

2014

How far can men go? A study of the men's movement to end violence against women in Indonesia

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Recommended Citation

Hasyim, Nur, How far can men go? A study of the men's movement to end violence against women in Indonesia, Master of Arts thesis, Department of Law, Humanities, and the Arts, University of Wollongong, 2014. <http://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/4414>

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**UNIVERSITY OF
WOLLONGONG**



Department of Law, Humanities, and the Arts

**How Far Can Men Go? A Study of the Men's Movement to End Violence
Against Women in Indonesia**

Nur Hasyim

**This thesis is presented as part of the requirements for the
award of the Degree of Master of Arts
of the University of Wollongong**

December 2014

CERTIFICATION

I, Nur Hasyim, declare that this thesis, submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Master of Arts, in the School of Humanities and Social Inquiry, University of Wollongong, is wholly my own work unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged. The document has not been submitted for qualifications at any other academic institution.

Nur Hasyim

Wollongong, 29 December 2014

ABSTRACT

The presence of men in the movement to end violence against women and achieve gender equality has become a heated issue among activists and scholars worldwide, since on the one hand, it gives new hope for transforming the structure of dominance underpinning this violence, while on the other hand, it raises feminists' concerns regarding its dilemmas and risks.

The phenomenon of men who involve in the women's movement emerged in Indonesia in the late 1990s and became a movement in early 2000. The growth of the pro-feminist men's movement and the concerns about the risks of this movement are the reasons for writing this thesis. The main question is to what extent does the engagement of men strengthen the women's movement for ending men's violence against women? To answer this question, this thesis studies the New Men's Alliance, a national pro-feminist men's network in Indonesia. This thesis examines three elements of the Alliance: namely, its ideology, structure and practices, and the impact generated by the Alliance.

The thesis applies a case study and evaluation research approach, which requires the development of benchmarks or frameworks as a basis for the analysis. The benchmarks comprise indicators and variables of the three elements outlined in the previous paragraph and criteria for the assessment of each indicator or category. The evaluation draws on methods of qualitative inquiry, including document study, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. They are coded and analysed in accordance with the categories and criteria formulated within the framework. To enrich the discussion, other themes or categories that emerge from the data are also explored, although they are not formulated in the framework.

This study reveals that the New Men's Alliance clearly declares that it is part of the feminist movement, stating that it was "born from the womb of the feminist movement". The political stance of the Alliance is also illustrated by the characteristics of its beliefs. Members of the Alliance believe in the feminist notion that "the personal is political", blame the patriarchy for constructing rigid ideas of masculinity and femininity, believe that violence against women occurs due to an imbalanced power relation between men and women, and lastly, believe that men should be held responsible for the violence they use. However, the Alliance encounters challenges on how to sustain its ideology, due to the absence of a

structured learning process for its members and inadequate media for introducing its values to its members and to the general public, especially men.

In terms of organisational structure and practices, this thesis found the tendency of the New Men's Alliance was to adopt an informal and non-hierarchical type of organisation by applying a simple structure with unspecified roles and responsibilities, which fits with feminist organisational principles. Moreover, the Alliance is also characterised by decision-making processes based on consensus. The political attachment and accountability of the New Men's Alliance to the women's movement are maintained through a consultative group that consists of five women's organisations in Indonesia. The consultative group is actively involved in the implementation of the programmes of the Alliance. In fact, the consultative group members alternately serve as the host and secretariat of the Alliance's programmes and activities. The New Men's Alliance adopted this informal type of organisation and the involvement of the women's groups as a strategy to lessen the dangers of men's involvement in the movement aiming to end violence against women. By doing this, the New Men's Alliance seeks to ensure that its movement is part of the women's movement. Furthermore, the Alliance's partnership with, and accountability to, women's groups is also a strategy to avoid competition between the New Men's Alliance and women's groups in Indonesia when seeking funding support for programmes supporting the ending of violence against women and gender equality.

However, the informal organisational character of the New Men's Alliance leads to a number of challenges. Instead of establishing an egalitarian structure, a small number of key members of the New Men's Alliance tend to control the organisation. Knowledge and power are not distributed equally among members, due to different access to the Alliance. The New Men's Alliance also encounters difficulties in ensuring its principles and code of conduct are implemented by members, as the Alliance mainly relies on individual members' commitments while the membership mechanism is not adequately organised.

Regarding the impact of the New Men's Alliance, this study found that the network has shown its ability to generate positive impact for the movement to end violence against women in Indonesia. For example, the Alliance has educated its members to be critical of their own sexism and to live with feminist values and

principles, influenced the media, scholars and artists to consider the issue of men and masculinity as an integral part of violence against women and gender equality issues, and influenced more men to engage in its movements, whether in ‘virtual’ or ‘real’ activism, although it is still very small compared to the total population of Indonesian men. The Alliance has secured the provision of funding support for women’s and men’s programmes, and lastly, the Alliance, along with other groups, especially feminist groups, has influenced new policies at various levels regarding the prevention of violence against women and the achievement of gender equality in Indonesia.

Overall, based on the assessment of three dimensions of the New Men’s Alliance and considering some conditions that need to be addressed, this thesis concludes that the Alliance moderately strengthens the movement for ending violence against women in Indonesia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Writing this thesis was like a long journey with many obstacles, and among those obstacles was convincing myself that I could accomplish this journey.

My decision to undertake a Master's degree not only affected my own life, but that of my family as well: my wife, **Ai**, and my two beloved daughters, **Kilau** and **Bening**. They have had to face difficult situations both prior to, and during, my academic course, especially my wife, who had to look after our daughters without my presence. Therefore, first and foremost, I sincerely thank my wife for her support of my decision. I also thank my daughters for understanding my situation when I became a part-time father.

Going back to university after more than ten years is not always easy, since it takes considerable effort to adjust to the academic culture and climate. I thank **Sarah Ferber** for being my first mentor at the University of Wollongong, for bridging my activism and the academic environment and for supportive feedback and comments on every assignment.

To **Michael Flood**, my principal and sole supervisor, thank you for your generosity in agreeing to be my supervisor even though you did not know me personally and we knew each other only through e-mail correspondence. You are not only a supervisor who has assisted me in developing my research design, research tools and analytical framework, but you are also a supportive friend and a critical mentor who has always asked me the key questions through which I have become an active learner. Your background as a scholar and activist has inspired me that scholarship and activism are two sides of one coin that strengthen each other. As a scholar and an activist, you have opened my mind and unlocked the door to essential academic sources in the field of gender, masculinity, violence against women and pro-feminist activism, through which I have built my confidence in continuing my activism in my home country.

To **Brian Martin** and my writing group members, thank you for introducing me to strategies to build new writing habits. Frankly, as a student from a country where English is not even my second language, writing in English is always challenging. Your strategies, principles, tips and support have been influential for my academic writing.

To all my research participants, members of the New Men's Alliance and feminist colleagues, thank you for your consent to be involved in this research. Without your participation, this research would not be possible. In return, I do hope my research project provides you with positive insights that will strengthen your efforts to achieve an equal and violence-free society in Indonesia.

To **Nhan Nguyen** and other AusAID staff at the University of Wollongong, thank you for your kindness and patience in addressing all my questions and requests, whether these were regarding my study or about life in Wollongong. Without your support, my life in Wollongong might not have been as easy, especially during the difficult time when my family was not with me. I also thank AusAID for giving me an Australia Awards scholarship, which made my study at the University of Wollongong possible.

I am very happy to be part of the Centre for Research on Men and Masculinities (CROMM) at the University of Wollongong, since it allows me to connect with other scholars around the globe who have similar interests through its conferences and seminar series. CROMM has inspired me about the importance of studying men and masculinities for both scholarships and activism. I wish to be able to establish a similar centre to promote the discourse of men and masculinities in Indonesia, as well as to complement existing studies on women and gender in my country.

To **Kobi Burton**, **Kirsty Greatz** and other members of Research Team at the Faculty of Law, Humanities, and the Arts, thank you for providing me with an office space and personal computer where I could store my data and work securely, a key and access card that allowed me to work any time I wanted to, and other support needed during my academic training.

Georgine Clarsen, ethics advisor at the Faculty of Law, Humanities, and the Arts, thank you for your review and feedback regarding my ethics application. Thank you also to **Tsering Yangden** and **Adam Rogan** for sharing experiences in applying for research ethics approval, which were helpful for my ethics application.

Friends and colleagues, the members of Indonesian Student Association (PPIA) UOW and Jamaah Pengajian Illawara (Indonesian Muslim Student Association), thank you for food and warm and friendly support. This were invaluable and the best treatment for homesickness and academic pressures.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CANTIK	: <i>Cowok-Cowok Anti-Kekerasan</i> (Men against Violence)
CRCS	: Centre for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies
CMC	: Computer-Mediated Communication
MVP	: Mentors in Violence Prevention
MAV	: Men Against Violence
MAC	: Men Acting for Change
MAVA	: Men Against Violence and Abuse
MASA	: Men Against Sexual Assault
MOVE	: Men Oppose Violence Everywhere
UUPKDRT	: <i>Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga</i> (Anti-Domestic Violence Act)

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Contextualising the study of the men's movement to end violence against women in Indonesia

On a global scale, the growth in pro-feminist men's networks has influenced the strategy of the current movement to end violence against women. Engaging men as anti-violence allies has become an integral part of efforts to prevent violence against women. In line with the global context, the number of men who have organised themselves to challenge men's violence against women is also increasing in Indonesia.

The notion of the important role of men in the elimination of violence against women and in achieving gender equality in Indonesia emerged in the late 1990s when a group of men declared its opposition to men's violence against women in Jakarta (Subono 2001). This group was called CANTIK, or *Cowok-Cowok Anti-Kekerasan* (Men Against Violence). In its declaration, the group stated that men are undeniably the main cause of violence against women. However, the group believed that men can be part of the solution to ending this violence. For the group, opposing men's violence against women requires men's commitment to equality between the genders. It also requires the redefinition of manhood, in which being a man does not mean needing to be violent. Therefore, the group called on Indonesian men from different backgrounds to participate in a campaign to create zero tolerance for violence against women (Subono 2001)

The phenomenon of men who support the feminist movement was strengthened at the end of 2009 when some Indonesian male activists and feminists established a second men's network in Bandung, West Java (Krismantari 2011). This network was called the 'New Men's Alliance'. The Alliance was established since the CANTIK was no longer active and indicated the growing new generation of pro feminist men in Indonesia after CANTIK generation.

Unlike CANTIK, which was only centred in Jakarta, the New Men's Alliance operates nationally and has become a pro-feminist men's network that still exists in Indonesia. As a national men's network, the Alliance consist of individual man and woman as well as organizations from different parts of Indonesia that agree on the idea of engaging men and boys in ending violence against women. Moreover, the

Alliance consolidates men's involvement initiatives which had been done at local level and brings them to national level.

The Alliance also actively engages in regional and global anti-violence activism. For example, the Alliance conducted series of discussion through two hour discussion program concerning men, masculinity, and violence at community level in East Nusa Tenggara and West Nusa Tenggara (Hasyim 2012a). The Alliance also conducted march and street protests such as in 2007 the Alliance held a pram march in Yogyakarta to show its opposition to violence against women (Hasyim 2009b), in 2013 some members of the Alliance wore mini skirt at Hotel Indonesia Traffic Circle in Jakarta to show their empathy for women victim of rape (Ledysia 2013). The Alliance also engaged in regional activism by becoming a member of Regional Learning Community (RLC) to transform patriarchal masculinities, a regional network of men in East and South East Asia to prevent gender-based violence.

The emergence of men's groups sympathetic to the feminist movement marked a new episode in the struggle to eradicate violence against women in Indonesia, in which men have become the political allies of women. The establishment of these men's networks also show the growth of pro-feminist men's politics in Indonesia, where men mobilise themselves to question their masculinity and to challenge gender relations under the patriarchal structure of dominance.

While these men's groups are growing, publications addressing men's issues in Indonesia are also increasing. For example, these include articles on men and feminism (Subono 2001), the pro-feminist men's movement (Hasyim 2008), and men and the elimination of violence against women (Hasyim, S. 2007, Hasyim, N. 2007, Subono 2007). Moreover, the establishment of the men's movement has also created a new field of research on men and masculinity in the Indonesian context (Hasyim 2011).

On a practical level, the growing discussion on men has triggered the development of programmes and activities that use strategies involving men in ceasing violence against women in Indonesia, such as educating young boys and the provision of behaviour change programmes for male perpetrators of domestic violence in some provinces, such as Yogyakarta, Bengkulu and Kupang (Hasyim 2009b).

In terms of policy, addressing men's roles in reducing violence against women has been emphasised in the UUPKDRT or *Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan dalam Rumah Tangga* (the Anti-Domestic Violence Act), which was passed by the Indonesian Parliament in 2004. The Act has incorporated the obligation of male perpetrators of domestic violence to undergo behaviour change counselling programmes. As stated in Article 51 of the Act:

Beside punishment as mentioned in this chapter, judges may impose additional punishment such as; a) restriction orders aiming at keeping perpetrators from victims for certain distances and times b) order perpetrators to attend counselling under the supervision of an appointed institution (Law No. 23 2004).

1.2 The significance of the study of the men's movement to end violence against women in Indonesia

Although some Indonesian feminists agree with men's involvement in ending violence against women and they welcome men and boys engaging in the feminist movement, other feminists are concerned about the potential dangers of the presence of men in the movement to end violence against women (Hasyim 2008). The engagement of men in the anti-violence against women movement is deemed an initial step to a new form of male domination of women. Men's involvement in the feminist movement is also perceived as possibly creating an ideological battle between men's groups and feminist groups. Given the fact that the dominant structure in Indonesian society is still in favour of male interests, feminists fear that men's engagement may cause feminist groups to lose the battle (Dzuhayatin 2011).

The concerns of some Indonesian feminists regarding the dangers of engaging men and boys in the movement to end violence against women also emerge as a result of their negative memories of the betrayal of feminist principles by some ostensibly pro-feminist men in Indonesia. This betrayal indicates that having feminist knowledge does not always change personal attitudes and behaviour and acquiring feminist perspectives does not always change the political standpoint of men (Muttaqin 2013).

Considering the potential dangers of men's involvement in the feminist movement and the possible inconsistency of male activists, therefore, it is vital to evaluate the men's network in the movement to end violence against women in Indonesia.

This research is the first substantive study of the dynamics of pro-feminist men's networks in which the beliefs, structure, practices and the impact of the network are investigated. This thesis discusses elements necessary to avoid potential dangers, to ensure consistency of male activists towards feminist principles and to enable the men's network to accelerate progress in ending violence against women. Moreover, it is also an initial effort to develop an evaluation framework and to document the practices of men's organisations and activism in anti-violence against women advocacy, which is important for further strategy formulation and theoretical development.

1.3 Structure of this thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. This first chapter has explored the context of men's involvement in the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia, and presents the brief history of men's movement to end violence against women in this country. The chapter also has discussed the dynamics of the relationship between male activists and feminist women in Indonesia. The aim of this chapter is to highlight the relevance and the urgency of the study.

Chapter 2 discusses the research design of this thesis, and includes a discussion of the key concepts used in this study, the research approach, research aims, research questions, the methods employed as well as the analytical framework used in this study.

Chapter 3 examines the rationale of perceiving men as an inevitable part of violence against women advocacy in the global context. This chapter highlights existing studies regarding men's involvement in achieving gender equality and ending violence against women. It explores the debate regarding the risks of engaging men in gender equality and anti-violence advocacy work and ideas for lessening these risks. This chapter locates this thesis within existing studies on men's movements to end violence against women.

Chapter 4 assesses the first dimension of the New Men's Alliance—its ideology—by analysing the compatibility of the beliefs and values of the Alliance with feminism. This chapter explores the dynamic of the New Men's Alliance's members in espousing feminist beliefs. As part of this, it investigates factors that influence the members in adopting feminist beliefs. The chapter also explores the

characteristics of the New Men's Alliance's ideology and the ways that it seeks to maintain and sustaining its ideology.

Chapter 5 evaluates the second dimension of the New Men's Alliance—its organisational structure and practices—by analysing the extent to which the Alliance incorporates feminist organisational principles into its structure, such as the adoption of informal and non-hierarchical types of organisation, the attachment of the Alliance to feminist groups, the distribution of power within the Alliance and its decision-making processes. The chapter will also assess the extent to which the Alliance's practices, such as its tactics of activism and advocacy, are guided by feminist beliefs regarding violence against women and gender equality.

Chapter 6 focuses the last dimension of the New Men's Alliance: the impact of the Alliance. It evaluates whether the Alliance has generated positive change for the movement to end violence against women in Indonesia. The chapter addresses key dimensions of impact, including the impact of the Alliance on its individual members and the ability of the Alliance to generate discussion on men and masculinity within issue of violence against women and gender equality. Moreover, the chapter analyses the ability of the Alliance to mobilise men to engage in the movement for ending violence against women, as well as mobilising resources for women's groups. Lastly, the chapter discusses policy changes that have been influenced by the New Men's Alliance movement directly or indirectly.

Chapter 7 presents the key findings of this thesis and the overall evaluation of the extent to which the New Men's Alliance strengthens the movement for ending violence against women in Indonesia. This chapter also discusses the limitations of the study and potential further research in the field.

CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methodology used in this study. To start, the chapter defines the key concepts used as the theoretical background to understand the phenomenon of men's networks that engage in the movement for ending violence against women and achieving gender equality in Indonesia. These concepts are derived from feminist theory regarding violence against women and men as allies of feminists, or pro-feminist men's movements.

The chapter then presents an overview of the design of the study, including its research objectives, research questions and approach, data collection method, participant recruitment and data treatment. Since the research applies an evaluative approach, the chapter also presents the assessment benchmarks, or framework, as well as the assessment criteria that are used to discuss the findings of this study.

2.2 Defining key concepts

2.2.1 Feminist theories of violence against women

One of the important contributions of feminism is the development of a theoretical framework to understand violence against women. Among the existing theoretical approaches on violence against women, feminist theory is considered as the most influential, and among variants of feminist thought, radical feminist theory is the most recognised in the sociological study of violence against women (Renzetti 2011).

Radical feminism emphasises the role of broader social structure in perpetuating violence against women (Beasley 2009). The broader social structure here refers to patriarchy, in which men are entitled to power and privilege whereas women have a subordinate position. According to radical feminists, patriarchy plays an important role in constructing an imbalanced power relation between men and women, and this relation becomes the foundation for all kinds of male oppression of women, including violence against women. For radical feminists, men use violence to control women as part of men's strategies to sustain and maintain their supremacy.

Radical feminists' analyses of violence against women have also played a central role in breaking the silence on the multi-dimensional nature of male to female oppression (Renzetti 2011). In addition, this analysis has revealed evidence that violence against women is highly prevalent and occurs across cultures, classes, races, religions and other social differences (Greiff 2010).

However, the radical feminists' views of violence against women are criticised by other feminist theorists for focusing on a single macro factor, social structure, and neglecting other factors contributing to violence against women, such as personal/individual disorders, family relationships, substance abuse and peer supports. Radical feminism is also criticised for its tendency to see all men as perpetrators and all women as victims and to ignore the fact that some groups are more likely than others to produce batterers, rapists and other perpetrators of forms of violence against women (Heise 1998).

Following debates about theoretical approaches to violence against women, many feminist theorists now combine macro and micro factors to understand violence against women. For instance, Heise (1998) introduced a feminist ecological framework through which violence against women is understood as a complex problem. It combines micro aspects (at the individual level) with the broader context of violence against women. Heise's framework emphasises that there are multi-layer factors causing men's violence against women, and merely looking at individual aspects or the social aspect is not sufficient to understand the nature of the problem.

Heise developed this framework based on large-scale population-based research on violence against women. This research notes that, for example, a male who witnessed marital violence when he was a child, or who was abused or grew up without a consistent or available father is more likely to become violent than other males. Violence is also more likely to occur within families where males are dominant, take control of family wealth and use alcohol. Violence also tends to occur in families where verbal conflict is frequent. Other factors beyond individual history and the family level are at the exosystem level, related to the social and economic status of men and women, and the macrosystem level, related to beliefs and norms with regard to men and women, as well as gender inequalities in society. For example, violence against women is more likely to occur in communities where men

are considered as the owners of women, manhood is defined by aggression and dominance and there is acceptance of interpersonal violence (Heise 1998).

While radical feminism emphasises the broader social context of violence against women and ecological theory combines the multi-layer factors shaping this violence, black feminism introduces an intersectionality framework in which violence against women is seen as intersecting with other forms of identity-based oppression, such as class, race, ethnicity and sexual orientation (Crenshaw 1991). The latter approach criticises the previous ones for being trapped in a binary analysis based on the logic of patriarchy. Moreover, the intersectionality approach emerged as a critique of existing feminist theories, which it considers as representing the experience of white, middle-class women in Western countries.

Radical feminist theory, the feminist ecological framework and the intersectionality approach complement each other and provide valuable contributions to understanding violence against women. These theoretical approaches emphasise that there is no single factor responsible for perpetuating violence against women, but rather, this is the consequence of the combination of a gender-biased set of beliefs, oppressive social structures and harmful actions. Furthermore, these approaches provide guidance in developing strategies to intervene in this problem.

2.2.2 Men as political allies of feminists

Violence against women has many negative consequences in the lives of women and girls, ranging from minor injuries to death, and from subtle to very tangible effects, as many studies have found (Heise 1999; Heuni 2008; WHO 2013). Therefore, it is now considered to be a human rights issue as well as a public health issue (Heise 1999). Furthermore, social scientists include violence against women as a social justice issue that is equal to other issues such as racism, class oppression and oppression over other marginalised groups, such as religious minorities, people with disabilities and sexual minorities (Fabiano 2003).

The engagement of men in the movement for ending violence against women, therefore, can be regarded as social justice ally activism, since men as a dominant group participate in the effort towards ceasing oppression over women as a minority group. As defined by Broido (2000, p. 3), a social justice ally is a ‘member of a dominant group or majority group who work to end oppression in his or her personal

or professional life through support of, and as an advocate with and for, the oppression population’.

In a patriarchal society men are entitled to power and privilege, and these benefits have been called the patriarchal dividend (Connell 1996). Irrespective of the class or ethnicity to which they are born, men have higher status over women in their communities. As radical feminists argue, men as a group gain benefits from patriarchy (Beasley 2009).

