gender-responsive development policies and programs. This research discusses several factors that hinder the success of implementing gender mainstreaming policies in local governments in Indonesia. To understand deeply related to this phenomenon, the policy that becomes the case study is the effort to implement gender mainstreaming in Tangerang Regency.

Gender mainstreaming as Public Policy

Implementing gender mainstreaming is a public policy activity. It is a strategy to enhance gender equality and equity. So, gender mainstreaming policy making by the government or local government is a kind of policymaking. To understand this, it is better to refer to some definitions of public policy. There are many definitions of public policy by some theorists. Dye defines public policy as whatever governments choose to do or not to do (Dye, 2013). Anderson describes public policy as the behavior of some actor or set of actors, such as an official, a governmental agency, or a legislature, in an area of activity such as public transportation or consumer

protection. He emphasizes that public policies are those developed by governmental bodies and officials (Anderson, 2003, p. 2).

Anderson explains that public policy-making will result in several implications. First, it is designed to accomplish specific goals or produce definite results, although these are not always achieved. Second, policy consists of courses or patterns of action taken over time by governmental officials rather than their separate, discrete decisions. Third, public policy emerges in response to policy demands, or those claims for action or inaction on some public issue made by other actors-private citizens, group representatives, or legislators and other public officials-upon government officials and agencies. Fourth, policy involves what governments actually do, not just what they intend to do or what officials say they are going to do. Fifth, a public policy may be either positive or negative. Finally, public policy, at least in its positive form, is based on law and is authoritative (Anderson, 2003, pp. 3-5).

Public policymaking can strengthen gender mainstreaming development. Gender mainstreaming is an open gate for women to full participation in the development process (Harun, 2019). There is a good relationship between gender politics and public policymaking. There are various structures of gendered policy-making practice that suggest both possibilities for, and obstacles to, the advancement of gender equality in policy making. By understanding gender politics, it is a prospect to advance gender equality and equity through policy processes (Schofield & Goodwin, 2005).

Public policy also has a significant role toward gender equality. Public policy can influence women's status and well-being. The government and local government as state institutions have critical roles in widening the opportunities available to women and extending the services for them. Public policy through laws and regulations can affect economic development needed by women. So, the goals of public policy can and should support services and infrastructure that provide the highest social returns and that are most heavily used by women (Bank, 1995).

METHODS

The research methodology used to formulate answers to the implementation of gender mainstreaming policies in the regions of Indonesia is based on literature studies and the results of focus group discussions. Literature studies refer to sources written in books, journals, papers, state documents, and internet sites as secondary data. Meanwhile, FGD interviews were used as primary data through interviews and in-depth discussions with several agencies within the Tangerang local government. There are 59 participants that consist of 21 Dinas (agencies), 9 Badan and Kantor (offices), and 29 Kecamatan. This research focuses on the implementation of gender mainstreaming in local governments in Indonesia with a case study of Tangerang Regency in an effort to pursue gender equality for women's groups in Tangerang Regency, both obstacles and challenges.

The data and information that are used as references are on gender inequality in development in Tangerang Regency which is published by various government agencies. They have been collected both primary and secondary to become the main source in analyzing gender mainstreaming implementation policies in the Tangerang Regency government. By using the literature studies and the results of the FGD, the author will answer research questions in the form of a critical analysis of political policy. This approach is in the form of a detailed explanation of the factors that support and strengthen the success and failure of implementing gender mainstreaming in local governments in Indonesia in general and the Tangerang Regency in particular.

The data and information that have been collected are then compiled and sorted and analyzed using qualitative methods. Qualitative methods are used to answer research questions. The same research related to the implementation of gender mainstreaming that comes from books and journals becomes a reference to answer research questions. This research will provide benefits in the form of enrichment of concepts and theories related to the study of gender mainstreaming and politics in Indonesia, particularly Tangerang Regency. The results of this study can also be used as a reference for conducting similar research in the future.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Women and Gender Development in Tangerang Regency