Since men gain many advantages, they tend to maintain and sustain the patriarchal structure in society. However, history records that not all men maintain the position of resisting women’s struggles for equality; for instance, the support of men to the women’s suffrage movement in Britain and America during the early nineteenth century, in which men supported their fellow women in obtaining full rights to vote (White 1987). The WHITE RIBBON campaign is another example of a men’s campaign engaged in women’s struggles to end gender-based oppression (Kaufman 2001).

When men act as women’s political allies several dynamic processes are involved (Casey 2010). These include: first, the intrapersonal dynamic, where men are able to reflect on inequalities and social injustice within their social milieu. These reflections enable them to recognise their own power and privilege, as well as identify the disadvantages that women face as a result. Second, the interpersonal dynamic is a condition where men have opportunities to engage with others across gender and racial boundaries. These opportunities allow men to become aware of the injustice encountered by women as a minority group, through which men’s empathy and solidarity with women emerges. Third, the environmental dynamic is a condition in which men have chances to become actively involved in the women’s movement to achieve equality and to end oppression (Casey 2010).

There are debates regarding the labels used to describe men who act in support of feminism. Some scholars have labelled men who are sympathetic to the feminist struggle, especially the struggle to eradicate violence against women, as pro-feminist men. For instance, Flood (2009) defines pro-feminist men as ‘men who are supportive of feminism and of efforts to bring about gender justice and equality’. Pease (2002) identifies certain characteristics of pro-feminist men: they confront their dominant position as well as their internalised domination over women, they are

aware of their privilege and their socially legitimated oppressive behaviours, and they create collective politics to transform dominant form of masculinities as well as men's oppression over women.

The label pro-feminist is taken to recognise that only women can call themselves feminists (Pease 2002); this is because feminism is about women's experiences (Clatterbaugh 1997). Furthermore, men's appropriation of women's works also carries some dangers (Brod, cited in Pease 2002).

Feminist theories about violence against women and men as political allies of feminism are essential in this thesis and the following research statement often refers to those key concepts.

2.3 Research statement

2.3.1 Research purpose

This research was conducted to assess the extent to which the men's movement strengthens the efforts for ending violence against women in Indonesia. This research will help activists, especially male activists, to be aware of critical issues and challenges in order to enable them to make positive contributions towards the achievement of the elimination of violence against women. The study is intended to help practitioners and policymakers to be aware of the issues involved in engaging men in programmes to create gender equality and end violence against women. Moreover, this research enriches scholarship on men's involvement in violence prevention, as well as studies of men and masculinity. This research, therefore, contributes to advocacy, to programming and policy and to scholarship.

2.3.2 Research question

The main question examined in this research is this: To what extent does the New Men's Alliance strengthen the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia? This question is broken down into the following sub-questions:

- a. How do men define themselves within the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia?
- b. What do these men do to prevent and reduce violence against women in Indonesia?

- c. What is the impact of men's involvement in the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia?

2.3.3 Research approach

Considering the nature of this research, which involves the issue of measuring the degree of impact of men's alliances or networks in strengthening the movement to end violence against women in Indonesia, it uses a case study and evaluation research methodology.

Using a case study approach, this research focuses on the case of the *Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru* (the New Men's Alliance), a national network of men who engage in the movement for ending violence against women in Indonesia. Snow and Trom (2002, p. 147) define case study as 'a study that focuses empirically and analytically on a case of something, that is, on single instance or variant of empirical phenomenon'. As a complement to this, the evaluation method is used since the research intends to assess why the Alliance engages in the anti-violence against women movement, what their strategies are and what they have achieved. White (2008) defines evaluation research as an assessment of what we are doing, why we are doing it, and an understanding of how we can make improvements. Furthermore, he notes that evaluation research usually has clear purposes, which include:

- a. Measuring the impact of the programmes, projects, or strategies.
- b. Investigating the process of intervention.
- c. Investigating how the programmes, projects or strategies are organised or administered.
- d. Identifying needs for further improvement.

As evaluation research, this research employs a framework based on indicators and performance criteria. This framework is used as a guide for analysing the research topic, and consists of indicators of the focus of the research, variables of the indicators to be analysed and strategies to be used in measuring these indicators and their variables.

The development of the benchmarks and analytical framework of this research is guided by feminist perspectives, in which the indicators and variables are derived from feminist theories on violence against women and feminist practices to eliminate this violence. Due to the diversity of feminist theory, this research does not intend to

accommodate the wide range of feminist perspectives. Therefore, this research selects indicators and variables that are relevant to this study.

Performance criteria are the measures employed to evaluate whether programmes, projects and strategies are successful or unsuccessful, valuable or not, and effective or not. This research employed different criteria for each variable of the indicators used, which will be discussed later in this chapter. These components become the basis for another important dimension of evaluation research, which is making judgements.

2.3.4 Data collection methods

The research question is central in research projects, in order to help scholars keep their research oriented and controlled. The focus of this research is guided by the research questions presented above. Table 1 shows how the research questions determine the focus of the research, the methods to be applied and the key issues to be investigated.

Based on the research questions, this research focuses on three main dimensions of the New Men's Alliance: ideology, organisational structure and practices and impact. The first dimension is about the Alliance's beliefs regarding violence against women and how it defines itself as a network of men that advocate for ending violence against women in Indonesia. The second dimension is on how the New Men's Alliance, as a network, combats violence against women. The third dimension is the impact generated by the Alliance for the movement to end violence against women in Indonesia.

Table 1 Research focus

Research questions	Data collection methods	Key issues
How does the New Men's Alliance perceive violence against women and how does it locate itself in the anti-violence against women movement in	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Document study b. In-depth interviews c. Focus group discussions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. View of men, masculinity and violence against women b. View of root causes of violence against women c. View of power and privileges of men d. View of what men can do to end violence against women e. View of their roles and position within the anti-violence against women movement

Indonesia?		
What does the New Men's Alliance do to combat violence against women?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Document study b. Focus group discussions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Organisation and structure b. Organisational culture (values and norms) c. Organisational strategies and activities d. Organisational response to the risk of creating new power and privilege for men e. Organisational accountability to women's groups f. Organisational response to the risk of taking resources away from women's groups
What is the impact of the New Men's Alliance for the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Focus group discussions b. Document study c. In-depth interviews 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Numbers of men who become advocates b. Resource mobilisation for anti-violence against women programmes c. Political impact of men's involvement in the anti-violence against women movement d. Public opinion on the inevitability of engaging men and boys in ending violence against women in Indonesia

As Table 1 notes, three main methods are employed in this research: document study, focus group discussion, and in-depth interviews. The research started with analysing the documents of the New Men's Alliance. This process was employed to gain initial data on the context of men's involvement in the prevention of violence against women in Indonesia. Moreover, the document analysis was also conducted to provide insights and suggestions about further data that should be investigated in the subsequent stages of the study. Twenty-two documents were analysed in this research, categorised into four types of document: organisational documents (3), press releases (10), reports (4) and minutes of meetings (5). In addition to these documents, four videos about the New Men's Alliance were included in this study.

Following the document analysis, focus group discussions with key members of the New Men's Alliance was conducted in Jakarta. The key members here refer to founders, national coordinators, provincial coordinators, and some members who actively support the Alliance in running its programmes and activities.

An in-depth interview was organised with the Yogyakarta provincial coordinator since he was unable to participate in the focus group discussion, which was conducted in Jakarta. Follow-up interviews were also done with two participants of the focus group discussion (the national coordinator and the Jakarta provincial

coordinator) to gain deeper information on certain issues that were missed during the focus group discussion.

There are two broad reasons for adopting these research methods and drawing on different sources of data (the organisation's documents and the members of the New Men's Alliance): to triangulate the data by combining them, and because each is valuable in itself. Each method and source of data informs the other to generate a comprehensive picture of the internal dynamics and external impact of the New Men's Alliance in ending violence against women in Indonesia. Therefore, this methodology will enable the researcher to evaluate the extent to which the New Men's Alliance strengthens the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia.

In addition, each method is valuable in itself. First, as mentioned earlier, document analysis is a useful method to generate data on the context of social phenomena and it is also helpful in anticipating further data that must be explored (Bowen 2009). Second, focus group discussion is considered to be an effective method to gain data or information about groups' norms, meanings and understandings (Kitzinger 1995). Third, in-depth interviews are a useful method to explore valuable insight and also an effective method to uncover the 'real story' about certain issues (DiCicco-Bloom 2006).

2.3.5 Participant recruitment

Considering the ethical issues involved in recruiting participants in this research study, the researcher contacted the national coordinator of the New Men's Alliance in Jakarta and provided the coordinator with detailed information about the research, a consent form, and a sample of the focus group discussion and interview guide. After the national coordinator agreed to the research and gave informed consent to participate, the researcher contacted potential participants who fulfilled the criterion of this research, which was to be a key member of the New Men's Alliance. The researcher also provided the potential participants with the participant information sheet, a consent form, and a sample of focus group discussion guide and interview guide.

Seven key members of the New Men's Alliance agreed and provided written informed consent to participate in the research. Six of these participants were male and one was female. As mentioned earlier, the six participants who lived in Jakarta

participated in the focus group discussion, which was held in the city, while one key member was interviewed in Yogyakarta.

Table 2 List of research participants

Participants	Number by gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Founders and national coordinators	2		2
Provincial coordinators	2		2
Members	2	1	3
Total	6	1	7

2.3.6 Data treatment

The focus group discussion and in-depth interviews were recorded using an audio-recording device and then transcribed. To protect the participants' privacy and confidentiality, pseudonyms are used and the details of participants have been concealed.

Along with the other data sources, the transcriptions of the focus group discussion and interviews were coded in accordance with the categories formulated in the analytical framework, which will be discussed later in this chapter. However, new categories that emerged from the data were also included to enrich the discussion. Since the focus group discussion and interviews were conducted in Indonesian, the coded data was translated into English and to ensure the accuracy and consistency of the translation, it was then re-translated into Indonesian.

2.4 Analytical framework

To analyse the data, this study focuses on three main dimensions of the New Men's Alliance: its ideology, organisational structure and practices, and the impact that is generated by the movement.

2.4.1 Defining the dimensions

Before discussing the significance of these elements, it is important to define them. The first dimension of the New Men's Alliance examined in the research is its ideology. Ideology here refers to a set of ideas or belief system that is shared by members of a social group and determines the actions they take (Buchanan 2010). Moreover, it is the fundamental basis of the discourses and practices of the members of a social group. It also sets the goals and interest of the whole group, which allows the members to coordinate their actions and interactions (Van Dijk 2006).

This research assumes that to examine the character of the men's movement to support the feminist struggle to eradicate violence against women in Indonesia, it is important to investigate the ideology of the movement. Gillan (2008) argues that in order to fully understand the action of the social movements, it is not sufficient to look at their specific forms of activity, but that it is also crucial to understand the structure of their beliefs, or their ideologies.

The second aspect which will be investigated in this research is the organisational structure and practices of the New Men's Alliance. Martin (1990, p. 195) defines structure as 'the manner in which control or authority is organised and power is distributed and the way work is divided up and integrated, and the arrangement for decision-making and conflict resolution', while practices are 'the strategies and tactics employed by the organisation'. In other words, organisational structure and practices refer to organisational functioning and dynamics (Perrow 2000). This study assumes that investigating how the group functions and their internal dynamics will allow this study to gain a picture of how feminist principles and values are translated into actions. Therefore, an assessment of the extent to which the New Men's Alliance supports the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia can be undertaken.

The final aspect, which is also a consequence of two previous aspects, is the impact that is generated by the New Men's Alliance. Impact commonly is understood in terms of how social movements are able to generate new policy regarding specific social problems. These new policies can be substantive, such as a new law or regulation or a budget allocation, or procedural, such as affirmative action. In fact, policy is not the only impact that can be generated by a social movement. Another impact that also has become a concern of researchers of social movements is socio-

cultural impact (Outshoorn 2012): changing public perception and preferences or increasing public or community concern about certain social problem (Giugni 1998). Therefore, it is important to investigate the impact of the New Men's Alliance, both in terms of policy and socio-cultural impact regarding the elimination of violence against women.

2.4.2 The significance of the dimensions

How are the New Men's Alliance's ideology, organisational structure and practices and impact important for assessing the extent to which the Alliance strengthens the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia?

The feminist movement brings to light women's interests and rights after these have been overlooked and underemphasised by patriarchal society (Crowe 2011). So, pro-feminist men are those who advocate that the rights of women be respected, including the right to be free from all of forms of gender-based violence.

Men's involvement in ending violence against women include requiring men to stand on the side of women. Moreover, it also requires the recognition of men's privilege and power, which leads to the domination and oppression of women. Furthermore, men have to accept the fact that the main perpetrators of violence against women are men (Flood 2011). Male advocates should also be aware that their presence in activities aimed at preventing violence against women may be perceived as a threat, and that their involvement may create a new form of domination over women. Therefore, men's involvement requires men to be aware of these risks and dilemmas. As Crowe (2011) maintains, the full engagement of men in the women's movement requires men to move beyond their own self-interest and treat women's interests as important in their own rights.

Holding these beliefs and this ideology is crucial for men who engage in the anti-violence against women movement. Doing so will make it more likely that men's networks can integrate with the feminist struggle. These beliefs also allow men to be fully aware of their position within the anti-violence against women movement and avoid taking actions which contradict the vision of feminism.

In addition, by holding such beliefs regarding violence against women, the men's network will also gain the trust of women's groups and avoid hostility and suspicion. When men's networks win the trust of the women's movement, they can

avoid tensions that can distract the focus of the movement and even weaken the feminist struggle to abolish the oppression of women and achieve social justice.

The second aspect of assessment in this research is organisational structures and practices. It is obvious that adopting feminist principles and values is important for men's networks that engage in promoting the end of violence against women. However, it is not sufficient to generate a positive impact in ending this violence, unless men put these principles and values into practice. Among these practices are how men's networks apply feminist values and principles within their organisational structure, culture and strategies. Structures, cultures and strategies that incorporate feminist values and principles can be seen as evidence of ideological or political consistency. This consistency will generate positive consequences for the effort to end violence against women. As an Instituto Promundo and World Health Organization report found, men's involvement programmes that had a strong feminist rationale had higher rates of effectiveness and generated greater positive impacts for achieving gender equality and ending violence against women than other programmes (Barker 2007).

The feminist movement believes that violence against women occurs due to an imbalanced power relation between men and women as well as structure of power such as policies enforced by the government and other regulating bodies. Therefore, as part of the effort to eliminate this violence, feminist groups promote equality between men and women, which means that every individual, regardless of their gender and other social identities, has the same rights and entitlement to equal power. In this sense, feminism is not merely about a vision of social justice, but it is also about values and principles in day-to-day life. Feminist values require organisational structures, practices and strategies that can ensure that these values are implemented.

The third dimension examined in this research is the impact of the men's movement on ending violence against women in Indonesia. As feminism contends that violence against women is a public and political problem (McDonald 2005), efforts to eliminate the problem should be able to generate social and political change. New policies and regulation on protection of women from violence are one important indicator of impact that should be achieved by pro-feminist men's networks.

Violence against women often is perceived as private issue and the struggle to eliminate the problem has lacked support from men. Therefore, it is important for men's networks to be able to change public perception such that violence against women is seen as a public matter and as a male problem as well as a women's issue. Furthermore, men's networks must be able to raise awareness among men about respect for women and generate support from men in the anti-violence against women movement.

The provision of funds to support the women's movement and programmes to prevent violence against women is also an important impact that must be generated by the men's movement. This is because limited resources are becoming a major challenge for women's movements and empowerment programmes. Moreover, men's networks must also be able to demonstrate that the involvement of men in the women's movements does not take resources away from women's groups and empowerment programmes.

It is obvious that measuring the impact of men's networks in ending violence against women is crucial. However, it is challenging because of its complexities and the wide range of its levels. Difficulties in measuring the impact of social movements also are due to the complexities of the actors in the social justice movement arena. Therefore, this thesis specifies the kinds of impact that will be measured and acknowledge that these impacts may not be the result of a single social movement in anti-violence against women advocacy.

2.4.3 How to measure these dimensions

The New Men's Alliance can be considered supportive of the feminist agenda in ending violence against women if the Alliance and its members agree to, and adopt, the values and principles of the feminist movement. The values and principles here refer to the specific feminist values and principles that will be discussed later in this chapter. The extent of the Alliance's acceptance of, and agreement with, feminist values and principles will be evaluated by assessing how explicitly these feminist values and principles are stated in the organisation's documents, and how intensely these values are expressed by key members of the Alliance.

The organisational structure of the New Men's Alliance can be considered supportive of the women's movement when it reflects the values of feminism, where

every individual is respected and treated equally, regardless of their identity, and all members engage in decision-making processes; in other words, where the organisation's form and content are integrated (Calas 2006). In contrast, the structure will be seen as limiting or destroying the feminist vision if it represents and triggers oppression and social injustice.

Besides employing a feminist-guided organisational structure, the New Men's Alliance will be more likely to have a positive influence on efforts to reduce violence against women if it is able to produce practices that promote respect between the members, allow every member's voice to be heard, create space for self-reflection and establish a non-violent environment. These practices are emphasised, monitored and maintained through the establishment of a code of conduct that must be followed by all members.

Having a clear ideological standpoint, an effective organisational structure and appropriate practices within the New Men's Alliance does not guarantee the generation of a positive impact in tackling the problem of violence against women. Therefore, it is crucial to investigate the actual impact of the Alliance. The New Men's Alliance will be considered as having a positive impact if it is able to generate public discourse on the importance of addressing men and boys in efforts to end violence against women. Furthermore, the Alliance will also be considered to have a positive impact if it is capable of creating political support for the women's movement in ending violence, such as changing policies or generating resources for the anti-violence against women movement.

Table 3 The analytical framework

Concept :Pro-feminist men's network		
Indicator	Variable	Measurements
Acceptance of (or support for or agreement with) feminist values and principles	1. Belief that patriarchy plays an important role in shaping the notion and practices of masculinity and femininity	1. Clarity of organisational documents in stating feminist values and principles
	2. Belief that the root cause of violence against women is the imbalanced power relation between men and women as a consequence of patriarchal concepts of masculinity and femininity	2. Intensity of key members' expression of feminist values and principles
	3. Belief that men must be	

	blamed and held responsible for their use of violence against women	
Organisational capacity to implement feminist values and principles	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Collegial rather than hierarchical 2. Accountability mechanism to women's networks 3. Strategies and activities addressing personal and structural dimensions of violence against women 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How the organisational structure allows participation, with democracy and empowerment being used in decision-making processes 2. Availability of women's representation within the organisational structure and activities, or availability of a consultative forum between the men's network and women's networks 3. Intensity of strategies and activities addressing personal transformation, such as changing the knowledge and attitudes of men and the intensity of strategies and activities addressing public policy change to end violence against women
Ability to generate a positive impact on the prevention of violence against women	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ability to generate public discussion about men and masculinity within the violence against women and gender equality issues 2. Ability to invite more men from different backgrounds to be political allies in the movement to end violence against women 3. Ability to generate funds for women's networks and anti-violence against women programmes 4. Ability to influence public policy on prevention of violence against women 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Intensity of public discussion on men's involvement in ending violence against women 2. Number of men who engage in the movement for ending violence against women and achieving gender equality 3. Number of initiatives that attract funding to support women's networks and anti-violence against women programmes 4. Policies with regard to integrating men's involvement in the prevention of violence against women

2.5 Criteria of analysis

Another crucial element of this study is defining the criteria of assessment for the dimensions that have been mentioned in the analytical framework. This study will apply three different criteria for each dimension as well as the overall analysis. For ideology, the criteria are pro-feminist, partially pro-feminist and substantially pro-feminist. For organisational structure and practices, the criteria are pro-feminist, partially pro-feminist and substantially pro-feminist. For impact, the criteria are highly positive, positive, and neutral. Meanwhile, for the overall assessment, the

criteria include highly strengthening, moderately strengthening, and less strengthening.

The description of each criterion as follows:

2.5.1 Ideological dimension

The New Men's Alliance will be categorised as **pro-feminist** by this study if the Alliance clearly states feminist values and principles within its platforms and its key members believe in the following values and principles: (1) that patriarchy plays an important role in shaping the notion and practices of masculinity and femininity, (2) the root cause of violence against women is the imbalanced power relation between men and women, as a consequence of patriarchal concept of masculinity and femininity, and (3) men must be blamed and held responsible for their use of violence against women.

The Alliance will be categorised as **substantially pro-feminist** if the Alliance has a clear statement of agreement with two out of three of the feminist values and principles indicated in the analytical framework.

The Alliance will be categorised as **partially pro-feminist** if it clearly adopts one or fewer of the three feminist values and principles indicated in the analytical framework.

2.5.2 Organisational structure and practices

The New Men's Alliance will be considered **pro-feminist** if it shows a commitment to incorporating feminist values into its organisational structure and practices and this commitment is supported by evidence of three practices, such as (1) applying a collectivist model of organisation, (2) having an accountability mechanism to include women or feminist group(s) and (3) applying strategies and activities addressing the personal and structural dimension of violence against women.

The network will be considered as **substantially pro-feminist** if it shows two out of three elements mentioned above.

The Alliance will be considered as **partially pro-feminist** if it shows only one, or none of these elements.

2.5.3 Impact

The New Men's Alliance will be categorised as generating a **highly positive impact** if it is able to (1) invite more men to engage in the movement, (2) generate resources for women's networks and women's empowerment programmes, (3) raise public awareness of the importance of involving men and boys in ending violence against women and (4) create public policies to support the anti-violence against women movement.

The Alliance will be categorised as generating a **positive impact** if it is capable of fulfilling two of the four forms of impact listed above. If the network is unable to generate any form impact, it will be considered as **neutral**. However, this thesis is aware of the possibility of the Alliance to generate negative forms of impact. If this possibility occurs, the Alliance will be considered as having a negative impact on the movement to end violence against women.

2.5.4 Criteria for the overall assessment

Based on the result of the assessment of the different dimensions of the New Men's Alliance, this study will include an overall assessment of the Alliance. The overall assessment criteria are designated as follows: first, if the Alliance receives a rating of pro-feminist in its ideological and organisational dimension and has a highly positive impact, it will be assessed as **highly strengthening**. Second, it will be rated as **moderately strengthening** if it has one of the following combinations:

Table 4 Criteria for moderately strengthening

Dimension	Combination 1	Combination 2	Combination 3
Ideology	Pro-feminist	Substantially pro-feminist	Substantially pro-feminist
Organisational structure and practices	Substantially pro-feminist	Pro-feminist	Substantially pro-feminist
Impact	Positive/highly positive	Positive/highly positive	Highly positive

Third, the Alliance will be assessed as **less strengthening** if it is rated partially pro-feminist in its ideology and/or organisational dimensions and neutral in its impact.

2.6 Personal Statement

To ensure the credibility of this study, it is essential to clarify my position within this study. I am a member of the New Men's Alliance and I was a member of national coordinator team. As part of the subject that has been studied, I aware of possible conflict of interest, which might influence the research processes such as possible biases in collecting and analysing data. To minimize this consequence I tried hard to always clarify my position and my role as a researcher within this study. Moreover, the role of my supervisor, Dr. Michael Flood, was essential in providing outsider perspective. His background as a scholar and activist in anti-violence against women movement in Australia also gave valuable contribution for this study.

CHAPTER 3. THE SIGNIFICANCE AND RISKS OF MEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE MOVEMENT TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

3.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to locate this thesis within the predominant studies by tracing the genesis of men's involvement in efforts to prevent violence against women, based on the existing literature. The chapter will start by investigating ideas that suggest the importance of political mobilisation of men in transforming gender relations and dismantling violence against women.

Next, the chapter discusses the significance of addressing men and boys in gender equality projects and advocacy for ending men's violence against women by presenting the rationales that have been raised by scholars, researchers, practitioners and activists. In addition, the chapter will map the initiatives that have been taken to allow men's involvement in the prevention of violence, as well as studies of their effectiveness in building an equitable and violence-free society.

The final part of this chapter illustrates concerns about the dilemmas and risks that may be encountered by the feminist movement when allowing men to enter its political space. To conclude the chapter, some ideas for strategies to avoid these risks are included as a starting point for this thesis.

3.2 The global context of men's involvement in the prevention of violence against women

The involvement of men in gender equality projects and the prevention of violence against women is now becoming an important issue in both developed and developing countries (Bojin 2013). This trend can be observed from the growing number of initiatives, as well as the presence of global and regional men's networks aiming at engaging boys and men to achieve gender equality and to eradicate violence against women.

The notion of perceiving men as an important part of the struggle to build equal relations between men and women arose for the first time during the first World Conference on Women in Mexico City in 1975 (United Nations 2008). The conference concluded that to promote and to protect women's rights required a political strategy to mobilise men in changing gender relations. This conclusion was

endorsed in later United Nations (UN) conferences on women, HIV/AIDS and children. Among these conferences were the UN International Conference on Population and Development in 1994, the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, the World Summit for Social Development, the 26th Special Session of the General Assembly on HIV/AIDS in 2001, the 27th Special Session of the General Assembly on Children in 2000, the 23rd Special Session on Women in 2000 and the Annual Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (1996–2007) (United Nations 2008).

Indeed, these global conferences indicated that there was a political commitment by international communities to foster men's engagement and responsibilities in gender equality programmes. Moreover, these international commitments provided frameworks for activists, practitioners and policymakers to integrate a men's involvement strategy in their work, including proposing that national governments should enact internal regulations that ensure the implementation of the strategy.

These international frameworks also allow different sectors to share experiences and to collaborate to enhance their capacities to deliver the programmes and to deal with challenges. The first international forum on men in gender equality, the Global Symposium on Engaging Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality, in which different sectors, including scholars, practitioners, researchers, activists and policymakers, gathered to discuss the issue of engaging boys and men was held in 2009 in Rio De Janeiro, Brazil. Four hundred and thirty-nine delegates from 77 different countries attended the symposium. The symposium amplified the broad area of engaging men that had been addressed by previous international forums, such as sexual and reproductive health, HIV/AIDS, families and parenting and violence. The symposium also called on men and women from different sectors to cooperate in addressing these issues and to advance the quality of lives of women and girls by engaging men and boys as one of their strategies (Atkin 2009).

The growing concern of the international community regarding engaging men and boys in ending violence against women cannot be separated from the growth in men's activism against violence, which started to emerge in the early 1970s. This activism has intensified and become a global movement since the 1990s and is

considered as a movement that has attracted greater international participation in efforts to organise men and boys in achieving gender equality (Flood 2003).

There are many examples of men's groups that play critical roles in organising men to promote women's rights and to eliminate violence against women. One prominent campaign organised by such groups is the White Ribbon Campaign, which was established in 1991 as a response to a man's massacre of 14 women in Montreal, Canada. It now has spread across the globe to regions and countries such as Europe, the United States (US), Africa, Latin America, Asia and Australia.

Men's anti-violence groups have emerged in various countries, such as Men Against Violence and Abuse (MAVA) in India, *Puntos de Encuentro* (Meeting Point) and the *Asociacion de Hombres contra la Violencia* (Men against Violence) in Nicaragua, Men Against Sexual Assault (MASA) in Australia, the Cambodian Men's Network in Cambodia, Men Oppose Violence Everywhere (MOVE) in the Philippines, and the *Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru* (the New Men's Alliance) in Indonesia.

3.3 The significance of men's involvement in the prevention of violence against women

The engagement of men in advocacy addressing violence against women is based on the idea that transformation of unequal gender relations and elimination of violence against women will not be achieved unless men are included in these programmes (Kaufman 2001). This is because merely involving girls and women will only transform one dimension of the problem, since the imbalance in power between men and women exists within a relational context (Hasyim 2009a). Moreover, to build an equal relationship and to stop violence against women requires a new way of perceiving men. Instead of seeing them as part of the problem, they should be seen as a part of the solution (Lang 2002a). As Rowbotham (cited in Pilcher 2004, p. 89) argues, 'the creation of a new woman of necessity demands the creation of a new man'.

There are a number of reasons why men should be involved in work to prevent violence against women and build gender equality. Flood (2011a) identifies three reasons, which he calls feminist rationales. First, most of the perpetrators of violence against women are men. The data from the National Violence against Women Survey published by the US Department of Justice indicated that violence against women is

predominantly perpetrated by men: all women who were raped after the age 18 were raped by men, the majority of women (91.9 per cent) who physically abused after age 18 were abused by men, nearly all (97.2 per cent) of women who were stalked after age 18 were stalked by men (Tjaden 2000, p. 46).

It is also obvious from many reports that many men use violence against women. A current survey on men's violence against women in Asia and the Pacific region revealed that from 26 per cent of men (in Indonesia) to 82 per cent of men (in Papua New Guinea) surveyed admitted having perpetrated physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime (Fulu 2013). The survey also reported that between ten to 60 per cent of men in the survey had committed rape in their lifetime (Fulu 2013). This finding confirmed a previous multi-country study on women and violence that found that one in three women globally has experienced physical violence in their lifetime (Heise 1999).

The second rationale is that the construction of masculinity plays an important role in shaping violence against women (Flood 2011a). The concept of men as characterised by toughness, superiority and dominance is an important predictor of violence (Heise 1999; Flood 2011a). The tendency of men to perpetrate violence also arises from the belief that men have rights over women (Fulu 2013).

The third rationale is that men can play positive roles in the effort to eliminate violence against women and achieve gender equality (Flood 2011a). The engagement of men in the movement to eradicate violence against women will indicate that it is not merely women's issue but men's as well. Moreover, men also will gain benefits by showing their supports for anti-violence against women advocacy such as freedom from the negative consequences of conformity with hegemonic notion of masculinity, having more caring and loving relationship with women and girls. These benefits can be motivating factors for men to engage in the movement to end violence against women (Flood 2011a).

In addition, there are many other considerations regarding why men should be involved in anti-violence against women initiatives. For example, the unequal gender order in society has resulted in negative consequences for the personal lives of both women and men. The negative consequences of the existing gender order for men include the suppression of emotion in order to stay in control, the absence of men in

child-rearing, exposure to many health risks, narrowing of educational opportunities and damage to men's interpersonal relations with women (United Nations 2008).

Violence against women also gives men a negative image, as women are afraid and suspicious of men due to fear of potential victimisation. Therefore, all men must bear the negative stereotype that has been created by a few (Berkowitz 2004; Flood 2011a). Moreover, men's violent behaviour and attitudes towards women may also trigger men's violence against other men. As result, men have difficulties in building healthy and meaningful relationships with women as well as with other men (Berkowitz 2004).

Another important reason is the political consideration that men occupy the majority of the strategic positions in society, from the family level to the national government level. Moreover, men often control the resources needed to implement women's claims to justice. Involving these men in power will accelerate the transformation processes needed to build a fair and just society and prevent violence against women (United Nations 2008).

3.4 Initiatives to engage men in the prevention of violence against women

The rationales for engaging men in the movement to end violence against women provide the justification for many efforts around the globe. For instance, Jackson Katz (1995) initiated a programme that he called 'Mentors in Violence Prevention' (MVP). The main characteristic of this programme is the provision of space for men to talk to each other about masculinity, especially about men's violence against women. To Katz, establishing a safe space for men to talk about their masculinity is crucial, since the notion of masculinity, which is equated with physical strength, superiority and domination over women and subordinate men, plays an important role in shaping men's violence against women and other men.

Katz also believes that the notion of masculinity is learned; therefore, the MVP project is a learning process aiming at changing the social-cultural construction of the hegemonic notion of masculinity. Katz realises that the MVP project will not automatically change deep-rooted violent behaviour in men; however, the project is considered a first crucial step in breaking men's silence on the issue of violence against women.

Another initiative engaging male college students in the movement to end violence against women is Men against Violence (MAV), a student organisation at Louisiana State University. Hong (2000) has conducted a year-long case study of the organisation, in which she noted that MAV aims to combat stalking, domestic violence, rape, fighting, hate crimes and vandalism. Through various activities, ranging from public awareness raising to direct support for male students, MAV encourages men to redefine the concept of manhood that they have learned from their families, peers, and communities.

MVP and MAV make the same argument that it is the notion of hegemonic masculinity that shapes males' lives that has made boys and men prone to being both perpetrators and victims of violence. Therefore, the MAV approach emphasises the inevitability of addressing men and boys to end violence against women. The MAV approach has advanced the existing strategies of ending sexual violence in the university context, which previously had merely focused on the individual and interpersonal variables of this violence and failed to address the issue of hegemonic masculinity (Hong 2000).

While both Katz and Hong emphasise the importance of the educational approach in transforming the notion of hegemonic masculinity as a strategy to engage men in preventing violence against women, Fabiano et al. (2003) stress the importance of a cultural norms approach for engaging men and boys in the anti-violence against women movement. This is due to the hesitancy of men to intervene in incidents of, or precursors to, violence against women, due to either their misperceptions about violence and the supportive attitude and behaviour of their peers. Therefore, it is important to counter those misperceptions and invite more men from the silent majority to actively participate in the anti-violence against women movement and express their opposition to this violence. Furthermore, the engagement of men in the movement will enhance the development of anti-violence norms among men.

Regarding programmes and initiatives to engage men and boys in the prevention of violence against women, Flood (2011a), adopting the spectrum of prevention developed by Lee et al. (2007), a multi-level comprehensive approach which requires the engagement of multi stakeholders to prevent social problem, proposed six levels of preventive interventions: first, strengthening individual

knowledge and skills. This initiative is considered as the most localised form of prevention, in which individuals are educated and trained to develop their knowledge and skills and increase their capacity to prevent violence against women. To Flood, among the promising strategies to strengthen individual knowledge and skills among young adult males are pre-marital relationship education, mentoring programmes, welfare-to-work strategies and prevention efforts that address high-risk boys, such as those who engage in illegal drug use and delinquent behaviours.

The second level of intervention is promoting community education. According to Flood, community education here refers to four streams of education: face-to-face educational groups and programmes, communication and social marketing, local educational strategies such as ‘social norms’ and ‘bystander’ approaches and other media strategies (Flood 2011a, p. 364). Based on a review of a series of evaluation reports, Flood found that face-to-face education strategies clearly had a positive effect on males’ attitudes to violence against women. Similar evidence was also found for prevention efforts that used communication and social marketing strategies, where positive changes in male attitudes and behaviour related to men’s perpetration of violence against women were obvious. For Flood, Soul City, a multimedia campaign in South Africa, is one example of community education that is able to increase knowledge and awareness of domestic violence, change attitudes and norms and mobilise participants to take part in actions to prevent violence against women.

The last form of community education indicated by Flood is the social norms and bystander approach. The social norms approach is used to undermine men’s conformity to sexist peer norms and increase their willingness to take action to prevent violence against women, while the bystander approach places a ‘sense of responsibility and empowerment for ending sexual violence on the shoulders of all community members’ (Flood 2011a, p. 369). Based on his review of evaluations of interventions that applied the social norms and bystander approach, Flood concludes that both approaches have produced positive effects on males’ attitudes and behaviour, such as reducing men’s overestimation of other male sexist beliefs and comfort with sexism.

The third level of prevention is educating providers (and other professionals). Flood identifies many strategies that can be included at this level, such as training for

staff of institutions that are dominated by males; for example, sensitivity workshops on gender-based violence for police, lawyers, sports coaches and medical institutions, and increasing workforce and organisational capacity to prevent violence against women through developing resources and technical assistance (Flood 2011a).

The fourth level of prevention is engaging, strengthening and mobilising communities. It is obvious that to end violence against women requires new social norms, gender roles and power relation models that represent equality between the sexes, and to make those changes will demand the collective action of all community members. Flood identifies some strategies that can be included at this level of prevention, such as organising community and media education campaigns, involving community and religious leaders, fostering coalitions and networks to increase the ‘critical mass’ that supports prevention efforts, improving collaboration on intervention and reducing competition among organisations (Flood 2011a).

The fifth level of prevention is changing organisational practices. For Flood the transformation of organisational practices is vital due to its two opposite potentials: on one side, it can reproduce oppressive values and practices, while on the other, it can create and promote new values and practices based on respect and equality principles (Flood 2011a).

The last level of prevention is influencing policies and legislation. Flood emphasises that law and policy are crucial tools for the prevention of violence against women, since they can be effective instruments in establishing and disseminating particular strategies to prevent violence against women. For example, policies can generate violence prevention curricula for schools and universities, regulate the availability and consumption of alcohol, shape the content of advertising and pornography and restrict gun use (Flood 2011a).

3.5 Male anti-violence against women activism

In line with the growing male anti-violence against women movement and programmes aiming at transforming men and boys’ beliefs, attitudes and behaviours related to gender and violence against women, scholars are now studying the men who have engaged in anti-violence against women activism. These studies are helpful for understanding two issues; first, what brings men to the anti-violence against women movement and what sustains their involvement, and second, the

dynamics of men's relationships with women in the movement to end violence against women. Moreover, these studies are the fundamental basis for the development of a theory of men as social justice allies of women in the elimination of violence against women and in the achievement of gender equality.

Stoltenberg (1997) is one of the scholars investigating these issues. He interviewed college students at Duke University who were members of Men Acting for Change (MAC), a college student organisation that aims to stop rape. His study revealed that witnessing sexual violence is one of the factors that sensitise men to the problem and motivate them to engage in the anti-sexism movement. Exposure to the negative image of other men who have perpetrated violence against women is also a factor that sensitises men towards the issue of violence against women. Furthermore, Stoltenberg also found that having a close relationship with women's groups and having a chance to engage in their activities are also important factors that influence men to develop solidarity with women.

Casey and Smith (2010) interviewed 27 male activists who engage in anti-violence against women advocacy. Based on these interviews, Casey and Smith developed a theory that they called 'men's pathways to anti-violence involvement'. Similar to Stoltenberg's findings, Casey and Smith found that witnessing or exposure to violence against women in cases such as domestic violence and date rape became the starting point for men to engage in anti-violence advocacy. This violence had opened their minds and sensitised them to this issue; therefore, this experience is called a sensitising experience. Having close relationships with influential women who introduce them to the issue of safety for women and girls, engaging in learning activities on violence against women, hearing stories about this violence and developing social justice consciousness as a result of men's engagement in other social justice movements are among other sensitising experiences. Casey and Smith call the sensitising experience the first stage of men's pathways to anti-violence involvement.

The second stage of men becoming involved in anti-violence activism is having 'opportunity experiences', which are situations that enable men to enter anti-violence activism. These include being recommended by a professor, nominated by colleagues who are members of the anti-violence movement and having the intention

to seek out a group who promote gender equality and advocate against violence towards women.

The last stage of the men's pathways theory is 'shifting in meaning', in which men attach specific meaning to the sensitising and opportunity experiences. First, men feel that their participation in the movement to end violence against women is compulsory and they perceive ignorance about the problem as contributing to sustaining the violence. Men also feel that violence against women is a problem that can be addressed, and that they have capacity to deal with the problem. Second, a sensitising event and men's participation in the anti-violence against women movement make men realise that violence against women happens in their lives, and that it cannot be separated from other forms of violence or social injustice, such as racism or homophobia. Third, by joining the anti-violence movement and building cooperation with others, men have opportunities to share ideas with others who have the same concerns, and they also realise that challenging violence against women needs connection and support from others.

Casey and Smith claim that their work is becoming an important step in developing ally-building theory in the anti-violence against women movement since the alliance or alignment of men's groups with women's groups is important to ensure that men's groups are guided by feminist principles (Flood 2011a).

Based on the notion that pro-feminist men should work in collaboration with women's groups and the complexities of organising pro-feminist men, Bojin (2013) investigated how male activists build their networks with women activists, the strategies they use to do this, and how they translate these strategies into action. The study found that the research participants argued strongly that the pro-feminist men's movement cannot be separated from the women's movement. They believed that pro-feminist men should consult women from the beginning of their movement because only women know their best interests and priorities. Therefore, pro-feminist men's organisations should be under the umbrella of the feminist movement.

Regarding the strategies of pro-feminist men's groups for building partnerships with women's groups, the study found many different approaches, such as having female representatives in their organisational structure, recruiting female staff to their executive board, with the most important and the most common being to always

consult women's groups in all their efforts to engage men and boys in achieving gender equality.

The power dynamics within partnerships between pro-feminist men's organisations and women's groups is another crucial dimension identified by Bojin (2013). One of the unavoidable consequences of pro-feminist men organisations is that men re-enter women's political space, which has been created by the feminist movement. The study found that strategies were applied by pro-feminist men's groups with regard to this politics of space; some groups apply men's space only in order to respect women's need to have their own space, while others employed a mixed sex space where men and women share spaces. For the latter strategy, the study stressed that it requires guiding principles to ensure that men listen to women's voices and avoid male domination of women.

The study also discusses the dearth of resources faced by the feminist movement and suggests that this issue should be a concern for pro-feminist men's organisations as they may be accused of seeking funding for their gender equality work. Therefore, the study suggests that pro-feminist men should not detract from women's groups in the competition for scarce resources. Pro-feminist men should clearly commit to not diverting funding from women's organisations and must seek additional funding to support gender equality work for boys and men. Pro-feminist men must also work in collaboration with women's groups in developing a single work plan to ensure resource equity. In doing so, both pro-feminist men and women's groups are able to ensure that all programmes are adequately funded.

In Indonesian context, the study of feminism and male activism can be considered as an emerging field of study. Febrianto (2014) is among pioneers in this field. He studied the Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru (The New Men Alliance), a national men network to end violence against women in Indonesia. By interviewing some members of the Alliance, Febrianto concluded that the Alliance is pro-feminist for its tendency in changing personal identity of men and the notion of manhood. Furthermore, he considered the New Men Alliance as a new social movement since it offers alternative values of masculinity, and for its characteristics such as the non-formal network, nation-wide coverage and non-materialistic objective (Febrianto 2014).

3.6 The effectiveness of movements and programmes addressing men and boys

Although initiatives to engage boys and men in the prevention of violence against women have been growing, the effectiveness of these strategies is still contested and little attention has been given to the effectiveness of these programmes. However, some evaluations have been conducted; for example, Flood (2011a) has made an assessment of men's involvement in anti-violence against women efforts. He classifies these programmes into three categories: potentially promising, promising and effective. According to Flood, prevention strategies are considered potentially promising when they have a feminist rationale, although they have not been implemented or evaluated. Strategies are categorised as promising when they have a feminist rationale and show evidence of implementation, but they do not have evidence of effectiveness. Strategies are categorised as effective when they have a feminist rationale, show evidence of implementation and have evidence of their effectiveness.

A similar study of global initiatives to engage boys and men in achieving gender equality has been undertaken by the Instituto Promundo and the WHO. This study found that among the 58 assessed programmes, 17 (29 per cent) were classified as being effective for leading to personal transformation, while 22 (38 per cent) programmes were promising and 19 (33 per cent) were unclear (Barker 2007).

Ricardo et al. (2011) conducted a systematic review of 65 studies of programmes aiming at preventing boys and men from using sexual violence. The studies were conducted in 11 countries, and the purpose of the review was to investigate the effectiveness of these programmes by examining two elements of outcome: behaviours, attitudes and efficacy. The behaviour element included perpetration of rape or other forms of sexual violence against a girl or woman, perpetration of non-sexual forms of violence against a girl or woman and bystander behaviours. The attitudes and efficacy element included intention/likelihood to perpetrate rape or other forms of sexual violence, intention/likelihood to perpetrate non-sexual forms of violence against an intimate partner, rape-supportive attitudes, including rape myth acceptance, attitudes towards gender-based violence, attitudes towards intimate partner violence, attitudes towards interpersonal violence, empathy for rape or sexual assault survivors and attitudes towards gender roles.

In terms of behaviour change, the review found eight studies that attempted to measure the outcome of interventions aimed at reducing sexual violence, while only one of these indicated a significant impact on behaviour change where the perpetration of sexual violence by participants was significantly decreased. Regarding the perpetration of non-sexual violence, the review found 16 studies measuring outcomes related to non-sexual violence or both sexual and non-sexual violence. Seven of these studies demonstrated a significant impact on participant behaviour after these programmes, where the perpetration of non-sexual violence by participants was decreased. In terms of changing attitudes and efficacy, the review found that among the 16 studies that measured participants' attitudes towards violence, ten of them presented significant findings in which an improvement of participants' attitudes was revealed by changes such as less acceptance of dating violence, perception of rape as rape and low levels of reinforcement for sexual aggression. Regarding the acceptance of rape myth, the review found that among 19 studies that measured this element, five studies indicated a significant impact on reducing adherence to the common myth of rape. Another main finding of the review was the improvement of bystander attitudes. Among the 14 studies that evaluated the impact of intervention on bystander attitudes, four of them showed a significant impact on the improvement of bystander attitudes.

Overall, Ricardo et al. (2011) concludes that all studies in the review indicate substantial evidence of effectiveness for interventions to improve boys' and young men's opposition to rape and other form of violence against women and to improve men's and boys' rejection of the rigid gender stereotypes that underpin violence against women.