Gender equality can be realized if the problem of gender inequality experienced by women can be overcome by a region. Gender inequality problems faced by women in Tangerang Regency can be identified in the social, cultural, economic, and political fields. The aspect of the social problem that is still an obstacle to women's empowerment is poverty. The poverty rate in Tangerang Regency is based on data published by the Statistics Tangerang (2020) as many as 242,020 people or 6.23% of the total population of 3,245,619 people. This poverty problem has caused a domino effect on the population group with social welfare problems. Based on data from the Tangerang Regency Women's Empowerment and Protection Agency (2017), there were 427,371 people consisting of 224,850 men (52.61%) and 202,521 women (47.39%) belonging to the group. The problem of unemployment is also a factor in the increasing poverty rate of women in the regency. There is 239,788 open unemployment in the workforce, consisting of 140,467 people (58.58%) and 99,321 women (41.42%). Women who only take care of the household are the biggest contributor to the female unemployment rate in Tangerang Regency. It means that there are 558,195 women (95.40%) of the total amount of 585,080 people (Statistics Tangerang Regency, 2021).

Violence against women in the regency is also a concern, especially domestic violence. This violence is a patriarchal culture that is still a quite dominant factor in Tangerang Regency. Tangerang Regency of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency (2021) issued data related to violence against women. This case of violence is divided into 8 (eight) different incidents of 129 cases (2020) and 81 temporary cases (2021). Most of these cases of violence (2020) were sexual harassment of 71 cases (55.04%) and physical domestic violence of 22 cases or 17.05 percent (data presented in table 1 below).

Table 1. Cases of Violence Against Women in Tangerang Regency, 2020-2021

No.	Types of Violence	Years	
		2020	2021
1.	Sexual violence	71	33
2.	Sexual harassment	14	17
4.	Criminal act of women-trafficking	1	0
5.	Physical domestic violence	22	10
6.	Psychological domestic violence	10	14
7.	Physical violence	10	4
8.	Psychological violence	1	3
Amount		129	81

Source: Tangerang Regency of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency, 2021

Gender inequality in the economy is also still a problem in Tangerang Regency. Measuring the level of women's economic welfare can be analyzed from the results of the Gender Empowerment Index. The index is the main component in analyzing women's involvement in the economic and political fields. The index of Tangerang Regency is still below the average of Banten province of 68.83%. It only reached 61.54% which refers to the percentage of women's involvement in parliament (12%), women as professionals (43.60%), and women's income contribution (28.28%). This achievement is still low when compared to Pandeglang Regency (61.58%), Tangerang City (65.19%), Serang City (62.10%), and South Tangerang City (74%). This unsatisfactory achievement certainly has an impact on the contribution of women in macro development in the Tangerang Regency (Statistics Banten Province, 2021). In the political aspect, the representation of women in the Tangerang Regency House of Representatives is also still low. The 2014 election resulted in the representation of women in the Tangerang Regency DPRD amounting to 7 women (14%) out of 50 members. The representation of women in the Local House of Representatives has decreased by 2% with a total of 6 people (12%) from 50 members of the local legislative council (Tangerang General Election Office, 2019).

Table 2. Patterns of Gender Inequality in Tangerang Regency

Aspects	Gender Inequality
Political Power and Representation	Women are often outnumbered in decision making, including in the formal institutional structure of government (Executive/Bureaucracy, Legislative and Judiciary).
Economic Participation and Opportunity	In many cases, women and men are unequal in having access, participation, control and benefits over economic development which includes employment opportunities, wages, work skills, credit and ownership of property/assets/land/houses and others.
Educational Achievements	In many cases women have low literacy rates, high illiteracy rates, and lower levels of education at the elementary, middle and high school levels.
Sexual and Domestic Violence	Women tend to be victims of domestic violence by their spouses/husbands, human trafficking, sexual exploitation, and others.
Differences in Legal Status (law) and Rights	There are many examples where equal rights to individual/personal/citizen status, security, land, inheritance, and employment opportunities are denied to women by law and practice.

Source: Focus Group Discussion

Based on gender inequality that still occurs and the role of local government in Tangerang Regency is not yet maximized, the pattern of gender inequality can be explained in table 2 above. In general, there are 5 (five) aspects that show gender inequality in development. Some of the problems of gender inequality that afflict women should be reduced if the local government can solve these problems. Although there have been efforts by local governments to improve gender equality in regional development, they are not optimal. This problem continues because regional policies in the form of regional regulation governing Gender Mainstreaming in the regency have not been enacted. So that this problem has an impact on the implementation of the policy which is still not maximally implemented by every regional apparatus, business, and society.

Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Tangerang Regency

In specific, the implementation of gender mainstreaming policy in Tangerang local government refers to Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 15 of 2008

junto Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 67 of 2011. Data and information gathered in the field show that there are nine aspects that have to be implemented by the local government (the details see table 3 below). The evaluation of gender mainstreaming implementation states that there are some challenges. The most important aspect is that the local government lacks political commitment. It has not issued local regulation on the application of gender mainstreaming which has a legal basis that binds every agency within the local government.

The implementation of gender mainstreaming policies in Tangerang Regency faces obstacles and challenges. This aspect is related to the development of gender mainstreaming institutions and the implementation of development programs and activities that support them. Gender mainstreaming policies in the regency have not been implemented optimally and directed in accordance with the policies of the Government and the Ministry of Home Affairs. There are several obstacles in implementing gender mainstreaming in the regency, both internal and external factors.

Table 3. Data Analysis of Gender Mainstreaming Implementation in Tangerang Regency

No.	Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 15 of 2008 junto Minister of Home Affairs Regulation No. 67 of 2011	Analysis of the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Tangerang Local Government
1.	Regional Policies Regarding the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming	Tangerang Regent Regulation Number 118 of 2015 concerning General Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in Regional Development in Tangerang Regency has not been implemented optimally because the required policy is a Regional Regulation on the application of gender mainstreaming which has a legal basis that binds every agency within the Local Government.
2.	Planning: Gender integration in regional development	In the aspect of development planning, it is still weak even though gender mainstreaming policies have been integrated into the district's vision and mission, the 2019-2024 Regional Medium-Term Development Plan; and gender mainstreaming regional action plan 2018-2022.
3.	Institutional: Establishment of Working Groups and Gender Mainstreaming Focal Points	The weak coordination and synchronization of the preparation of programs and activities in each agency is due to the fact that the gender mainstreaming Focal Point does not work optimally due to the weak support from the office leadership and gender mainstreaming skills that

		are not fully understood by program and activity planners in each agency.
4.	Implementation of Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment Program	Although Tangerang Regent Regulation Number 119 of 2015 has been issued regarding Technical Guidelines for Gender Responsive Preparation and Budgeting, this policy has not been seriously implemented by any local apparatus and agencies.
5.	Gender Responsive Budgeting	There is no regulation/circulation of regional leaders to oblige each local apparatus and agencies to prepare a Gender Responsive Budget.
6.	Monitoring and Evaluation of Gender Mainstreaming	Monitoring has been carried out by working groups and gender mainstreaming focal points but has not been maximized due to weak coordination between the working group and the focal points in each agency.
7.	Disaggregated Data	Although the coordination of providing disaggregated data has been established by Regent Decree Number 902/Kep.379-Huk/2018 of 2018 concerning the Establishment of the Gender and Children Data Forum, in practice not all local agencies have disaggregated data.
8.	Methods/Tools	The Tangerang Local Government has initiated the Gender Analysis Pathway and Gender Budget Statement in analyzing gender issues into programs and activities, but it has not been carried out seriously by any agencies.
9.	Networking/Community Participation	The Tangerang Local Government has involved universities, community leaders, business and non-government institutions in advocating for gender mainstreaming but has not had a significant impact on the success of gender mainstreaming in the region.

Source: Tangerang Regency of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency, 2021

Internal factors that become obstacles in the implementation of gender mainstreaming in Tangerang concerning the attitudes and views of state civil apparatus. The strong view and assumption among state civil apparatus in Tangerang that gender mainstreaming is identical with programs and activities for women. This obstacle is reinforced by the fact that there are still many leaders and staff of local agencies who do not understand the concept of gender and gender mainstreaming. In addition, from the aspect of budgeting by the agencies, which has not been able to implement gender-responsive programs and activities. State civil apparatus skills that are able to formulate gender-responsive planning and budgeting are also still an obstacle. Many state civil apparatus who do not understand the preparation of a gender-responsive Work Plan, Work Plan and Budget and Budget Execution

Documents also become an internal obstacle in implementing gender mainstreaming. Another internal obstacle is that the gender mainstreaming working group and the focal point cannot run optimally because there are still no firm rules and administrative sanctions against agencies that do not carry out gender analysis in the preparation of programs and activities.