3.7 The dangers of engaging men and boys in the anti-violence against women movement

Despite the fact that there are many rationales why men should be involved in the movement to end violence against women and the evidence that engaging men and boys has a positive impact on the elimination of this violence, there are dilemmas and dangers identified in this strategy. These dangers need to be addressed, otherwise the engagement of men in activism to end violence against women will obstruct the achievement of gender equality and the elimination of violence against

women. Moreover, the engagement of men may sustain and even create a new form of male domination of women.

Certain feminists and scholars have raised concerns regarding these dangers. Castelino, an Australian feminist, raises the issue of the need to conduct a feminist audit of men's movements to end violence against women (Pease 2011). This is because she has identified that the presence of men's groups in the feminist movement creates a philosophical and practical shift among feminist groups. Women become less critical because they feel that they need to respect the men in the room. They also feel that they should give more attention to boys and men, which was not a previous priority. Furthermore, they feel that they must re-allocate their energy, which was previously allocated to women.

Similarly, Pease (2008), an Australian scholar, raises some of the dangers of engaging men and boys in ending violence against women. The first of these is the possibility of feminists groups losing their leadership of anti-violence against women activism. This may happen when the social structure provides men with power and privilege and men's groups exist within this context. The second danger is that of the feminist movements losing their leadership in the anti-violence against women movement, which would create a further danger of the dilution of feminist ideology. It is unavoidable that the engagement of men in the anti-violence against women movement, and the feminist movement in general, might lead to ideological battles and when this happens, feminism may lose the battle again (Dzuhayatin 2011).

Third, in the last few decades, the feminist movement has experienced difficulties in gaining resources, especially funds to support women's empowerment programmes, due to the scarcity of already limited resources (Pease 2008). It seems that this problem still exists, and effective strategies to overcome it have not been found yet, therefore, working with boys and men may exacerbate this problem. This is more likely to happen when working with men and boys is considered more attractive for donors and men's programmes are more able to attract funding than programmes directed towards women and girls (Bojin 2013).

Fourth, the engagement of men and boys in programmes to end violence against women, especially behaviour change programmes, may be used as an excuse by male perpetrators of violence and may also be used by perpetrators to avoid legal punishment by agreeing to join these programmes. In doing so, the engagement of

men and boys will create serious dangers where male perpetrators of violence may collude with male activists in order to escape their responsibilities and accountability for their behaviour towards women and the justice system (Pease 2008).

In response to these identified dangers of engaging men and boys in violence prevention, scholars have shared their ideas on how to deal with them. Flood (2011a) argues that movements to engage men and boys should possess feminist rationales; in other words, feminist principles should become the main guiding principles of such programmes. This means that pro-feminist men's groups should have strong alliances with feminist groups and should also take the clear standpoint that they will not take over the leadership of women in the anti-violence against women movement. Furthermore, they should define their roles as supporting groups rather than competing groups. As Crowe (2011) stresses, a pro-feminist man is one who puts the interest of women as their own interests, and treat the rights of women as their own rights.

Regarding the resources issue, Kaufman (2001) maintains that the resources being allocated to men's involvement projects should be put into the context of gender equality programmes, which means that spending funds for involving boys and men is for the benefit of women and girls. He illustrates this point with the programmes for preventing malaria, in which the funds do not go to mosquitoes, but for benefit of the population in the project area.

To avoid colluding with male perpetrators of violence, the issue of the accountability of men's engagement programmes in women's groups remains crucial. There are many ways to maintain accountability, such as always consulting women's group at every step of a programme directed at men and boys (Flood 2001), or by having female representatives in the organisation or programme structure (Bojin 2013).

Although there are many ideas for ways to avoid the dangers of men's movements for ending violence against women, it is still necessary to investigate the ways in which men's groups deal with these dangers and dilemmas and the extent to which men's groups strengthen the anti-violence against women movement. This thesis is designed to fulfil this need, and to document the practices of men's groups in supporting the feminist movement.

3.8 Conclusion

The international commitment towards mobilising men and boys to transform patterns of domination based on gender and to dismantle men's violence against women emerged hand-in-hand with the growing pro-feminist men's movement in many parts of the world, especially in Europe and the US, in 1970s. Both this international commitment and pro-feminist men's activism has led to the establishment of programmes addressing men and boys in gender equality work and the elimination of violence against women.

Although the rationales for men's involvement in the movement for achieving gender justice and ending violence against women are obvious, there are concerns about the effectiveness of this strategy in pursuing the feminist agenda. Furthermore, there are also concerns about the risks that may be carried by this strategy.

Few evaluations have been conducted, and those that exist have revealed evidence that some of these anti-violence programmes are effective in changing men's relationships with women. However, others have been identified as having gender-neutral tendencies that failed to address the social structures causing inequalities between men and women. These evaluations are essential since they enable practitioners, activists and policymakers to identify critical components that must be considered to ensure the effectiveness of such programmes.

While some scholars concerns centre on assessing the contribution of men's involvement programmes to achieving gender equality, others are concerned with analysing the journey of men who engage in pro-feminist activism. The latter studies offer valuable insights into men's pathways to anti-violence involvement. Furthermore, these studies have all enriched social justice ally theories and feminist scholarship.

CHAPTER 4. DEFINING MEN'S ALLIANCES IN THE MOVEMENT TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN INDONESIA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter and the following chapters present the findings, as well as the analysis, of this thesis. This chapter focuses on the ideological dimension of the New Men's Alliance, a crucial element when researching the organisation of social movements. John Lofland (1996) suggests that understanding the ideology, or belief system, is the first important step in researching a social movement's organisation and that this should be done before investigating other elements because ideology serves as the foundation of an organisation. As discussed in the previous chapter, ideology is fundamental for social movement groups or networks, as it becomes the basis of the discourse and practices through which the group guides its members in setting up goals and interests. Ideology also provides the principles of the interactions between members and orients the group's actions (Van Dijk 2006).

This chapter will start with an investigation of the factors that play important roles in shaping the ideology of the New Men's Alliance, through which the origin of the Alliance's ideology can be traced. This section serves as an introduction to the following section, where the characteristics of the ideology of the Alliance are discussed in order to enable an assessment of its compatibility with feminism. The next section explores the challenges that the Alliance encounters in sustaining its ideology and lastly, the chapter concludes with the overall assessment of the compatibility of the New Men's Alliance's ideology with feminism.

In assessing the ideological compatibility of the New Men's Alliance with feminism, this chapter uses variables that are developed in accordance with feminist standpoints related to violence against women and other gender inequality issues. Specifically, it assesses the extent to which the Alliance's members believe that patriarchy has provided men with power and privilege and has shaped the rigid concept of masculinity and femininity; that the root cause of violence against women is an imbalanced power relationship between men and women as a consequence of patriarchal notions and practices of masculinity and femininity; and that men should be held responsible for the violence they use.

The aforementioned variables are measured through their clarity, intensity and consistency, whether in the New Men's Alliance's documents or in the Alliance

members' accounts. Textual data sources include the New Men's Alliance's platform, code of conduct, curriculum outline, reports and minutes of meetings. Other primary data sources comprise focus group discussion and interviews with key members of the Alliance. News and television programmes that have covered the Alliance's activities have also been examined. All data were coded based on categories that are derived from the variables that were defined in the analytical framework. However, other significant themes that emerge from the data are also presented to enrich the discussion.

4.2 Tracing the origin of the ideology of the New Men's Alliance

4.2.1 Under feminist nurture

The interaction of key members of the New Men's Alliance with feminist groups in Indonesia plays a central role in shaping the ideology of the Alliance. This is highlighted in its platform in the statement that feminist groups are the 'mothers' of the Alliance:

By organising men and building a men's network it will allow the New Men's Alliance, which supports the movement for ending violence against women and achieving gender equality, to create a space for dialogue with feminist groups, which are the mothers of the Alliance (New Men's Alliance 2009a).

The word 'mother' indicates the recognition that feminist groups have inspired, nurtured, educated and guided the Alliance. One member said in the focus group discussion that the New Men's Alliance was born from the womb of feminism: '...we know feminism from the women's movement. The New Men's Alliance was born from the womb of feminism due to all of us who came from women's organisations, we learned from them' (Beni).

The close relation of the New Men's Alliance with feminist groups is also supported by the fact that the founders and the key members of the Alliance who participated in this research have strong connections with feminists and prominent women's organisations in Indonesia, and some of them were still registered as staff members of the women's organisations when this research was conducted.

The interaction of the key members of the Alliance with feminist groups occurred in various ways, and in fact was influential in the initial formation of the

Alliance. Members' accounts showed three ways in which they interacted with feminist women. The first was by being a close friend of a particular feminist woman. For example, one member maintains that initially he did not understand feminism. However, an invitation to take part in feminist activism from his feminist friend led him to enter the feminist world. At the beginning, his involvement in feminist activism was not easy. He faced many challenges, such as being an unwanted person in the group, being criticised for his patriarchal thought, and being suspected of a tendency to dominate women in the group. However, his persistent interaction with a feminist group helped him to understand that the ways in which feminist women responded to him as a man were the consequences of injustices experienced by them in their daily lives. This new understanding has made him empathetic to the situation of women in a patriarchal society. He says:

My friend Gadis [GadisArivia] established the *Women's Journal* [the first journal on feminism in Indonesia]. She asked me to be an editor of the journal. At that time I didn't know about feminism. I did my job merely as a technical editor. During an editors' meeting I was criticised by other female editors, I was shocked...I was angry and I asked them 'what's wrong?' Eventually I understood that the problem was because I am male. ...Gadis asked me, 'do you feel humiliated?' And I said 'yes', then she replied, 'I am a woman and every day I am harassed at the supermarket, on the bus.' ...At that time I was thinking to quit my job as an editor, and it was better just to be friends. But, Gadis asked me to learn [about feminism] and from that time I started to learn [feminism] (Beni).

The second way was by being taught by a feminist lecturer at university. Another member felt fortunate to have been taught by a feminist lecturer. She introduced him to the issue of violence against women, and his engagement in student activism allowed him to host a radio programme addressing violence against women. From that time on, he started to have an interest in women's issues. He comments:

When I was a student, I hosted a radio programme on my campus and I included women's issues in my programme, this was because I have a close relationship with Ibu Sri Wahyuningsih [a lecturer]. She was a women's activist and she initiated a centre for gender studies on my campus, to intensify the issue, I requested her to be a resource person for my radio programme, and she agreed to it. And on every Saturday I provided a space in my radio programme for discussing women's issues such as domestic violence etc., (Anto).

The third way was being trained by feminists. One member, Huda, said that before he engaged in the feminist movement he was a volunteer in several human rights organisations. Even though he was familiar with human rights issues, feminist issues remained strange to him, until he had a chance to do research with a feminist organisation on the female victims of the 1965 political riot. This riot occurred during the political crisis prior to the fall of Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia. Huda started to realise that women faced a different kind of oppression as a result of their gender. Feminist mentors had introduced him to feminist analysis to understand the problems encountered by the research participants:

I conducted research about '65 [victims of the 1965 riot], it was crazy, when I read [interview transcripts of women victim of the 1965 riot], why did female victims face different problems from males, even though both are victims? Then, Gung Ayu and Yuyut [two prominent feminists] explained the context, although the research focused on history but the issues of women's movement were also discussed (Huda).

The fourth way was by becoming a member of women's organisations. After being introduced to feminism through these different ways, all the key members of the Alliance who participated in this research had become members of women's organisations. Among six male key members who participated in this research, five were previously members of the *Women's Journal*, including one who was a member of the editorial board and four who were staff members. Another male participant is a staff member of the Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre.

As noted in the New Men's Alliance website (www.lakilakibaru.or.id), there are five women's organisations which supported the establishment of the Alliance. Most of the key members of the Alliance came from these organisations: the Women's Journal Foundation, the Pulih Foundation, the Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre, the Cahaya Perempuan Women's Crisis Centre, and the Rumah Perempuan Women's Crisis Centre.

Among these five supporting organisations, three are women's crisis centres, women's organisations that provide direct services for female victims of violence, such as counselling, support group programmes and legal assistance. These three women's crisis centres are also among the pioneer organisations that have established behaviour change programmes for abusive husbands in Indonesia, as they found that most of the female victims of domestic violence tended to remain living

with their abusive husband. For them, involving men in the efforts to end violence against women, especially domestic violence, is urgent to help women break the circle of domestic violence (Sertori 2010). Friendships with, and teaching by, feminist women influenced men's initial participation in the New Men's Alliance, but it also shapes the perspectives they adopt.

Feminist influences on men to enter the anti-violence against women movement have been mentioned in other studies concerning the trajectories of men's involvement, such as that by Casey and Smith (2010) who found that among men's pathways to engage in the movement to end violence against women is having an opportunity experience in which men were invited to be part of the anti-violence group by feminist friends, professors or supervisors. In the case of members of the New Men's Alliance, they were influenced by feminist friends, lecturers and mentors.

4.2.2 Feminist perspectives and the new world view

The close interaction of the New Men's Alliance's members with feminist groups enables them to have a new perspective that helps them to understand their own past experiences, the phenomena they have encountered related to violence against women, and masculinity. This new understanding is described by Casey and Smith (2010) as a process of 'changing worldview', in which men shift their thinking about their own experiences and behaviour or their level of understanding towards the vulnerability of women within the existing social system. This new world view makes the problem of violence against women relevant to men and creates an emotional connection with the problem for men.

The feminist worldview became the basis on which the members of the Alliance developed the Alliance's organisational foundation. This means that the ways in which the New Men's Alliance members perceive the problem of gender injustice has become the main reference for the Alliance's analytical framework for understanding these problems. Furthermore, the members' new conceptions of a gender order in which men and women are treated equally have become the primary inspiration of the Alliance's view of the new world to be achieved.

Among these new understandings is the members' awareness of the negative consequences of the patriarchal notion of masculinity that is imposed on them as

boys. For example, one member of the Alliance stated that he was oppressed and intimidated to conform to the mainstream notion of masculinity, including being pressured by his peers to engage in brawls against boys at other schools. As Ello said during a focus group discussion:

Before I joined the *Women's Journal*, to be honest I am afraid of violence. If there was fighting between schools I preferred to hide in my classroom. I didn't want to get involved.

For another member, the feminist perspective has made him realise that in the past he was part of an oppressive structure in his society, where he normalised men's domination of women and other marginalised groups, such as transgender people. He had even committed violence against those he considered weak, such as by harassing transgender groups. He did this merely for fun, and he realised that he could engage in violent behaviour towards other subordinate groups because he is a man. As Huda, one of the national coordinators of the Alliance, reported:

In the past, I was part of the perpetrators...I harassed women and transgender people by whistling at them or harassing them verbally. Even, to some extent, I physically abused transgender people without any reason, I did it for fun. Not only against women and transgender people, I humiliated and abused other men that I considered weak and I thought it was normal. For me, men must be aggressive and I considered myself as superior to women and transgender people.

The feminist perspective has also enabled one of the Alliance members to name the violence against women that was experienced by his mother when he was a child. He feels traumatised and cannot forget the incident, even though his mother downplayed it by telling him it was a minor accident. As Ahmad said during an interview:

In fact my family is the place where I found much discrimination. I've even seen my mother fighting with my father. At that moment, my mother was beaten up using a chair and she was injured. I was seven years old, I accompanied her as we went to the community health centre. She was asked, 'what's happened?' and she replied that she fell down.

Having feminist perspective and acquiring new understanding about their past experiences related to masculinity practices and violence against women has changed the view of the Alliance's members about the relation between men and women in which they have to respect their female counterparts and against violence toward women. As Huda said:

There is no justification for my acts [harassing and abusing women and other men] in the past, what I can do now is to ensure that I will not do it again consciously or unconsciously.

4.2.3 The influence of the regional and global pro-feminist men's movement

Besides being influenced by feminist groups in Indonesia, the establishment of the New Men's Alliance has also been influenced by regional and global pro-feminist men's movements. These influences occurred through the engagement of the Alliance members in regional and global forums aiming to promote male involvement in achieving gender equality and ending violence against women following the establishment of the Alliance. These forums have allowed the members of the Alliance to grasp the idea of the inevitability of engaging men in the struggle for ceasing violence against women. Furthermore, the forums also allowed the Alliance members to interact with men's groups in the region that inspired them to formulate a rationale for organising men to transform the patriarchal structure that underpins the problem of violence against women.

Regional and global forums concerning male involvement in achieving gender equality and preventing men's violence against women included training, workshops and conferences. As one member of the New Men's Alliance said:

Gadis [director of the *Women's Journal*] recommended me to attend 'the gender training for gentlemen' or 'Gender and Man' in Cebu, the Philippines. The training was held in a university that I forgot the name of. The training had opened my mind, it was amazing...among the participants, I felt Indonesia was left far behind [in term of men's movements to end violence against women and to achieve gender equality] from other countries in South East Asia, and even we are behind Cambodia (Beni).

Together with other Indonesian delegates, Beni attended the regional conference on Men as Partners to End Violence against Women, which was held by UNIFEM (now known as UNWomen) in Bangkok at the end of 2007. The participants in the conference came from many countries in Asia and the Pacific, including Australia. Among the participants were representatives of men's groups in South East Asia, such as the Cambodian Men's Networks, the Men Oppose Violence

Everywhere Philippines, and the *Asosiasaun Mane Kontra Violénsia* (Men Against Violence Association), East Timor.

At the end of the conference, the participants released a declaration in which they acknowledged that prevalent masculine norms connected to men's use of violence have harmful consequences for women and girls, as well as boys and men themselves. Therefore, the conference called on various sectors to engage a critical mass of gender-sensitive men and boys working together with women and girls to end violence against women (UNIFEM 2007).

Another important forum that influenced the establishment of the New Men's Alliance was the Global Symposium on Engaging Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality, which was held in mid-2009 in Brazil. In a similar way to the regional conference described above, participants in the Global Symposium emphasised, among other issues, the injustices that continue to affect women and girls, such as violence against women. The participants affirmed the capacity of men and boys to actively engage in the efforts for achieving gender equality. They also acknowledged and honoured the women's movements' leadership and expressed their commitment to work in solidarity with women's rights groups in building an equitable and just society (Atkin 2009).

The emphasis on the inequalities and injustices experienced by women and girls and the commitment to engage men and boys to take action for achieving gender equality and ending violence against women indicates the strong influence of the feminist movement on regional and global men's activism. It also indicates that although pro-feminist men's movements do not come solely from the feminist movement, the centrality of feminist influence is obvious.

The interaction of the members of the Alliance with other pro-feminist men's groups worldwide and their engagement in the international debate on men's involvement in the elimination of violence against women shapes the ideological foundation of the New Men's Alliance as an organisation, which will be discussed in the following section.

4.3 The characteristics of the ideology of the New Men's Alliance

The previous section clearly illustrates the strong influence of feminist groups on the men who initiated the New Men's Alliance in Indonesia, and how this

influence manifests in the ways in which they have attached meanings to their past experiences related to violence against women and the masculinities ascribed to them by their social milieu. The personal history of the members of the New Men's Alliance, then, plays an important role in shaping the characteristics of the Alliance's ideology. The key members are what Benford and Snow (2000) describe as 'movement actors', signifying agents who actively engage in the production and maintenance of meanings.

This section discusses the feature of the ideology of the New Men's Alliance based on the findings of this assessment. In discussing this theme, instead of solely focussing on the categories that have been formulated in the analytical framework, such as believing that the patriarchy plays important role in shaping the notion and practices of masculinity and femininity, believing that the root cause of violence against women is the imbalanced power relation between men and women as a consequence of the patriarchal concept of masculinity and femininity, and believing that men must be blamed and held responsible for their use of violence against women, the section also covers new categories that have emerged from the data, such as the New Men's Alliance identifying itself as pro-feminist, the Alliance believing in the feminist principle of 'the personal is political', and the Alliance's position that to end violence against women and to challenge the patriarchy requires solidarity among pro-feminist men. These all categories constitute the characteristics of the New Men's Alliance ideology that will be explored in the following sections.

4.3.1 The New Men's Alliance identifies itself as pro-feminist

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the New Men's Alliance declares that it was born from the womb of feminism. This declaration indicates the political position of the Alliance, which perceives the feminist movement as an umbrella for its organisation. This means that the Alliance accepts feminist ideology and adopts feminist values and principles and uses them as a guidance and framework for its activism. Michael Flood (Flood 2009) classifies a group of men who are sympathetic to feminist ways of understanding society as a pro-feminist men's group.

The New Men's Alliance's sympathy to feminism is expressed in its platform, in its commitment to equality and justice, agreement with the principle of anti-

discrimination and opposition to all forms of violence against women (New Men's Alliance 2009a).

In supporting the Alliance platform, Andi, one of the members said:

The New Men's Alliance is an alliance aiming at supporting the feminist movement. What we do is our recognition that men and women are equal, therefore, we need to raise awareness about equality and gender justice in Indonesia.

The New Men's Alliance's decision to label itself as a pro-feminist men's group or network is politically important, since it will clarify the position of the Alliance within feminist movement and it will differentiate the Alliance from other men's group or movement.

4.3.2 The New Men's Alliance believes that the personal is political

For the New Men's Alliance, the commitment to feminist values is deemed as a personal and lifelong commitment. Therefore, this commitment does not end with a declaration but needs to be internalised, implemented and evaluated over time. As Beni notes:

We want this [commitment to gender justice and anti-violence] to become our lifelong commitment. We are like signing a contract, we want transformation and we know it is not easy. It is different from doing a pilgrimage; when we have finished it, we feel very close to heaven already. This [personal transformation] needs to be evaluated continuously.

By emphasising the commitment to feminist values as a personal commitment, the New Men's Alliance believes that the transformation of gender inequality and violence against women starts from individual men's changes in their behaviours. In so doing, the Alliance does not perceive the personal and private realm as discrete from the social structure, but sees both as linked. This indicates that the New Men's Alliance adopts the feminist standpoint that 'the personal is political'—that what happens in our personal and private lives reflects the power dynamics of broader social structures in society (Tarrant 2009).

By applying the principle of 'the personal is political', the members of the Alliance are required to question every aspect of their lives that they have previously seen as normal and to critically identify the social structure behind these. Moreover,

they are also required to find alternative ways of living that represent an equal and non-violent lifestyle.

4.3.3 The New Men's Alliance believes that building feminist solidarity and collective strength are necessary for ending violence against women and challenging patriarchy

Given the pervasive influence of patriarchy in Indonesian society the key members of the New Men's Alliance are aware of their vulnerabilities to being opposed and even intimidated by other men for adopting feminist principles. They are also aware of the risks of going back to their old values due to this opposition and intimidation, and to the fear of losing the power and privilege provided by the patriarchy. Moreover, they are aware of the risks in contributing to a backlash against the feminist movement. This has happened with some Indonesian male activists, who initially supported the feminist movement but later betrayed the movement and even committed actions that represent patriarchal values and norms (Muttaqin 2013). As Huda pointed out:

Even though you as an activist believe in equality, if you do not live together, there is a possibility for you to be a perpetrator as shown in the experiences of our past generations [male activists who initially supported gender equality but then committed violence against women]. Therefore, for me it is in our personal interest as activists to find friends who have the same vision to ensure that we will not break our commitment.

Due to the aforementioned vulnerabilities, the New Men's Alliance believes that organising men who are sympathetic to the feminist movement is important for several reasons. First, this strengthens their commitment to feminism, in which the members of the Alliance support each other in the struggle to achieve gender equality and end violence against women. Second, this builds solidarity among members to enable them to defend themselves against pressure and intimidation by other men as a result of their agreement with, and adoption of, feminist ideology. Third, it builds a collective strength to resist and challenge sexism and patriarchy. This issue was raised by Beni:

As Elo said how he was intimidated to conform to the social expectations of being a man, he had to jump [in the river] to prove that he is a man. If we challenge all this individually, we can't do anything, by building an alliance we can challenge it.

Furthermore, the establishment of the New Men's Alliance is also important to show men's recognition of the equal status of men and women, and to declare men's opposition towards violence against women. As one member of the Alliance said when he was interviewed by Bali TV, 'We would like to show that besides men out there who committed violence, there are other men who want violence against women to end in the world' (Bali TV 2011). The New Men's Alliance also believes that in fact there are many men who do not commit or condone men's violence against women, but that these men remain silent. Therefore, the Alliance calls on those men in the silent majority to take action in rectifying violence against women. As Andi said during his interview with Berita Satu TV, 'We call upon the majority of men who do not commit violence but kept silent to speak up against violence towards women' (Berita Satu TV 2013).

4.3.4 The New Men's Alliance believes that patriarchy is the root cause of gender inequality and violence against women

The New Men's Alliance perceives patriarchy as the root cause of gender inequality and violence against women. This is clearly stated in both the key members' accounts and the Alliance's organisational documents. For the Alliance, patriarchy has a pervasive influence in the lives of men and women. It has constructed the notion and practices of femininity and masculinity; as a consequence, it has constructed the relationship model between the sexes where men occupy a higher position than women. As two members of the Alliance said:

For a long time men have been constructed as leaders and number one human beings. We, the New Men's Alliance, would like to raise awareness that patriarchy or the culture of men's domination over women has constructed men to be superior to women (Andi).

Since men were born, they have enjoyed many extraordinary things, even more when they get married. The Marriage Law states that when men get married they become the head of the family (Anto).

The Alliance emphasises that patriarchy plays an important role in constructing sexist and misogynist thought. This tendency is commonly found in religious teaching where *ulama* or religious leaders are agents in sustaining and reproducing it. For example, the ideas of restricting women from being *imam*, or leaders, have prevented women from participating in decision-making processes. Another example

is that the perception of the necessity of controlling women's bodies has also prevented women from access to education and other resources. As the Curriculum of the New Men's Alliance states:

Ulama or Islamic scholars constructed theories based on patriarchal paradigms, for instance the idea of women as *fitnah* or the source of moral and social disaster has raised the idea of restriction and control over women's bodies and sexualities. Due to this idea, women in Islam are marginalised in Islamic scholarship development. Women are restricted in their access to learning group activities in the public sphere such as *zawiyah* and *madrrasah* (New Men's Alliance 2011d, p.7).

The New Men's Alliance highlights the patriarchal values manifest in some cultures and traditions, in which men are prioritised while women are considered unimportant. Moreover, women are also confined to merely domestic and reproductive roles. As another member of the Alliance said:

There are many things from our culture [patriarchal culture] that marginalise women, such as *konco wingking* [a Javanese term meaning that women are responsible for household chores] in Java. In Sulawesi there are also some traditions that prioritise men, such as in terms of food, men must be served first. Then, this tradition is interpreted that women are subordinates (Huda).

For the Alliance, patriarchy also has an important role in creating discriminatory policies that prevent women from exercising their full citizenship. As mentioned by Huda, currently there are about 300 policies at the provincial and district levels in Indonesia that tend to discriminate against women:

Ironically the power of [patriarchal] tradition and religion is very strong, therefore it is perceived as normal and acceptable, and even adopted as government policies which are discriminatory to women. These tendencies are indicated by the mushrooming of discriminatory policies at the provincial and district levels, which have increased from about 200 policies in 2012 to more than 300 policies in 2013 (Huda).

The increasing number of discriminatory policies in Indonesia was also highlighted by the National Commission on Anti-Violence Against Women. The Commission reported that in 2013 there were 342 discriminatory policies produced by local government, an increase from 282 in 2012. For the Commission, these policies contradict the National Constitution, in which the rights of every citizen are guaranteed. The Commission therefore called on the national government to annul these policies (Komnas Perempuan 2013).

4.3.5 The New Men's Alliance believes that violence against women occurs due to an imbalanced power relation between men and women

It is undeniable that feminist theory has offered a critical framework to understand violence against women, and it is also considered as the most influential framework in sociological theory on violence against women. Feminist theory describes violence against women as a consequence of imbalanced power relations between men and women (Yodanis 2004).

As formulated in the analytical framework of this thesis, to examine the agreement of the New Men's Alliance with feminist values and principles, it is important to assess whether the Alliance emphasises that violence against women is a consequence of imbalanced power relations between men and women in its organisational documents and its members' accounts.

The data shows that the Alliance obviously blames the patriarchy for creating an imbalance in the power relations between men and women, in which men enjoy many benefits while women experience many forms of gender injustices. Among these injustices are discrimination, economic marginalisation, negative stereotypes, multiple burdens and violence. This emphasis on power as the root of men's violence against women is clear in the Alliance's platform:

Inequality between men and women is the root cause of the injustices experienced by women. This inequality is built based on the patriarchal culture, which is deeply embedded in society. It is supported and maintained by multi-social institutions such as family, religious institutions, the media, schools and even the state government. Therefore the inequality between men and women becomes a social system in society. Injustices experienced by women, or gender inequalities, take various faces such as discriminatory treatment of women in many sectors, economic marginalisation, multi-burdens for women and violence against women (New Men's Alliance 2009a).

The New Men's Alliance also blames the patriarchy for men's tendency to oppress women. For the Alliance, patriarchy has taught men to disrespect women, underestimate them and even dominate them. Patriarchy does not allow men to have alternative views, attitudes and behaviours with regard to their relationships with women. As a key member, Ahmad, states:

Men have that tendency [to commit violence against women] due to men not having alternative discourses and experiences [other than patriarchal discourse]...those learning processes have made men have views, attitudes and behaviours that do not respect women.

For the New Men's Alliance, patriarchy, in fact, creates a structure of dominance that does not solely subordinate women, but also oppresses those men who are incapable of complying with the normative standard of patriarchal masculinity. The standard norm of masculinity here refers to one form of masculinity that is culturally exalted in a given time and society, described by Raewyn Connell (2005) as the hegemonic form of masculinity.

Drawing on this idea, the New Men's Alliance believes that relationships among men also are characterised by hierarchy and inequality. Men who conform to the hegemonic form of masculinity occupy the top rank of this hierarchy, whereas men who do not are placed at a lower position and are considered as subordinates.

This men's consciousness also emerges from men's reflection about the negative consequences of patriarchal culture for themselves, the notion of patriarchal masculinity has created hierarchical relationship model among men. As a consequence, the hierarchy has created inequality and men's oppression of other men (New Men's Alliance 2009a).

Members of the Alliance echo this perspective:

Because I am feminine, I am always bullied and to prove that (manliness), I have even jumped from a bridge into a river, even I had to swim across a lake from one side to another to proof my manliness, even though I didn't want to (Elo).

4.3.6 The New Men's Alliance prioritises the issue of violence against women and believes that male perpetrators of violence should be held responsible for their actions

The New Men's Alliance platform identifies five priority issues that need to be addressed: violence against women, reproductive health and rights, misogynist interpretation of religious texts, fatherhood and sexuality. Among these issues, violence against women is considered as the first priority. The focus of the New Men's Alliance on the issue of violence against women can be seen from the press releases issued over the last five years. Of the six press releases distributed over this period, five focused on violence against women, and more specifically, sexual violence. Only one press release was released in relation to other issues, in this case violence against a religious minority group.

All the press releases clearly describe the position of the Alliance towards violence against women. The press releases also present the reasons why the Alliance takes a political stance against this violence. For the Alliance, violence against women is highly prevalent across Indonesia. The Alliance emphasises that this violence has a profound and negative impact for women and girls. As emphasised in one of the Alliance's press releases responding to the rise in rape cases in Indonesia, sexual abuse undermines the future life of the victim. It creates endless misery and it may also bring about many health problems, such as unwanted pregnancy, sexually transmitted disease and even death. As this press release states:

Rape is a criminal act which dehumanises women. Rape also undermines the future of the victims, even in many cases it causes psychological trauma, sexually transmitted disease infection, and unwanted pregnancy (New Men's Alliance 2013).

The Alliance calls on the perpetrators of violence against women to be held responsible for their actions and opposes any tendencies to blame the women. The Alliance also calls on men who are not perpetrators to condemn violence against women and states that the problem is not merely a women's issue but a men's issue as well, because it also threatens every woman loved by a man. As stated in another press release:

The Men's Alliance call Indonesian men to: first, have a commitment against sexual violence and respect women and men as human beings. Second, condemn all form of sexual violence. Third, condemn the use of rape cases as a joke. Fourth, stop normalising rape and accusing women of triggering rape cases (New Men's Alliance 2011e).

The Alliance criticises the Indonesian government for failing to protect its citizens from violence and for being ignorant of the problem, and demands that the government take the necessary actions to establish a protection system that includes crisis intervention, fair legal processes, rehabilitation and fair compensation for the victim.

4.4 The dynamics of the formation of the New Men's Alliance's ideology

Before exploring the dynamics of the formation of the ideology of the New Men's Alliance, it is important to highlight the guiding principles of the Alliance as an addition to the discussion of the Alliance's beliefs. The guiding principles are

derived from the Alliance's beliefs, and are used as practical guidance for its members. Unlike the Alliance's beliefs, which are scattered throughout the organisational documents and are not always explicit, the guiding principles are explicit and appear in bullet point form, so are easy for members to identify. As practical guidance, the principles are accompanied by operational definitions that are helpful for the Alliance's members.

The first of the New Men's Alliances principles is justice and equality, and it emphasises that the Alliance believes in the equal status of men and women. Therefore, the Alliance resists all kinds of inequalities and injustices directed against women and other marginalised groups. The Alliance supports any affirmative policies aiming at creating gender equality to achieve social justice.

The second principle is anti-discrimination. The Alliance opposes all forms of discrimination based on gender and other social determinants, such as sexual orientation, class and ethnicity. The alliance commits to take organised action to eliminate this discrimination.

The third principle is anti-violence against women. The Alliance believes that violence against women is a violation of women's human and legal rights. The Alliance demands that perpetrators of such violence take responsibility for the violence they use. The Alliance commits itself to take actions to prevent this violence through the promotion of respect and anti-violence towards women among men (New Men's Alliance 2009a).

In addition to these principles, the Alliance adds another principle in its code of conduct, which is more focused on its own workings: the principle of transparency. This means that the Alliance invites its members to share their ideas and participate in decision-making processes to achieve the goals of the Alliance. This principle is formulated as part of the Alliance's code of conduct and also as part of the Alliance's efforts to build accountability for its members (New Men's Alliance 2011c).

The principles discussed so far were adopted by the Alliance in 2009. Another principle was adopted by the Alliance during the first national consultation meeting in mid-2011: recognition of diversity, including sexual diversity. By adopting this principle, the Alliance sought to make itself an inclusive network that allows any person, regardless of their identities, to engage in the Alliance's movement. Moreover, the Alliance emphasises its opposition to all form of oppression, including

oppression based on sexual orientation, ethnicity, religion and other social classifications.

Although the principles outlined above are clearly stated in the organisation's documents and were obviously mentioned by the key members of the Alliance who participated in this research, this does not mean that there always is a consensus among members regarding them. For example, there was disagreement among the New Men's Alliance members in late 2010 regarding whether the principle of sexual diversity should be included in the organisation's documents. This debate emerged due to the fact that, at the beginning of its establishment (from the end of 2009 to the middle of 2010), the New Men's Alliance was perceived in the community as a gay movement or a metrosexual men's movement. Some members argued that putting this principle in the organisation's platform would intensify the image of the Alliance as a gay movement. Furthermore, it would trigger a backlash and resistance from Indonesian society, where heterosexuality is deemed as the norm. This situation therefore was seen to obstruct the Alliance's efforts towards gaining support from society. As Huda recounts:

We had discussed this issue [sexual diversity] for long time, but it seemed we were unable to make a decision due to some of us thinking that it was not strategic. It may create a backlash as some people assumed that [the Men's Alliance] was a homosexual movement or a movement of metrosexual men (Huda).

The principle of sexual diversity was finally agreed during the first national consultation meeting in March 2011, after there were no more objections from the members (New Men's Alliance 2012).

4.5 Some challenges in sustaining the ideology

Besides agreement and disagreement about certain principles, the New Men's Alliance encounters some challenges, particularly regarding how to maintain and sustain its ideology and principles among its members, and how to spread its ideology and principles to wider audiences. For example, the Alliance mainly relies on its key members (national coordinators, provincial coordinators and some core members), its website, and social media to introduce its ideology, principles and organisational agenda. These are difficult to measure in terms of their effectiveness.

The Alliance does not have structured learning programmes for its members, including new members. Although the Alliance has a learning forum, a regular forum (usually once a month) where the members of the Alliance discuss key issues related to masculinity and violence against women, this is limited in term of its frequency, duration and participants. The forum is also only well organised in two cities; Jakarta and Yogyakarta, while it is rarely conducted in other provinces such as Aceh, Bengkulu, Kepulauan Riau, and Kupang. Considering the limitations of the learning forum, themes or topics that have been outlined in the New Men's Alliance curriculum are inadequately addressed. As outlined in the curriculum, there are a wide range of issues that should be understood by all members of the Alliance, such as gender, feminism, patriarchy, sexuality, power and power relations, masculinities, violence, masculinity within the women's movement, masculinity and religion, masculinity and state policies, masculinity and culture, and masculinity and globalisation (New Men's Alliance 2011d).

Another challenge is that some of the organisational documents of the New Men's Alliance, such as its code of conduct and curriculum outline, have not been finalised and therefore remain unpublished. The documents are printed and saved as electronic files and circulated among the key members. Moreover, at the time of writing (July to November 2014), all the New Men's Alliance's documents adopted in 2010 and 2011 had not been reviewed by the Alliance, so their relevance to the current situation is questioned. As mentioned by one of the national coordinators, the Alliance needs a second national consultation for consolidation and review of the organisation ideology and other documents.

The intensity of community organising is less due to key members being busy with their programmes. Therefore, as an alliance, we need a consolidation and now it is already two years, even three years, we have had no national consultation meeting. We cannot rely on social media and other online sources. We cannot also just put all the New Men's Alliance documents online and expect our members and potential members to take them from online (Huda).

The above challenges may create negative consequences for the New Men's Alliance movement, unless adequate strategies are applied. There are at least three possible consequences. First, due to a lack of structured learning programmes, knowledge sharing and transmission of the ideology are inadequate and the members may not share a similar level of knowledge and understanding of the New Men's

Alliance's beliefs and principles. Moreover, the members of the Alliance may fail to understand the overall idea of the New Men's Alliance movement and its complexities. Second, knowledge gaps between members may arise due to differential access to organisational resources. Third, because the organisational documents that contain the New Men's Alliance position on many issues are not yet available for the public, this may mean that the Alliance remains viewed as a homosexual movement, or misunderstood as a movement that reinforces the patriarchal notions of masculinity that emphasise the superiority and domination of men over women.

4.6 Conclusion

The historical emergence of the men's alliances that engage in the movement to end violence against women and achieve gender equality in Indonesia cannot be detached from the dynamics of the women's, or feminist, movement in this country. As illustrated by the story of the New Men's Alliance, feminist groups are the actors behind the initiation of men who come to resist the patriarchal structures that have provided them with power and privilege. The feminist perspective has made these men question the notion of masculinity and femininity, criticise the relationship model between men and women, and condemn violence against women and other forms of discrimination based on gender.

The strong presence of feminist ideas also appears in the worldview of the New Men's Alliance, which emphasises some feminist standpoints such as 'the personal is political', an orientation towards social change, the attribution of blame to the patriarchy for constructing the current structure of dominance, an emphasis on violence against women as the consequence of an imbalanced power relation between men and women, and lastly, an emphasis on the responsibility of men who perpetrate violence against women.

Based on the above findings, this thesis categorises the New Men's Alliance as **pro-feminist** for its agreement with feminist ideology, characterised by some elements of the beliefs indicated in the analytical framework, such as belief that the patriarchy plays important role in shaping the notion and practices of masculinity and femininity, belief that the root cause of violence against women is the imbalanced power relations between men and women as a consequence of the patriarchal concept

of masculinity and femininity, and belief that men must be blamed and held responsible for their use of violence against women.

Moreover, the New Men's Alliance accepts other beliefs that are qualified as feminist ideology, although these beliefs are not included in the framework of this thesis; for example, the Alliance believes in the feminist jargon 'the personal is political', and the Alliance also believes that to end violence against women and to achieve gender equality requires social transformation.

However, the New Men's Alliance encounters many challenges in sustaining its ideology, such as the absence of a structured learning forum for its members, the lack of an effective communication and information system, and no regular consolidation forum for members. These challenges require adequate strategies to enable the Alliance to broaden and strengthen its movement to pursue the feminist agenda of achieving gender equality and preventing violence against women.

CHAPTER 5. ORGANISATIONAL DYNAMICS OF THE MEN'S ALLIANCE IN THE MOVEMENT TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN INDONESIA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the second dimension of the New Men's Alliance: its organisational structure and practices. As discussed in the previous chapters, structure here refers to 'the manner in which control or authority is organised and power is distributed and the way work is divided up and integrated, and the arrangements for decision-making and conflict resolution', while practices are 'the strategies and tactics employed by the organisation' (Martin 1990, p. 195–196).

The main aim of this chapter is to assess the extent to which the New Men's Alliance incorporates feminist values into its organisational structure and practices. In a similar way to the previous chapter, this chapter applies variables that are considered to be feminist organisational structure and practices as the basis of this evaluation. However, this research does not claim that these variables are universal aspects of feminist structures and practices, since they are not single, fixed or universally agreed upon. As Bunjun (2010, p. 115) argues, 'feminist organisations are diverse, organic, fluid, complex, and constantly changing across historical, geographical, political and economic' landscapes. For instance, regarding structure, some feminist organisations believe that the collective and consensus model of organisation represents feminist values and principles, while others argue that bureaucratic and hierarchic models are not inherently against feminism (Martin 1990). Due to this diversity, Bunjun (2010) further argues that it is important to acknowledge that feminist organisational structures range on a continuum, rather than being classified into a simple binary of bureaucratic or collectivist forms of organisation. Nevertheless, this research does identify particular forms of organisational structure and practice that it defines as feminist.

To assess the extent to which the New Men's Alliance incorporates feminist values and principles within its structure and practices, the chapter employs the following variables: applying a collectivist organisational structure rather than a hierarchical and bureaucratic structure, having accountability mechanisms to women's groups and employing strategies addressing the personal and structural dimensions of violence against women and gender inequality. Moreover, this thesis

also accommodates other variables and themes that emerged from the data analysis that are considered relevant for the purpose of this thesis. The new variables identified are the attachment of the New Men's Alliance to women's groups and the strategies used when dealing with the dilemmas encountered by the New Men's Alliance.

In discussing the themes, the chapter starts with the discussion of the new variable identified from the data analysis, or the attachment of the New Men's Alliance to women's groups. The discussion allows this chapter to illustrate the way in which the Alliance maintains its connection with feminist groups. This connection becomes a crucial basis for the Alliance in establishing its accountability mechanisms to women's groups, which will be explored elsewhere in this chapter.

Next, the chapter explores the extent to which the structure of the New Men's Alliance complies with the collective model of organisation, characterised by a flat structure, consensus in decision-making processes, informal organisation and equal power distribution.

After discussing structure dimension of the New Men's Alliance, the chapter discusses the practices of the Alliance in pursuing its agenda to end violence against women and to achieve gender equality in Indonesia. The ways that the New Men's Alliance maintains its accountability to women's groups are investigated and the strategies and tactics employed by the New Men's Alliance are elaborated. The chapter concludes by highlighting some challenges to be considered, and gives an overall assessment of the extent to which the Alliance incorporates the feminist model of structure and practices in its organisation.

This chapter draws on similar data sources as the previous chapter: the New Men's Alliance documents, the focus group discussion and interviews with the key members of the Alliance. All data were coded and structured in accordance with the variables and categories defined in the analytical framework.

5.2 Organisational structure

5.2.1 Attachment to women's groups

Although it is new variable, attachment to women's groups is discussed earlier than the other variables to allow this chapter to connect with Chapter 4, which

identifies the Indonesian feminist groups that have played a crucial role in the establishment of the New Men's Alliance.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the New Men's Alliance declared that it was born from the womb of feminism. This declaration clearly indicates the political position of the Alliance within the feminist movement. The significant influence of feminist groups in the establishment of the Alliance is also reflected in the composition of the founders. Two out of the six founders are feminists, and one of them hosted the Alliance's first meeting on 6 September 2009 in Bandung, West Java, allowing her house to be used as the venue for the meeting (New Men's Alliance 2009b).

Feminist engagement in the process of the establishment of the New Men's Alliance illustrates the circumstances where the feminist spirit has motivated the Alliance. As Cafferata (1982) argues, studying the circumstances of an organisation's founding is a way to determine if an organisation belongs to a particular organisational species. Therefore, as Martin (1990) suggests, analysing the founding environment of an organisation is one crucial element in establishing whether the organisation is feminist or not.