External factors are also an obstacle in implementing gender mainstreaming in Tangerang. There are two main obstacles, one is the patriarchal culture that is still strong and dominant in society. Another is the political commitment of local leaders who still do not support the ratification of the local regulation on gender mainstreaming. The patriarchal culture has become a major obstacle in the efforts of the government and local governments to improve gender equality in various fields of development. The patriarchal culture in Indonesia covers issues such as domestic violence, sexual harassment, early marriage, and divorce. In practice, these cases are more detrimental to women and hinder the role of women in development (Sakina & Siti A., 2017, pp. 72–74).

Resistance to Gender Mainstreaming Implementation

The phenomenon that occurs in gender mainstreaming policies in regions including Tangerang Regency is resistance to its implementation. Resistance to the implementation of gender mainstreaming also occurs in European Union countries. The form of resistance is related to obstacles in implementing gender policies. This resistance comes from individuals and institutions that slow down the implementation of gender mainstreaming into public policy. According to Mergaert and Lombardo that the concept of resistance in gender mainstreaming is based on a feminist institutionalist approach. It states that there are actors who resist policy change. The actors incline to preserve the status quo. It occurs among the main actors involved in the implementation of mainstreaming. They also elaborate that individual resistance is caused by a lack of resources such as gender knowledge and skills, time, financial resources, and power. The resistance of institutions consider that gender mainstreaming implementation as a burden because they have to

provide the actors the knowledge and capacity of gender mainstreaming tasks (Mergaert & Lombardo, 2014, pp. 1–7).

In the case of Tangerang local government, the form of resistance can be seen from the protracted government and Tangerang House of Representatives in initiating local regulation on Gender Mainstreaming Implementation. The officials of the Tangerang Regency of Women’s Empowerment and Child Protection Agency state that they had proposed the draft of local regulation on Gender Mainstreaming Implementation since 2020 to the local house but they did not receive a positive response. The local house considers that the policy is not urgent to be enacted as local regulation. It also states that the policy has been integrated into Local Regulation Number 7 of 2018 concerning the Protection of Women and Children.

Within the scope of local governments in Banten Province, there are already several regencies and cities that have passed local regulations on gender mainstreaming in development. In Banten province, there are 5 local governments that have enacted regulations related to gender mainstreaming. They are the provincial governments of Banten, Serang Regency, Serang City, Tangerang City, and South Tangerang City. Meanwhile, the Tangerang local government has not ratified a local regulation on gender mainstreaming (see. Table 4 below). The right reason to explain this is the low political commitment of the Regent and House of Representatives in enacting the regulation. This resistance certainly has an impact on the lack of seriousness of civil servants and officials in each agency in integrating gender mainstreaming into social, cultural, economic, and political development.

Table 4. Local Regulations on Gender Mainstreaming in Banten Province

No.	Province and Regencies/Cities	Local Regulations on Gender Mainstreaming	Political Commitment
1.	Serang City	Serang City Local Regulation Number 5 of 2011 on Women's Representation and Participation in the Local Development Process	Stipulated and effective since March 22, 2011 by the Mayor and House of Representatives
2.	Cilegon City	-	Have not initiated local regulations on Gender Mainstreaming

3.	Tangerang City	Local Regulation Number 5 of 2018 on Gender Mainstreaming	Stipulated and effective since July 19, 2018 by the Mayor and DPRD (House of Representatives) of Tangerang City
4.	Tangerang Selatan City	Local Regulation Number 2 of 2018 on Gender Mainstreaming	Stipulated and effective since September 3, 2018 by the Mayor and DPRD (House of Representatives) of Tangerang Selatan City
5.	Serang Regency	Local Regulation Number 1 of 2017 on Gender Mainstreaming	Stipulated and effective since February 27, 2017 by the Regent and DPRD (House of Representatives) of Serang Regency
6.	Pandeglang Regency	-	Approval process by the Regent and DPRD (House of Representatives) of Pandeglang Regency
7.	Lebak Regency	-	Have not initiated local regulations on gender mainstreaming
8.	Tangerang Regency	-	Has initiated a regional regulation on gender mainstreaming, however, there is no political commitment to set it into a local regulation
9.	Banten Province	Regional Regulation Number 10 of 2005 on Gender Mainstreaming in Regional Development	Regional regulations are in the process of being revised and adapted to gender issues in development