The attachment of the New Men's Alliance to the feminist movement has also been strongly expressed during certain meetings. For instance, during a coordinator meeting that was held in Yogyakarta on 19 October 2010, the Alliance stressed that its movement was not new, but is part of the women's movement. It emphasised that the engagement of men and boys in the movement for ending violence against women will not replace, but will complement, the existing strategies of women's groups for eradicating this problem in Indonesia:

This Alliance works within the context of feminism, women's rights, and anti-gender-based violence and violence against women and masculinity transformation; the Alliance is not a new movement, rather, this is a new strategy within the feminist and women's rights movements; therefore, this Alliance must have a close attachment with women's rights activists and organisations (New Men's Alliance 2012).

Other evidence of the attachment of the New Men's Alliance to women's groups is the existence of a consultative group that works closely with the Alliance in developing and implementing programmes and activities. This consists of five women's organisation: the Women's Journal Foundation, the Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre, the Pulih Foundation, the Cahaya Perempuan Women's Crisis Centre

and the Rumah Perempuan Women's Crisis Centre. The members of the group also take turns to serve as the secretariat of the Alliance, which allows the consultative process between the Alliance and the group to be maintained.

5.2.2 Collectivist model of organisation

According to its organisational platform, the New Men's Alliance applies a simple structure, which consists of national and provincial coordinators (New Men's Alliance 2009a). For the national coordinator role, the Alliance adopts a collective leadership model in which there are three national coordinators. For the provincial coordinator role, there is one coordinator who acts as a focal point at in each province. As of September 2014, there were seven provincial coordinators: one each in Aceh, Riau, Bengkulu, Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Mataram and Kupang.

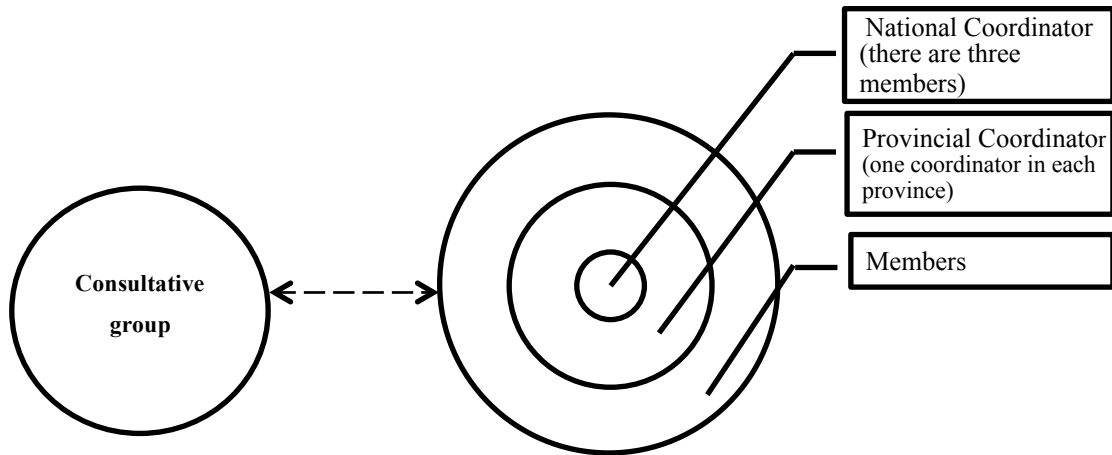
Although the coordinators (both national and provincial) have different roles and responsibilities, the New Men's Alliance does not clearly define these. The lack of descriptions of the roles and responsibilities of these structures in the platform means that the Alliance intends to build a loose and informal type of organisation. Moreover, the structure also illustrates the simple and non-hierarchical model of the Alliance. As Huda, one of national coordinators, said during his interview, the structure is solely a label, since the decisions are taken by consensus among the core members of the Alliance.

In fact, the New Men's Alliance is really a non-formal organisation, which means that positions in the structure are only a label; the most important of [the positions] in the structure is its role as a focal point. In terms of decision-making processes, mostly we discuss first internally, which involve six women's organisations and then the decision is made based on consensus.

In supporting Huda's comment, Andi reported during the follow up interview:

As an alliance, the New Men's Alliance is not hierarchical, but coordinated. Our programmes are not delivered 'top down' but are run through coordination and synergy among organisations [members of the consultative group] as well as among individual members.

Diagram 1
Organisational structure of the New Men's Alliance



Considering the nature of the relationships between the coordinators and the members and the nature of the Alliance's decision-making processes, as discussed in the focus group, the circle model was considered suitable to illustrate the structure of the Alliance. As indicated in Diagram 1, the national coordinator resides in the centre of the circle, while the provincial coordinators and members are in the outer circles of the structure. As discussed in the previous chapter, the consultative group, or the supporting organisations, are another important part of the structure. The connection between the Alliance and the consultative group allows the Alliance to coordinate with the consultative group when implementing its programmes and activities.

The issue of organisational structure was discussed intensely during the New Men's Alliance's annual meeting held at the end of 2012, in which two streams emerged. Some members wanted the Alliance to have a distinctive structure with clear definitions of roles and responsibilities, whether for national coordinators or provincial coordinators. Their argument was that distinct roles and responsibilities would enable the Alliance to expand its movement. Meanwhile, other members preferred to have the Alliance remain informal. For these members, the Alliance was perceived as a movement of ideas and values, rather than an organisation. Furthermore, for the second group, every member should have equal rights to represent the Alliance; therefore, every member of the Alliance should be able to act as a spokesperson for the Alliance. In so doing, the Alliance could easily expand its movement.

To illustrate this discussion, below are quotations taken from two members who participated in the meeting. The first quotation represents the idea of the importance of a distinctive structure, whereas the second quotation represents the opposite idea.

The structure remains important since we will work in the context of networking. We work based on that structure in which each [coordinator] has its own responsibility in its area and the coordinator [has an obligation to] implement its responsibilities. For instance, the responsibility to run a campaign in Kupang [the capital city of East Nusa Tenggara province], in the structure there are members that support this campaign and regarding the nomination [of coordinator in Kupang] etc., let the members in Kupang do that. This is the key issue. So structure will remain important [for the New Men's Alliance] (New Men's Alliance 2011a).

However, for me, this movement should remain fluid, everyone is welcome [to join], and I think, at the national level, how this idea can grow. This is because since the beginning of my involvement in the discussion and processes in Aceh [a province located in the western part of Sumatra Island] within the last six months, many times, we justify that this [the New Men's Alliance] is not going to be an institution that is structured, and we do not want to be a new face [new movement] in our area. ...I think when I joined this group [the New Men's Alliance], I will be with everyone who struggles for gender equality and justice (New Men's Alliance 2011a).

The annual meeting did not make a final decision with regard to the Alliance's structure, and since then the platform remains the same, and the structure and the description of roles and responsibilities remain undefined.

Although the characteristics of the Alliance's structure are simple and non-hierarchical, in fact, it does not always ensure the equal participation of all individual members and all organisations within the consultative group. The different levels of participation lead to the potential for an unequal power distribution. As indicated by Huda, there are potential problems in which small numbers of members and organisations play a greater role than others, especially those who have better access to the Alliance, for geographical or technological reasons. Geographical reasons mean that intensive communication only occurs between members who reside in cities that are close each other, while technological reasons mean that the members who have greater access to communication technologies, such as the internet, will participate more actively in the Alliance's processes. As Huda comments:

This will be difficult and become a problem when we [the New Men's Alliance] are growing bigger. For instance, in Jakarta, the members in Jakarta tend to play by themselves and with Jogja [the members in Yogyakarta] because Jogja and Jakarta are like one office, but how about other members? Such as Bengkulu [a province in South Sumatra],... How about our members in Kepulauan Riau? [another province that comprises several small islands close to Sumatra Island] What they can do there? In Bengkulu and in other provinces. This situation, then, will influence the organisational culture that we would like to build. So far, when we have programmes that are run by our members in Jakarta, we rarely share the results with our members [outside Jakarta].

The preference for being an informal and loose organisation also has meant that the New Men's Alliance faces certain other problems: first, the New Men's Alliance has had difficulties in responding to requests from men who want to join the Alliance because the procedure for recruitment is unspecified, even though the issue has been discussed during the national consultation in which the Alliance agreed on two forms of membership, individual and organisational (New Men's Alliance 2011b). Moreover, the Alliance was unable to provide a timely response to a group of men in some districts; for instance, a group of men in Sukabumi district (Radar Sukabumi 2014) who wanted to establish a New Men's Alliance's branch. This is because the Alliance does not have an appropriate process with which to respond to the initiatives of men who wish to establish a new branch of the Alliance. As Huda reported during a follow-up interview:

[For new members] it is not enough for agreement [to the New Men's Alliance's values] but they must also internalise [the values]; however, this is difficult to measure. ...in the case of Sukabumi, in which suddenly there is a man who wants to establish a branch of the New Men's Alliance, as far as I know from Elo and Andi, this man still has gender bias [in his perspective] so it is dangerous if [the New Men's Alliance is] misunderstood, in which the values of equality will be lost.

Second, the New Men's Alliance also has had difficulties in ensuring that its code of conduct is implemented by members. This problem is another consequence of the fluid character of the New Men's Alliance, in which the implementation of a code of conduct and other values mainly relies on individual commitment. Although members of the Alliance have come to a consensus on mechanisms of monitoring and evaluation between members, it cannot ensure that all members apply the Alliance's code of conduct and values in their daily lives. As Andi and Huda said

when they were asked about how the Alliance ensures its code of conduct and values are implemented by the Alliance members:

For the old members, the principle of mutual nurturing among them is still relevant...another issue is that at the end, the New Men's Alliance becomes a values movement, therefore if there is a member who perpetrates actions against the values of the Alliance, he or she has to quit the Alliance (Andi).

...This [ensuring the implementation of code of conduct] also becomes a problem for members, especially old members, it is quite difficult to make sure, I think it is hard to control. Actually, small forums once a month are possible. However it is difficult to do it now as most members are separated. But intensive communication through social media, for me, can be used as a media to control each of us (Huda).

As for other contemporary organisations that are characterised by a flat model of structure, less hierarchy, teamwork mechanisms and empowerment orientation (Albert 2000), the New Men's Alliance has challenges on how to ensure that its values and principles reside in the heads and hearts of its members.

Organisational theorists such as Albert et al. (2000) suggest that to deal with this challenge, social organisations must have the proper internal socialisation, which is crucial for developing group identification in which the members of the organisation, especially new members, understand what the organisation stands for and where it intends to go. In other words, group identification gives the members of a social organisation their sense of identity. Asforth and Mael (1989) argue that group identification has two consequences: (a) it can make individual member reify the organisation, feel loyal and committed to it; and (b) it may also increase members' internalisation of organisational values and beliefs.

Regarding the problems identified—unequal participation between members, unclear membership mechanisms and the inability to measure the commitment of members to the Alliance's values and beliefs—the members of the Alliance who participated in this research perceived this to be a consequence of the Alliance's development. Through this process, the New Men's Alliance members may reflect upon these issues and learn lessons from it. As one member of the Alliance, Beni, argues, it is better for the Alliance to respect and follow the process rather than being

tempted to make a decision on the final structure of the Alliance: 'For me it is better for us to be slowly, wherever we step, we reflect upon it, finding the possibilities'.

Although there is a strong rationale for the New Men's Alliance to rely on organisational process, some emerging issues need to be addressed by the Alliance, such as defining the decision-making process that enables members from different provinces to have full participation, formulating a membership mechanism, and developing procedures to allow the internalisation of values and beliefs as well as procedures for dealing with members who do not comply with the code of conduct and common values of the Alliance.

5.3 Organisational practices

5.3.1 Accountability to women's groups

The importance of men's partnership with, and accountability to, women's groups in preventing violence against women and achieving gender equality has been emphasised by certain scholars (Flood 2003; Pease 2008; Bojin 2013; Funk 1993). Through partnership, men's groups can learn from women's groups regarding existing strategies to eliminate violence against women. This partnership and accountability also prevents men's groups from colluding and complying with the dominant oppressive forms of masculinity. Moreover, men's partnerships with, and accountability to, women's groups in anti-violence against women advocacy are a powerful and practical demonstration of men's and women's shared interests, as well as an invaluable example of cross-gender collaboration (Flood 2003). A key aspect therefore of feminist organisational practices is accountability to women's groups.

Scholars have also identified the practical forms that men's collaboration with women's groups can take; for example, men's groups consulting women's groups before initiating their programmes, activities to gain feminist women's input or involve women's groups in monitoring and evaluation (Pease 2008), avoiding competition with women's groups in seeking financial and other resources and building strong lines of communications and trust (Funk 1993). Bojin (2013) provides other examples of men's collaboration with women's groups in the movement for ending violence against women; for instance, having women's group's representatives in their organisational structure, employing female staff in equal

numbers as male staff and consulting women's groups to gain an accurate picture of women's interest and priorities.

Aspects of the partnership of the New Men's Alliance with feminist groups or women's groups in Indonesia have been partly illustrated in the previous section on the attachment of the Alliance to Indonesian women's groups, in which it was shown that structurally the Alliance is part of the women's movement. This is demonstrated by the consultative group, which consists of women's organisations, the existence of feminist representatives among the Alliance's founders, and in the membership, which is not exclusive to males. As one female member, Dewi, said during the focus group discussion:

And I always say that no, the member of the New Men's Alliance is not only men, there are women activists too. Then what do women activists do? Definitely when we talk about women's issues, we should involve women too. I said that the women members of the New Men's Alliance are those who agree on the engagement of men [in the movement for ending violence against women].

For the New Men's Alliance, partnership and collaboration with women's groups is necessary because the movement for ending violence against women and achieving gender inequality is perceived not as a war between men and women, but a movement against the structure of dominance that has made both women and men victims. In highlighting this issue, Beni argued in the focus group discussion:

The problem of gender injustices and inequalities is not a war between men and women. That is what I always say, if this is a war [between men and women] it is impossible for me to be [an editor] of the *Women's Journal* and it is impossible for other friends [men] to be [members] of *Solidaritas Perempuan* [Women's Solidarity, one of the women's groups in Jakarta]. Second, the problem of gender injustices and inequalities is not aspirations, ideas, and an anti-men movement. This is important to be understood. Third, in the problem of gender injustices and inequalities, in fact, men are also victims, although women are more so [experience more injustices and inequalities]. Therefore, the fourth point, yes, we [men and women] must work together [in eliminating gender injustices and inequalities].

New Men's Alliance members emphasised the necessity of having partnerships with, and accountability to, women's groups, to ensure that the Alliance uses the feminist perspective in seeing women's problems and prioritises the interests of

women. This is because women are the only ones who know their best interests. Dewi discussed this further during the focus group discussion:

I say that the women who are members of the New Men's Alliance are those who agree on men's involvement [in the movement for ending violence against women and achieving gender equality], women who willing to always remind [the New Men's Alliance] to be careful in what they're doing, to be careful in seeing women's problems and remind them to always take women's perspectives.

As well as being necessary, men's collaboration with women's groups is also seen to accelerate the achievement of the feminist agenda to build a gender-just society. As Anto maintained in the focus group discussion:

We [the New Men's Alliance] are part of [group] those willing to strengthen [the women's movement], if gender equality has to be achieved within ten years [with men's collaboration with women's groups], we want to achieve it within five years. Why? Because there are men, who are the root cause of the problems, engaged in solving the problems.

The New Men's Alliance's partnership with, and accountability to, women's groups is not only in terms of the institution or organisation, but individual as well. The members of the Alliance often consult, discuss with, and ask feminists for feedback individually. As Beni reported in the focus group discussion, he often talks to his feminist friend as his way to maintain intensive communication with feminists: 'I talk to Kusyuniati [one of the well-known feminists in Indonesia] quite often. This is my effort to keep communicating with feminists who I think have experience and knowledge resources'.

Similar to Beni, another member, Anto, argues that having consultations with feminists is important for strengthening the movement of the Alliance. He said:

I often have a dialogue with Myra Diarsi [another prominent feminist in Indonesia] about the movement of the New Men's Alliance. I always ask her questions, what do we do next? What should we do? Are our steps correct? What are the appropriate strategies? How do we position ourselves [within the women's movement]? and many more. Why do I ask Myra Diarsi and not others? Because since the beginning, I assert that this is [the movement of the New Men's Alliance] part of women's movement framework. Therefore, everyone who we perceived as part of the movement should be part of the efforts towards strengthening the movement.

However, the issue of the New Men's Alliance's accountability to women's groups in Indonesia remains problematic, since there are diverse women's groups in the country and not all are aware of the Alliance. Therefore, the question of to which feminist groups the men's group should be accountable has been considered as an issue for ongoing debate by many scholars (Flood 2003).

The problem of the New Men's Alliance's accountability to women's groups is reflected in the emergence of questions regarding the motives and the representation of the Alliance. Some women's groups are curious about the agenda of the Alliance. As reported by Elo during the focus group discussion about his experience of attending women's forums, 'In several meetings [with women's groups] that I have attended, some questions started to emerge, what is the New Men's Alliance going to do? And what will you do with the Alliance?'

Some women activists also question the Alliance representation, in which they only see males, and state that they do not see women as representing the Alliance. In responding to this question, Dewi, a female member of the New Men's Alliance argues in the focus group discussion:

Then I said, indeed, the New Men's Alliance took a man's face as an image. This is our strategy. We apply a male-to-male approach, this is because if we still use women's faces [as an image of our movement], it will be difficult to invite men who are mostly perpetrators [to engage in our movement]. This is what most women activists do not understand. This is our strategy; we cannot assume that when there are only male representatives this means women are not treated equally by the Alliance. I said no, this is my personal decision and I have discussed this with Fira [another female member and founder of the Alliance], we [as women] don't want to come out to the public but we want to strengthen the image of the sensitive male [for our movement], to engage more people.

These criticisms from some women's groups emerged as result of the limited accountability of the New Men's Alliance to merely the women's groups that have close relationships with Alliance members. Therefore, it does not represent all the women's movements in Indonesia, which are diverse. Considering this, it is urgent for the New Men's Alliance to broaden its partnership with feminist groups and not limit this to the five women's organisations that are members of its consultative group. In doing so, the Alliance will strengthen its accountability to feminist groups in Indonesia.

5.3.2 Strategies to change the personal dimension of violence against women

This section examines the third variable of the second dimension of the New Men's Alliance, which is applying strategies that address the personal and structural dimensions of violence against women. This section starts by identifying the strategies employed by the Alliance that focus on changing individual men, followed by exploring the strategies that address the structural aspects underpinning violence against women.

As discussed in the earlier chapters, the New Men's Alliance believes that the personal is political: what happens at the personal level represents the broader social structure. This jargon was adopted from the radical feminist standpoint, which perceives violence against women as not a problem of the inability of men to control themselves, but rather, that as a result of the existence of patriarchal dominance in society, where men are entitled to power and privilege.

The awareness of the connection between the personal and social structure influences the strategies applied by the New Men's Alliance, in which the Alliance emphasises the importance of personal and structural change for the elimination of violence against women and the transformation of gender inequality in Indonesia.

The importance of personal change as an initial step of the New Men's Alliance in pursuing its agenda was emphasised by Anto during the focus group discussion:

When I joined here [the New Men's Alliance], when we all engage here, when we move together, we have to control our actions and behaviours. We have to maintain our perspectives [the New Men's Alliance's perspective] and share it with others. We continue to remind each other and strengthen our position [in society]. We also have to introduce our values to our families, these are [the New Men's Alliance's] the ways to keep its sustainability.

The emphasis on the importance of personal change is also reflected in the approach used by the Alliance. As discussed in the Alliance's curriculum, personal reflection is the main approach to the learning processes recommended to its members. For the Alliance, personal reflection is crucial since it serves as a method to assess the consistency of what the members have said, and their behaviours and actions. Self-reflection is also a method used by the Alliance to avoid what Funk

(1993, p. 133) has described as the discrepancy between personal actions and public statements.

The Alliance defines personal reflection as:

...a process of contemplation, questioning self, rethinking and criticising and then using the result of this process as a basis for efforts for change and transformation of each individual person who engages in the movement for achieving gender equality (New Men's Alliance 2011d, p. 12).

As a learning approach, self-reflection is used in many of the Alliance's activities, such as learning forums, meetings and reflection classes. The last of these activities is specifically designed to create a space for the Alliance's members to examine their practices in daily life, especially their sexist attitudes and behaviours. Here they question whether their attitudes and behaviours are consistent with the values that they have promoted. The reflection class is also provided as an opportunity for the members to share their feelings, a process which is rarely available for men.

To invite more boys and men to join, the New Men's Alliance applies an individual approach in which the members of the Alliance influence their immediate friends and colleagues to engage in the movement to end violence against women and to achieve gender equality. As Huda reported in the focus group discussion, this peer-to-peer strategy is considered as an effective way to invite other men and boys to engage in the Alliance's movement:

What I do now, that seems applicable in some provinces, is adopting a personal approach to involving other men, such as approaching peer groups or at least friends who have a similar vision. For instance, for me, yes, with OBR [One Billion Raising, a global anti-violence against women campaign using dance performance] friends, with some artists who are close to me. At the end, slowly but surely; it is like a cell system that grows. I observed that this happens in NTB [west Nusa Tenggara, a province in eastern Indonesia], at the beginning [men are] doubtful but after long discussions [they join the Alliance]. So starting with close friends then followed by other men. For me, a personal approach is important and it is also a key to ensure that we build a 'safe space' for men to express their feelings.

In addition to the activities addressing personal transformation, the New Men's Alliance initiates activities and programmes aimed at generating social change, such

as community organisation, campaigns and proposing new policies at various levels related to the promotion of men's and boys' engagement in the elimination of violence against women and the achievement of gender equality. These issues will be discussed further in the following section.

5.3.3 Strategies to change the structural dimension of violence against women

As discussed in Chapter 2, radical feminists emphasise that the social structure of inequalities between men and women, which has been produced by the patriarchy, plays an important role in perpetuating violence against women (Beasley 2009). This claim is supported by the fact that violence against women is more likely to happen in societies where women are subordinate to men (Yodanis 2004), therefore feminists have argued that to stop violence against women at the personal level it is necessary to change the structure of gender inequality at the societal level (Yodanis 2004).

Adopting the framework introduced by Bradley and Khor (1993) to analyse the status of women, Yodanis (2004) identified three dimensions of the structure of gender inequality: the social, economic and political. The social dimension includes the different access of men and women to information, education, and the different social treatment of men and women, in which men gain more power and privilege than women. The economic dimension includes men and women's status in activities and institutions related to the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services. The political dimension includes the different access of men and women to power and the unequal representation of the sexes in social institutions. Since the dimensional structure of gender inequalities is complex, to dismantle violence against women requires strategies that address these complexities, otherwise the violence against women will continue.

The New Men's Alliance has clearly emphasised the structural dimensions of violence against women by highlighting the roles of social institutions or agencies, such as families, communities, schools, religious institutions and the state government in creating gender inequalities. For the Alliance, gender inequalities have perpetuated discrimination and violence against women; moreover, these inequalities have prevented women from exercising their full rights (New Men's Alliance 2009a). These gender inequalities manifest in many forms: family

discipline, community and religious values and norms, school curricula and state government policies and regulations. Given this situation, the Alliance claims that gender inequality has become a social system in Indonesian society (New Men's Alliance 2009a).

Considering the structural dimensions of violence against women, besides aiming at transforming individual men, the Alliance is also concerned with changing these social institutions through various activities and programmes. To evaluate the extent to which the New Men's Alliance addresses the structural dimensions of violence against women, this section will map the activities and programmes of the Alliance using the three dimensions of the structure of gender inequalities outlined above.

5.3.3.1 Changing the social dimension of the structure of gender inequality

Chapter 3 highlighted that the majority of the violence against women is perpetrated by men (Tjaden 2000). Research also indicates that there are many men who use violence against women (Fulu 2013); however, men are often missing from the discourse on violence against women (Lang 2002a). The absence of men in the violence against women issue is because there is a tendency to naturalise men's use of violence towards women (Lang 2002a) and normalise violence against women.

Considering the absence of men within the discourse on violence against women, the New Men's Alliance, among others, aims at bringing men under the microscope as an inevitable part of efforts towards ending violence against women. The Alliance has conducted many activities to open a critical discussion on men and masculinity within the discourse on violence against women. For instance, in Aceh province, the Alliance organised a public seminar in April 2011 to build an understanding about the construction of masculinity and its impact on the perpetration of violence against women (New Men's Alliance 2011f). This seminar was made after the national consultation in March 2011, in which the issue of masculinities and violence against women was also addressed (New Men's Alliance 2012).

In a more intensive fashion, the New Men's Alliance organised two-hour discussions in two regions—Nusa Tenggara Timur (East Nusa Tenggara) and Nusa

Tenggara Barat (West Nusa Tenggara). The discussions were conducted in 34 communities in these regions and covered a series of topics related to men and violence against women, including issues such as fatherhood, sharing household tasks, family financial management, reproductive health, being a responsible husband and violence against women, especially domestic violence (Hasyim 2012a).

The Alliance also consistently discusses the issue of men and masculinities in violence against women in its official website and social media accounts, such as Twitter and Facebook. For these efforts the Alliance's website was selected as a nominee of the Bobs Award for the best online activism category. This award was organised by Deutsche Welle, a German international broadcaster (Deutsche Welle 2014). Although the Alliance was not selected in the final round, to be nominated for the Bobs Award indicates the international appreciation of the efforts of the Alliance in transforming gender inequality and ending violence against women in Indonesia.

Through seminars, consultation, discussions and online media, the New Men's Alliance emphasises the connection between the traditional notions of masculinity, which are characterised by dominance, physical strength and superiority, and violence. The Alliance also critically questions these ideas of manhood for bringing about negative consequences in men's lives (New Men's Alliance 2011 a, b), such as men bearing many social pressures to be breadwinners and leaders in their families and communities, men needing to be seen as strong emotionally and men tending to use violence in solving conflicts, especially in their relationships with women.

Given these consequences, the New Men's Alliance believes that stopping the violence against women needs to involve men, since being violent is not natural, but rather, is learned, and therefore men can learn new ways of living that represent the values of equality, respect, caring, loving and non-violence. To promote these new ideas of masculinity, the Alliance has organised several campaigns addressing men, especially boys, such as roadshows (New Men's Alliance 2011g), a short film competition (New Men's Alliance 2012) and a speech competition for senior high schools (New Men's Alliance 2011f). Moreover, as part of this campaign, the Alliance provides awards for men at the community level who demonstrate gender equality and non-violence values in their lives. These awards are given based on the recommendations of community members and are designed to provide men with role

models for generating personal and social change at the community level (Hasyim 2012a).

5.3.3.2 Changing the economic dimension of the structure of gender inequality

Connell (1987) argues that one of social structures that influences gender arrangement is the division of labour in which men's and women's work are classified, separated and differentiated. This segregation rule puts men in a position where they obtain better training and skills than women. This differentiation leads to differences in income between the sexes, where men have better jobs with better salaries than women. Data shows that women's labour participation in Indonesia is lower than men's; 50.2 per cent of Indonesian women are in paid work compared to 86.5 cent of men (BPS, 2009 cited in Yunis 2008). In terms of income, data from the US indicates that women are paid less than men, in that women earn 77 per cent of the male wage (Cawthorne 2008).

Along with other variables, such as women's access to education, health services, shelter, water and sanitation, limited access to paid work has made the number of women who live in poverty greater than that of men. For example, among the 32.53 million people who live in poverty in Indonesia, 70 per cent are women (Yunis 2008). A similar figure is also found in the US, where more than half of the 37 million American who live in poverty are women (Cawthorne 2008).

Considering the fact that poverty and lack of economic autonomy increase women's dependence on men and this reinforces the gender inequalities that make women vulnerable to violence, economic empowerment for women and girls is considered a crucial strategy to reduce violence against women.

Although the importance of economic empowerment for women and girls is obvious for the reduction of the risk of violence against women and to transform the economic dimension of the structure of gender inequality, the documents of the New Men's Alliance do not indicate any specific strategies applied to address this issue. Similarly, the issue of women's economic empowerment also was not raised by the Alliance members during the focus group discussion.

There are some efforts directed to transforming the division of labour at home, as demonstrated by several topics of the two-hour discussion curriculum, such as **sharing household tasks**, which aims to encourage men to engage in domestic work

and reduce women's burdens in order to increase women's access to paid jobs, and **family financial management**, which aims to encourage men to involve their partners in managing the family finances, including involving partners in decision-making processes in the family (Hasyim 2012b). However, there is no evidence to indicate that these strategies can enhance the economic status of women.

Given the weak (or absent) strategies for dealing with the enhancement of the economic status of women and girls, it is important for the New Men's Alliance to incorporate strategies that encourage men's active participation in sharing domestic and reproductive work, and in creating equal access to paid jobs that will allow women to have their own income. In doing so, the Alliance will contribute to the transformation of the economic dimension of violence against women.

5.3.3.3 Changing the political dimension of the structure of gender inequality

As discussed earlier, the political dimension includes women's and men's access to power and the representation of the sexes within social institutions. Yordanis (2004, p. 657) offers a theory to link this dimension to violence against women; first, social institutions such as the family, political and economic institutions that are dominated by men both in number and power tend to produce and reproduce policies and regulations that sustain male domination over women. Second, in male-dominated institutions, violence is used as a tool to subordinate women and thereby sustain men's power and control.

In terms of changing the political dimension of violence against women, the New Men's Alliance pays more attention to policy change rather than other political aspects, such as women's representation. The focus of the Alliance on policy change can be observed from evidence such as its press releases and its members' involvement in the legislation of new policies and regulations at both the national and provincial levels.

The New Men's Alliance explicitly criticises the government of Indonesia for failing to protect Indonesian women from violence; in particular, from sexual violence. The Alliance sees the government as tending to compromise with perpetrators by blaming women for provoking this violence, and failing to conduct fair trials and fair punishment (New Men's Alliance 2011h).

Considering this situation, the Alliance has demanded policy reform on the protection of women from sexual violence, including the establishment of an adequate referral system, fair trials, fair punishment for perpetrators, and fair compensation for their victims.

The members of the New Men's Alliance, in collaboration with other organisations, both government and non-government, also engage in the legislation of new policies regarding the prevention of violence against women. For example, in Lombok Timur, a district under the administration of Nusa Tenggara Barat province, the members of the New Men's Alliance, along with *Advokasi Buruh Migran Lombok Timur* (Advocacy and Solidarity for Migrant Workers Institution Lombok Timur), a non-government organisation that advocates for the protection of migrant workers and one of the partners of the Alliance, participated in the process of creating a district regulation regarding the protection of migrant workers, especially women, from being trafficked and abused. This regulation was adopted by *Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah* (the local parliament) in 2013. The idea of giving awards to individuals and institutions that have positive roles in the prevention of violence against migrant workers was adopted in Article 28 Point 1 of the regulation, since this strategy is considered effective. The Article states:

To encourage and appreciate the role of the community, the local government can provide annual awards for individuals or institutions that have active roles that are tangible, measurable, and have an impact on the crime of human trafficking and violence against women and children [*Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Lombok Timur* (Local Government of Lombok Timur) 2013].

Before this regulation was adopted, the New Men's Alliance in Nusa Tenggara Barat initiated a community-level campaign by giving awards to individual men who had made positive efforts towards promoting gender equality and preventing violence against women in their homes and the community. Since this was considered effective, the strategy then was adopted by the regulation.

In a similar way, the members of the New Men's Alliance in Yogyakarta province, along with the Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre, a member of the Alliance's consultative group, has engaged in the legislation process of the Gunung Kidul District's regulation on the protection of women and children from violence. The district regulation was adopted in December 2012 and in one of its articles, the

regulation orders that male perpetrators of violence must undergo behaviour change counselling. Article 24 Point 3 of the regulation states:

The process of counselling which is conducted by P2TP2A [Centre for Integrated Services for Women and Children] in a collaborative manner as mentioned in Point 1 includes the provision of behaviour change counselling for perpetrators [*Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Gunung Kidul* (Local Government of Gunung Kidul) 2012].

This article is in line with the Anti-Domestic Violence Act, which was passed by the Parliament of the Republic of Indonesia in 2004, in which the obligation of male perpetrators of violence to attend counselling is mentioned in Article 51:

Beside punishment as mentioned in this chapter, judges may impose additional punishment such as; a) restriction orders aiming at keeping perpetrators from their victims in certain distance and times. b) Order perpetrators to attend counselling under the supervision of an appointed institution (Law No. 23 2004).

At the national level, the members of the New Men's Alliance are involved in the process of developing guidance and a manual for engaging men in the efforts for ending violence against women. This manual was initiated by the Ministry of Women's and Children's Empowerment of the Republic of Indonesia. The manual provides a step-by-step description of establishing men's groups in various sectors such as communities, schools and professional environments. However, the manual has raised criticisms from women's groups due to the potential risk of diverting resources from the women's empowerment programmes managed by the Ministry. The responses of women's groups towards the manual will be discussed in the following chapter on measuring the impact of men's involvement in the movement for ending violence and gender equality in Indonesia.

5.3.4 Dealing with dilemmas

As a new group and a new movement in the effort to end violence against women and achieve gender equality in Indonesia, the presence of the New Men's Alliance, on the one hand raises hope and the expectation of creating better lives for women. On the other hand, the Alliance also raises suspicions among women's groups about its motives and agenda. This situation often places the Alliance in a dilemma.

The New Men's Alliance often encounters situation where women's groups demand that the Alliance takes the initiative to respond to cases of violence against women. However, due to the accountability principle by which the feminist leadership should be respected and prioritised, the Alliance must restrain itself from taking action and let women's groups lead the initiative in responding to such cases. In other situations, when there is no initiative from women's groups to respond to the issue of violence against women, the Alliance, in consultation with its female members as well as feminist groups, takes a step forward to respond the issue. This was illustrated by two members of the Alliance during the focus group discussion:

Many times, I was requested by different people, if there was a case related to violence against women, the New Men's Alliance was requested to respond [the case] as the Alliance. But I think, on one side, it shows the existence of the Alliance, on the other side, if the Alliance always responds [the case], the Alliance looks stand-alone when responding every issue. Well, at this point, I remember [the principle] when there is a problem that needs to be addressed, the New Men's Alliance will support [the movement], be part of the network, and [the Alliance] will not be an initiator. Well, it was a dilemma (Andi).

Similarly, it has happened, suddenly I was contacted by some friends from Change [the name of the magazine for youth groups published by *the Women's Journal*] related to the Aceh case [The head of a district in Aceh stated that women who wear skirts allowed themselves to be raped] and then followed by the sexist statement of Marzuki Ali [the head of the Indonesian Parliament]. Come on the Alliance, this is the time. I was really careful, why not women's organisations, and the Alliance will be part of it. Whoa, at the moment I was very busy and I think it's better for women's group [to respond the case] and the Alliance will speak as part of the network. We cannot any longer take a lead. So, it is a dilemma (Huda).

The above dilemma has made the New Men's Alliance adopt an 'elastic band strategy' in which under certain circumstances it takes the initiative in advocating against violence against women and gender inequality in general. In other circumstances, the Alliance plays the role of a supporter of women's groups in pursuing their agenda. As illustrated by Beni in the focus group discussion:

The issue that we raise, is so sexy for media, well, we must be careful, we have to refrain, media coverage is crazy, if there is something new, suddenly it becomes popular, suddenly we become celebrities, yes. So, we must be aware when do we have to stop, and when do we have to speak. And in our discussion, if we are interviewed by the media, we

have to acknowledge that we are born from the [women's movement] eh, we get this [knowledge] from our women activist friends.

5.4 Conclusion

In line with the standpoint stating that the New Men's Alliance was born from the womb of feminism, organisationally, the Alliance attaches itself to women's groups in Indonesia. This is indicated by the formation of a consultative group that comprises five prominent women's organisations in the movement for ending violence against women and achieving gender equality.

In addition to this attachment to women's groups, the Alliance maintains its accountability to women's groups in several ways, such as having feminist representatives in the founder's group, applying inclusive membership principles, consulting women's groups regarding every programme and initiative, and rejecting the separation of programmes addressing men and boys from women's programmes by allowing women's groups to host the Alliance's programmes. This attachment to women's groups and the various mechanisms of accountability to women's groups that are applied by the New Men's Alliance indicate that the Alliance complies with one of variables used in this assessment: having an accountability mechanism to women's groups.

In terms of structure, the New Men's Alliance chooses the informal type of organisational structure by making sure the Alliance remains not legally registered, simple, non-hierarchical, inclusive, and applies consensus in all decision-making processes. However, practically, this loose and informal type of organisation tends to create a situation in which only a small number of members control the organisation, while other members are passive. Equal participation only occurs between these core members and consensus is also made between them. Moreover, the Alliance has a problem regarding membership, in which its recruitment mechanisms are unclear and the procedure of establishing new branches of the Alliance has not been defined. This membership problem leads to another challenge: how to ensure the Alliance's members implement the code of conduct and values in their daily lives, as the Alliance does not have adequate data for its members.

Based on those findings, structurally the New Men's Alliance clearly adopts a collectivist and non-hierarchic model of organisation, as indicated in the first variable of this assessment. However, this structure is not always successful in

allowing the equal participation of every member in the Alliance's programmes and activities as well as in the Alliance's decision-making processes.

The feminist standpoint, or more specifically, the principle that 'the personal is political' has influenced the practices of the New Men's Alliance in that the Alliance emphasises the importance of both personal change and structural change for ending violence against women and achieving gender equality. This influence is manifested in the self-reflection approach applied by the Alliance as a strategy to generate changes at the individual level of its members. The influence of this principle is also manifested in the Alliance's activities and programmes aiming at changing some dimensions of the structure of gender inequality that underpins violence against women.

The awareness of possible dangers that might be carried by men who engage in the women's movement often places the New Men's Alliance in dilemmas. On the one hand, the Alliance is requested to comply with feminist principles in which female leadership should be promoted in the movement for the elimination of men's violence against women; while on the other hand, women's groups expect the Alliance to take action to end this violence and to achieve gender equality. This tension has caused the Alliance to employ a unique strategy—the elastic band strategy—in which the Alliance at times acts as a support alliance for the women's movement, and at others it takes the initiative in actions to end violence against women.

In summary, considering the strong efforts of the New Men's Alliance in fulfilling four of the variables highlighted in the analytical framework, and also considering the tensions and challenges encountered by the Alliance in certain variables, overall, in terms of its capacity in incorporating feminist values and principles in its organisational structure and practices, the New Men's Alliance is rated as **substantially pro-feminist**.

CHAPTER 6. MEASURING THE IMPACT OF MEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN THE MOVEMENT TO END VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN INDONESIA

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the last theme of this thesis: the extent to which the New Men's Alliance generates a positive impact on the efforts to eliminate violence against women in Indonesia. As discussed in Chapter 2, impact is a contested issue (Outshoorn 2012). There are a wide range of impacts in both the short term and the long term, such as the impact on people's lives, institutions, law and policy, culture and traditions, or society at large.

Considering the wide range of these impacts, this chapter applies four main variables for assessing the impact of the New Men's Alliance. The first of these is the ability of the Alliance to generate new discourse on men and masculinity within the issues of violence against women and gender equality. The second variable is the ability of the Alliance to mobilise men to engage in the movement for ending violence against women. The third variable is the ability of the Alliance to generate funding to support the women's movement. The fourth variable is the ability of the Alliance to change policies to prevent violence against women and to achieve gender equality in Indonesia. As in the previous chapters, this chapter includes a new variable that emerged from the data and becomes the fifth variable of the impact dimension: the ability of the New Men's Alliance to change the personal lives of its members.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the new variable identified from the data analysis, since it represents an internal or immediate impact generated by the New Men's Alliance. Following the discussion of the ability of the Alliance to change the personal lives of its members, this chapter discusses the first impact variable designated in the analytical framework: the extent to which the Alliance generates new discussion on men and masculinity within the issues of violence against women and gender equality in Indonesia. In this section, the chapter highlights the responses of the media, academic institutions, and social movement groups, especially women's groups, towards the discourse raised by the Alliance. This is followed by the investigation of the second variable: the ability of the Alliance to mobilise men to espouse its values and principles as well as to actively

participate in the Alliance's actions to end violence against women and to promote gender equality in Indonesia.

The next section of this chapter discusses the third variable: resource provision for the women's movement and women's empowerment programmes. In this section, the chapter discusses how the New Men's Alliance prevents itself from diverting resources that should go to women's groups and how the Alliance generates new resources for women. The final part of the discussion of impact investigates new policies that have been influenced by the New Men's Alliance, whether at the community, provincial or national levels.

6.2 Impact on the individual lives of members

As discussed in the earlier chapters, violence against women and gender inequality is due to a combination of personal and structural problems; therefore, the feminist movement argues that to eliminate or to transform these problems demands both personal and structural change. In order to generate these changes, the feminist movement began its struggle by empowering women, then engaging these empowered women in the movement for transforming the structure of dominance and oppression. Based on this premise, changing members' lives is an important impact for the feminist movement (Martin 1990).

In line with the feminist standpoint on assessing impact, the New Men's Alliance considers changing the personal lives of its members and creating an environment that ensures the members' consistency with the changes they have made an important impact before examining the external impact of the Alliance. Commenting on this issue, Anto argued:

For me, when I can be consistent [with feminist values and principles] up to now, that is the impact [of the New Men's Alliance]. I haven't seen an external impact yet, but I can feel the impact on myself. Can the New Men's Alliance nurture my commitment or not? You know. So far, it can. That means I am still [a member of] the New Men's Alliance, I have to control a lot of things, I have to really engage [in the Alliance movement], I have to respect [women and others] etc. That is an invisible impact. For me the impact [of the New Men's Alliance] is having a positive influence on those who are active. Let's say, the New Men's Alliance is like a cage, in positive terms, for us. You have to control your actions, because you have made a commitment. If you don't follow your commitment, you will not be part of this movement [the New Men's Alliance movement]. This is because your behaviour does not represent

the idea of the New Men's Alliance...that is the soul of the New Men's Alliance for me.

The impacts on the personal lives of the Alliance's members were found in a previous study conducted by the author (Hasyim 2012a). By employing focus group discussions with two groups, community members and the facilitators of the two-hour discussion programme for men, the author revealed that the Alliance's programmes and activities have brought about changes in the lives of its members, ranging from having a new perception of men's roles and responsibilities to applying new behaviours that reflect gender equality values, such as engaging in domestic chores, raising their children, applying new ways to solve marital conflicts instead of using violence. As cited by the author, one of facilitators said 'I do believe that violence is not the right way to solve the problem at home' (Hasyim 2012a). Moreover, the study found that to some extent these personal changes transform the relationships between the members and their wives or partners, such as the member engaging their wives in decision-making processes in their homes, or discussing sexual relations with their wives, which they had never done before (Hasyim 2012a).

Similarly, the annual meeting of the New Men's Alliance in 2011 also revealed that in order to influence other men it is inevitable that the members of the Alliance must change themselves, since this will enable them to be role models for other men. In doing so, the values of the Alliance will spread and grow as they are adopted and practiced by other men (New Men's Alliance 2011a).

Another impact of the Alliance on the personal lives of its members is the development of empathy for women's experiences of being objects and discriminated against by men in a patriarchal society, and the growing solidarity for women in transforming the structure of oppression. As reported by Huda during the focus group discussion:

Now I can really feel what women activists have felt, why they are known as angry women. This happened when I facilitated training in Yogyakarta, together with colleagues from Rifka Annisa and Roni [other members of the New Men's Alliance]. Men [participants in the training] consider themselves as higher [than women], for instance members of the Satpol PP [the Civil Service Police Unit], airport officers, bus station officers, and they are so masculine. Although there are some women officers, they looked masculine as well...their sexist jokes, the way they look and responded [during the training]. So, okay, this is my first

experience that I have [dealing with men], this enables me to feel what women activists have faced.

Similar to Huda, Ahmad maintains:

In doing so, I can understand my female colleagues more [women activists], about their experiences and so forth. This includes, when they are labelled as patriarchal [adopting patriarchal norms] for instance. When I interact with them, I can understand [their situation], they face a lot of pressures so I know how hard they struggle to claim power [in society]. Moreover, when they [women activists] internalise the experiences of the women with whom they work. This is because when they work with many women [victims of violence], they are like taking over the emotional burden [of the females victim of violence] therefore they look so angry. For me, it makes me more empathetic to my family, to my wife.

While the male members of the New Men's Alliance emphasised changes in their thought and behaviours related to gender equality and anti-violence against women, as well as their growing empathy for, and solidarity with, women, the Alliance's female member who participated in this study shared different changes in their lives. For instance, Dewi felt that the Alliance has rebuilt her confidence in relating to men. As a woman who had experienced sexual abuse in the past, Dewi had thought that all men were abusers; however, the Alliance has changed her perception and allowed her to realise that there are men who respect women, and even that there are men who support her and actively engage in the movement for ending violence against women. As she said in focus group discussion:

I feel that among friends of LLB [members of the New Men's Alliance] I can be myself. This is different when I am among men who do not have gender perspectives or sexuality perspectives. I am not free. I am pressured to follow their values. But if I am among people here [members of the Alliance], I can say anything.