Source: *Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agencies in Banten Province, 2021*

Data and information of gender mainstreaming implementation in the scope of local governments in Banten (see again table 4 above) means a significant and positive trend. This will encourage the local government of Tangerang, especially the political actors to accelerate the draft of local regulation on gender mainstreaming to be enacted and implemented soon. The enactment of the local regulation is important to realize gender-responsive development. Finally, it is hoped by all elements of interest groups that it can cooperate and promote gender equality conditions in Tangerang.

CONCLUSIONS

Gender mainstreaming policy is a global strategy to achieve gender equality between men and women in social, cultural, economic, and political development. The global strategy of gender mainstreaming has the support of international institutions such as the United Nations to be ratified into the laws and regulations of each member country. Indonesia has initiated a gender mainstreaming policy in Presidential Instruction Number 9 of 2000, which was followed up by Minister of Home Affairs Regulation Number 67 of 2011 on Amendments to Regulation of the Minister of Home Affairs Number 15 of 2008 on General Guidelines for the Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming in the Regions. After two decades of gender mainstreaming policies in Indonesia, it still has not brought significant changes to gender equality and equity for women.

The research findings show that gender mainstreaming policies have not been able to change the gender-friendly mindset in society towards women's political leadership abilities. The patriarchal culture in Indonesia is still a major obstacle in accelerating gender-responsive development. This form of patriarchy in Indonesia ranges from domestic, economic, political, to cultural problems. Gender mainstreaming policies in development have not been able to eliminate patriarchy in society. So that they have a social impact on women's suffering and incapability to have equal access to development. This means that patriarchal culture has a major impact and it is hard to be eliminated. It is the government's task to have programs such as gender-conscious dissemination to the society and local bureaucracy. As long as this culture has not been able to be handled, it will be difficult for local government to implement gender mainstreaming. This social phenomenon also occurs in Tangerang and it still becomes a significant obstacle to promoting the implementation of gender mainstreaming.

Another research finding is that the failure to implement gender mainstreaming in Tangerang is the low political commitment of the Tangerang Regent and local House of Representatives. This political commitment refers to the fact that the local

regulation on gender mainstreaming has not yet been ratified. This reinforces other research that the establishment of regulations related to gender mainstreaming is an important factor in the success of gender mainstreaming policies in the regions. In addition, this study also shows that there is resistance to the formation of legislation (national legislation) on gender equality and equity proposed by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection. Policymakers in Tangerang Regency argue that the establishment of local regulations on gender mainstreaming is not yet necessary. They argue that this local regulation does not have a legal basis in the form of law as a reference for its implementation in the region.

Thus, a common thread can be drawn regarding the unsuccessful implementation of gender mainstreaming in Tangerang, both internally and externally. Internal factors stem from the lack of political commitment of local leaders which also affects the ineffectiveness of gender-responsive local development programs and activities. The patriarchal culture is still an external dominant factor that hinders women's political leadership in society. The patriarchal culture in Tangerang Regency is indicated by the problems of poverty, unemployment, and violence against women. This form of patriarchy either directly or indirectly hinders the progress of implementing gender mainstreaming in Tangerang.

This research contributes to the understanding and development of gender studies in general. It contributes to researchers who will study gender studies that relate to the implementation of gender public policies by local governments. The research on gender equality-based public policy is still inadequate, especially within the scope of local government. Thus, it will be able to support in developing gender-responsive public policies for local government. The author also recommends further research related to the barriers and challenges of local civil servants in supporting gender-responsive local development. The local government is still difficult to implement gender mainstreaming policy because the local bureaucracy does not yet have the ability to prepare and plan gender-responsive local development budgets.

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