However, for the members of the Alliance, maintaining the personal changes that they have made is not always easy. They encounter challenges and resistances. The first challenges may even come from their close family members, as Beni said:

This is hard for us, to be honest. The situation is so permissive, especially when we as men have many privileges. It is so hard. Sometime I have a problem with my wife when I said that I don't want to be like that [a man with many privileges] but my wife always says you are a man. This can create a conflict. For instance, let me reflect, my domestic worker was absent and I washed the dishes [at that moment] there was my mother-in-law, she was angry with me. So finally I compromised, okay, if grandma

is not here [I'll do domestic work], but if she is here, I become a man [as she expects].

Moreover, the members of the Alliance also encountered challenges in their broader social context, such as at their workplaces, where they experienced persistent humiliation from their colleagues, who are mostly men, for their agreement with feminist values and principles. As reported by Beni, working on gender equality issues and violence against women is perceived by his colleagues as a part-time job before getting a better job. In other situations, his colleagues intentionally made sexist jokes or comments to humiliate him. He further comments:

When I was on campus [the University of Indonesia], I felt that my male colleagues had bullied me, really. [They said] when are you going to wear a skirt, when? ...at the beginning I thought it was joke, but they did it quite often. When I showed my name card that I am working at the *Women's Journal*, they looked at me curiously...Then they said, Ben, be patient, you'll get a better job, so [they think] that I work at *the Women's Journal* as just a transitory job.

The above challenges confirm some issues raised by Dworkin et al. (2013), in which men who have espoused and practised gender equality values may be embarrassed, humiliated, belittled, or even discouraged by their communities or families. Considering these challenges, the Alliance has become a place for members to strengthen each other in resisting these challenges as consequences of their support for feminist ideology.

6.3 Generating the discussion on men and masculinity and the issue of violence against women

Among the dimensions of the impact generated by the New Men's Alliance is the growing discussion on men and masculinities within the context of violence against women and gender equality in Indonesia. The minutes of the Alliance's annual meeting held in 2011 illustrated that the Alliance is considered as offering an alternative perspective to the issue of violence against women, where men are put under scrutiny. Moreover, the Alliance was also considered as having thrown what its members called 'a hot ball' that triggered many sectors to start considering men and masculinities in their conversation (New Men's Alliance 2011a).

The issue of men and masculinity not only attracts the media, but also activists and policymakers. The idea of the importance of incorporating men and masculinity

issues is not solely relevant within the issue of violence against women, but also in other issues such as reproductive health and prevention of HIV/AIDS prevention (Sahude 2014).

Purwandari (2010) is among other feminists who wrote about the New Men's Alliance for the first time in Kompas, a national newspaper, in which she used her psychological column to highlight the emerging men's movement within the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia. In her column, she emphasised the importance of valuing men who are not self-centred and are more caring and loving to their spouses and families. She further maintained:

It is time for men to not be proud, but ashamed for being known as men who are self-centred and arbitrary. Doing domestic work is as important as income earners. Both types of work have equal value and are not exclusive to a certain sex (Purwandari 2010).

The issue of men's involvement in the prevention of violence against women gained more media attention after the first national consultation of the New Men's Alliance, which was held on 17–18 March 2011. The media, primarily the print media, started to raise the importance of men engaging in the movement for ending violence against women (New Men's Alliance 2012).

The growing interest of the media in the New Men's Alliance movement can be observed from the increasing media coverage of the Alliance's activities, such as its national consultation and some street protests. Besides covering the Alliance's activities and programmes, some journalists also interviewed the Alliance's members to obtain more stories about the Alliance and the personal experience of the members as men who participate in the movement for ending violence against women. For instance, the Jakarta Globe released a news story entitled 'Men's Group Takes Up Fight For Women's Rights' (Nurfika 2011), followed by Kompas, which released an article entitled *Menantang Asumsi Menjadi Laki-Laki* (Challenging the Assumption of Being Men). Hartiningsih (2011), the journalist, said in the article that the struggle for gender equality demanded a joint movement of men and women to transform patriarchal masculinity, which is characterised by dominance, aggression and oppression. For her, these characteristics, in fact, have dehumanised men.

Following the stories by the Jakarta Globe and Kompas, the Jakarta Post released quite a long story about the emerging men's movement to end violence against women in Indonesia (Krisnantari 2011). The title of the story was 'New Men

on the Block', in which the issues of men suffering as a result of the misleading stereotypes constructed by the patriarchy and the need for men to change were emphasised.

After gaining attention from the print media, the efforts of the New Men's Alliance in changing men and boys to help end the violence against women in Indonesia received attention from radio and television channels, including KBR68H Radio, Sindo Radio, Jak TV, Metro TV, Bali TV and Berita Satu TV.

The media reports on the New Men's Alliance and its movement, however, have had two opposing consequences: on one side, this has allowed the Alliance to introduce its political stand against men's violence against women to the general public and therefore expand the Alliance's movement; while on the other, the media reports created a problem when the issue of men and masculinity within the issues of violence against women and gender equality became more interesting to the public and the media than the actual issue of violence against women.

The members of the Alliance reported during the focus group discussion that they feel that there is a situation where the media tend to interview Alliance members to respond to cases of violence against women that have attracted public attention. As Andi said:

When there is an issue [Violence against Women], LLB [the New Men's Alliance] is contacted. For instance, recently on Metro TV, I was also confused why [Metro TV] didn't try to contact [those whose] were strongly associated with the rape case, the rape was in public transport in Jakarta and in Indonesia, instead of contacting LLB to talk to Metro TV. This also happen for other issues related to gender. I don't know why, probably the media see that LLB is sexy.

Pease (2008) has warned about the negative consequences of men's involvement in the anti-violence against women movement. He said that the presence of men may weaken women's leadership of the movement for eradicating violence against women. Men may also gain more media attention for relatively little work compared to the efforts of women's groups. Therefore the response of media towards the Alliance's movement can be a trap for the Alliance. Commenting on this issue, Beni warned other members during the focus group discussion:

This issue that we have raised is so sexy for the media, so we must be careful, we must restrain ourselves, the media coverage is crazy, if there is something new, suddenly it becomes prominent, suddenly we become

celebrities. So, we must be aware when we must stop, when we must talk.

While mainstream media have given attention to the work of the New Men's Alliance in ending violence against women, the women's groups that are supportive of the Alliance have also started to release publications to promote and discuss the issue of men and masculinity as an integral part of the discussion on violence against women. For instance, Rifka Annisa, a women's crisis centre, has published two books on men and masculinities: *Begini Idealnya Menjadi Laki-Laki*, (Becoming an Ideal Man) (Hasyim 2010a), and *Warna-Warni Laki-Laki* (The Diversity of Men) (Hasyim 2010b). These two books are introductions to the discussion on men and masculinity in Indonesia and provide guidance for men to start questioning the notion of manhood. Furthermore, the books stimulate men to be active agents in constructing their identities, instead of passively accepting the idea of becoming men as those that are taken for granted.

Similar to Rifka Annisa, the Women's Journal Foundation published an edition of its journal that specifically addresses the issue of men and masculinity, entitled *Saatnya Bicara Laki-Laki* (It's Time to Talk About Men). Male and female writers contributed to edition, discussing men's issues from different perspectives, such as psychology, religion, philosophy and activism. The edition also covered a profile of men who engage in the feminist movement and the findings of a small-scale survey of women's organisations' responses to men's involvement in the feminist movement.

Although it is not the only actor that generates news articles, academic papers, and popular books on men and masculinity in the issue of violence against women in Indonesia, the New Men's Alliance is the main group that brings the issues to the discussion table. All the news articles, radio and TV programmes mentioned earlier draw on the Alliance's programmes and activities, and were also based on interviews with the Alliance members. The majority of the contributors to the Women's Journal Volume 61 discussed above are also members of the Alliance, and some of the books on men and masculinity mentioned in this chapter were also written by the Alliance's members.

Other actors that can be considered as participating in generating the discourse on men and masculinity in Indonesia are women's groups that have started to engage

men as a complementary strategy to end violence against women, as well as regional and global development agencies. These include UN agencies and international non-government organisations that have organised forums in which the issue of men and masculinity within the issue of violence against women is explored and discussed.

The discussion on men and masculinity in violence against women is also growing in academic fields. Although many universities in Indonesia have centres for women or gender studies (Qibtiyah 2012) and gender issues has become an important subject for many disciplines, the issue of men and masculinity is rarely discussed. The New Men's Alliance has broadened the gender studies area by incorporating the issue of men and masculinities in gender studies and emphasising that studying men and masculinity is necessary to end violence against women. UKRIDA (the Christian University of Krida Wacana) is among the earliest universities to organise a seminar on men and violence against women in Indonesia (Purwandari 2010). This seminar was conducted in response to the emergence of the New Men's Alliance, and in it, the frameworks to understand the tendency of men to enact violence against women, such as the seven Ps framework introduced by Michael Kaufman (1999), were presented and discussed.

The attention of scholars from Indonesian universities is growing alongside the growth of the New Men's Alliance. For instance, at the end of 2013, the Department of Literary Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Padjajaran Bandung, in collaboration with Bandung Women's Institute, held a seminar on men's involvement in ending violence against women (Universitas Padjajaran 2013). This seminar was held to commemorate the international anti-violence against women day. The seminar allowed scholars, female activists, male activists and students to share their views on the roles of men in stopping violence against women. Certain issues were raised during the seminar, such ending the violence against women must involve both men and women, since merely involving the female victims of violence is considered insufficient. Moreover, the seminar emphasised that violence against women and other problems of gender inequality are caused by social structures that separate men and women physically, socially, psychologically and symbolically, making them live at a distance from each other. This situation has led to a monotype relationship between men and women, in which men are superior while women are inferior. To solve this problem, the seminar discussed the importance of cooperation,

negotiation and consensus between men and women. In doing so, this will demolish the notion of the hierarchical relationship between men and women (Universitas Padjajaran 2013).

Another seminar was also organised at Gajad Mada University on 28 November 2013, when the Centre for Religious and Cross-Cultural Studies (CRCS) conducted a discussion on the New Men's Alliance and the elimination of violence against women in Indonesia (Imamah 2014). This discussion emphasised the role of the social system in shaping the notion of masculinity. The mainstream idea of masculinity has ensured that men absorb hegemonic masculine traits, such as men are rational, breadwinners, and are not involved in childrearing. This notion of manhood has contributed to the construction of hierarchical relationships between men and women. Moreover, the discussion stressed that this hierarchy drives the violence against women. Therefore, the discussion emphasised the importance of engaging men in the movement to end violence against women and highlighted that the emergence of men's networks in this movement will create a positive impact on the elimination of violence against women (Imamah 2014). As reported by Ahmad during the interview that followed the discussion, the CRCS intends to integrate the issue of men and masculinities in the gender subject of its curriculum. As he stated, 'Well, the CRCS is interested in teaching the masculinity issue in its gender subject since, so far, the gender subject solely focuses on women'. Ahmad further reported that similar to the CRCS, *Pusat Studi Wanita* (the Centre for Women's Studies) at Sunan Kalijaga Islamic State University also expressed its interest to incorporate men and masculinity subjects in its courses and training.

As well as seminars and discussion, the New Men's Alliance and the issue of the men's movement to end violence against women has triggered university students to conduct research into the Alliance and its movement in Indonesia. As reported by Andi:

Eventually, now there are many students interested to study the LLB (the New Men's Alliance), such as for academic assignment purposes. They interviewed members of LLB...among those students is a female student from NTB (Nusa Tenggara Barat, a province in the eastern part of Indonesia), she asked for information about whether in NTB there is such a men's group, is it possible in NTB. There are members of LLB in the NTB, and Rifka Annisa helps the member of LLB in NTB to form community facilitators.

Among these research projects is 'The Study of Feminism and Male Activism: a Frame Alignment Analysis of the Pro-Feminist Men's Movement', conducted by Ryan Fajar Febrianto (2014), a student of the Faculty of Social and Political Science at the University of Indonesia. This research can be considered as a comprehensive study of the New Men's Alliance in which the Alliance's framing strategy was investigated. Based on his findings, Ryan concludes that the New Men's Alliance struggles to be pro-feminist by devoting attention to micro-aspects that are changing men's identities and the traditional notions of manhood. Moreover, he also categorises the Alliance as a new social movement for offering alternative values of masculinity, and for its characteristics such as the non-formal network, nation-wide coverage and non-materialistic objective (Febrianto 2014).

Research on feminism and male activism in Indonesia is also possible because of the growing body of scholarship in the field, although most of these studies and research into men's activism are written in English and are conducted in developed countries in Europe, North America, and Australia.

Besides influencing the media and scholars, the New Men's Alliance has inspired groups of artists to produce art performances that address men and masculinity issues, such as theatre performances (Tryas 2012) and popular songs. As reported by Ahmad during his interview, in Yogyakarta there was a group of young song writers that organised a song-writing workshop in which one of the issues that was used as a theme was men and masculinity.

The attention of the media, scholars, feminists groups and other sectors has made the issue of men and masculinity become an important aspect of the prevention of violence against women and gender issues, and therefore the members consider the New Men's Alliance has shifted the issue of men and masculinity from the margins to the centre of the issue of violence against women. As Huda said in the focus group discussion:

From the number of people who request discussion and interviews, it seems good. I mean that this issue [men's involvement in the anti-violence against women movement] which was marginal before, now it is shifting to the middle of the circle, which means it starts to be discussed among academics.

The growing discussion of men and masculinity issues within the context of violence against women has opened the space to advance and progress the feminist

discourse within the Indonesian feminist movement (New Men's Alliance 2012), since it raises many critical questions that require feminist groups to answer by revisiting and re-examining their theoretical knowledge.

6.4 'Virtual' mobilisation versus 'real' mobilisation

The ability of the New Men's Alliance to mobilise men to engage in the movement for ending violence against women is the variable that will be evaluated in this section. To assess this, the section will examine the number of men who are supportive of the Alliance's movement and participate in efforts to prevent violence against women.

As mentioned in the previous chapter on the Alliance's organisational structure and practices, the New Men's Alliance has discussed two models of membership: individual and organisational (New Men's Alliance 2011b). However, membership procedures and mechanisms remain unclear. Therefore, practically, the Alliance does not have a membership system. It tends to focus on creating groups of men, or what the members of the Alliance call 'cells' of the Alliance. As a result, the Alliance has data on areas or provinces where these groups exist, but it does not have a members' database, which makes it impossible to determine the number of members. Although the Alliance has a list of core members (founders, national coordinators, provincial coordinators, representatives of the consultative group or supporting organisations and community facilitators), this does not represent the whole membership

Another number that the Alliance can refer to is the number of followers and those who 'like' the Alliance's social media accounts, such as Twitter and Facebook. When this research was being undertaken, the Alliance had 1,943 followers on Twitter, while 2,476 people liked the Alliance's Facebook page and these numbers were increasing daily. However, the Alliance cannot specify the gender of its followers or fans of its social media accounts.

The increasing numbers of followers and fans was raised by Dewi during the focus group discussion:

As admin of the New Men's Alliance's social media accounts, well, when the Alliance 'goes public' through social media, I see the increasing number of men, who are silent before or from the 'silent majority group', having the courage to talk, they start, at least, to express their views. They actively respond to social media postings on Twitter, on Facebook, engage in discussion, and even ask when is the next

programme of the Alliance, including questions on how to become a member of the Alliance. That is actually a positive response.

Although the numbers of followers and fans of the New Men's Alliance's social media accounts is increasing, it remains small compared to the population of social media users in Indonesia, which is considered as the world's capital of social media, with about 29 million Twitter users and about 11 million Facebook users in Jakarta alone (Sadowski 2013).

The issue of whether becoming a follower or liking a social media account can be considered membership is a debated one among the Alliance's members. This is because agreement with the Alliance's values, one of main requirements for becoming a member of the Alliance, cannot be obtained through merely being a follower or joining in social media commentary. As said by Huda:

Due to the LLB [the New Men's Alliance] not having a clear membership system yet, so if we would like to record [the Alliance's members] and so on what basis? By just liking our Facebook can they be considered as a member or just by following our Twitter account then they can be a member. It cannot, right! Because there should be a mechanism to ensure this [values and principles are agreed to and adopted].

For Huda the engagement of men in social media, which he called 'click-tivism' is the lowest level of participation in a social movement and therefore the engagement of men in the movement for ending violence against women should not stop at being followers or liking the Alliance's Facebook account. It should be followed by actions in which men are involved in activities to challenge the structure of dominance that underpins the violence against women. He further comments:

At the lowest level [of men's engagement in anti-violence against women] is 'click-tivism', then above that level is internalisation [of feminist values and principles], and the highest level is the engagement of men in advocacy work. Not only as supporters but as organisers, which means the engagement is indicated by cultural and political movement.

The Alliance's achievement in mobilising men through social media is not always reflected in the Alliance's actions, since the number of men who participate in the Alliance's activities is smaller than the number of followers and fans on social media. For example, during the street protest conducted by the Alliance at the

Bundaran Hotel Indonesia, Jakarta (Hotel Indonesia traffic circle) there were only five members who engaged in the protest (Ledysia 2013).

The above findings indicates that the New Men's Alliance is successful in creating what Diani (2000) called 'virtual social movement communities' in which computer-mediated communication (CMC) plays a crucial role. The use of CMC allows members of the Alliance to interact on a large scale, since e-mail and social media can be accessed from any location. Given the nature of 'virtual communication', which can occur anywhere, the members of the Alliance can also hide from potential threat for their opposition towards violence against women.

However, Diani further argues that virtual social movement communities are problematic in some ways; the first problem is the inequality in access to internet technologies among communities, in which those who have a better education and higher incomes will engage more than those who do not. The second problem is the capacity to generate mutual binding and intensity of interaction, because social movements are about conducting collective action, which requires long-term commitment and the willingness of all parties in the community to engage in programmes and activities. The third problem is the capacity to generate the trust among members that is needed for radical movements. For Diani, the highest level participants of virtual social movement communities are the sympathisers, and the level of mutual trust among the sympathisers is low, since their movements are driven by their professional interests and on behalf of causes that represent the public interest (Diani 2000).

Considering these problems, in order to end violence against women and to achieve gender equality it is not sufficient to generate 'click' activism or to be a member of a virtual social movement. This will require political actions on the ground. As suggested by Tranvik (cited in Diani 2000) the most successful virtual social movement communities are those where people disclose their personal identities and the core group of committed individuals is willing to engage in real as well as virtual activism.

Overall, although the real mobilisation of the Alliance does not reflect its virtual mobilisation, in that the number of men who engage in the Alliance's actions is lower than that of men who support it virtually, the New Men's Alliance has a potential ability to mobilise more men both in real and virtual activism.

6.5 Generating new resources for the women's movement

There are many international commitments emphasising the importance of the advancement of the status of women and girls and the recognition of the vital roles of women in development programmes (United Nations), but the global budget allocation for women is very small compared to other sectors (Bunting 2011). Furthermore, in the last few decades, many women's rights organisations have struggled to survive and sustain their services for women due to the scarcity of funding support.

Due to this situation, it is understandable that feminist groups are concerned about the new direction of gender equality projects and anti-violence against women advocacy in which men become involved in their projects (Pease 2008). As discussed earlier, feminists and scholars identify possible risks of competition between feminist groups and men's groups in seeking funding support, which is already limited. In addition, men's groups may divert resources from women's groups. Therefore, the presence of men in women's projects may make it more difficult for feminist groups to sustain their services for disadvantaged women and girls.

Besides the ability to anticipate these potential risks, to enable men's groups to bring about a positive contribution to the elimination of violence against women and for the achievement of gender equality, they must also be capable of generating new resources for women's groups. In doing so, men's groups will strengthen the feminist movement. Otherwise, as predicted by some scholars, the existence of men's groups will weaken the feminist movement and may represent what Kay Leigh Hagan (1992) has called 'a kinder or gentler patriarchy'.

This section focuses on assessing the ability of the New Men's Alliance to avoid the risks mentioned above, as well as to support Indonesian feminist groups in generating funding. Based on this assessment, the extent to which the Alliance strengthens the movement for ending violence against women and achieving gender equality is measured.

The New Men's Alliance was established when the debate on the risks and dilemmas of men's involvement in women's programmes, as well as ideas to avoid them, was emerging in academic circles (Pease 2008; Flood 2011b) and in international forums, whether these were organised by civil society organisations (Lang 2002b) or UN agencies (Stocking 2004). Thus, the Alliance has been aware of

these risks since its establishment. As discussed earlier, to avoid these dangers, the Alliance has formulated guiding principles, including the principle of preventing the Alliance from diverting resources from women's programmes and women's groups.

This issue was emphasised during the coordinators' meeting held in Yogyakarta at the end of 2010, in which the Alliance stressed that its programmes and activities are not new, money-driven, or designed to create another space for men within women's movement, but are complements of the existing programmes organised by feminist groups (New Men's Alliance 2010). As a complementary group, the New Men's Alliance works hand-in-hand and in synergy with feminist groups in Indonesia.

The close ties of the New Men's Alliance with women's groups can also be seen from the crucial role of the feminist groups in hosting the programmes and activities of the Alliance. This arrangement was chosen as a strategy to avoid the possible danger of diverting resources or funds that should be reserved for women's empowerment programmes. As reported by Andi, one of provincial coordinators:

To date, there are some programmes aiming at developing the New Men's Alliance capacity and all their budget went to women's organisations that are members of consultative group as well as implementing partners of programmes run by the Alliance, for instance now Rifka Annisa is running a programme on engaging men in achieving gender equality in collaboration with the Rumah Perempuan Women's Crisis Centre [a member of consultative group], SSP [*Sanggar Suara Perempuan*], Yabiku and Gema Alam etc.

By putting all their programmes and activities under women's management, the Alliance is able to ensure that their men's involvement programmes and activities for ending violence against women and achieving gender equality are an integral part of women's empowerment programmes. In so doing, the budget provision for women's and men's programmes can be maintained.

Preventing resource diversion and keeping the men's involvement programmes under women's empowerment programmes become a rationale of the Alliance in rejecting some donor suggestions to register the Alliance as a formal organisation. This is because becoming a formal organisation, which provides the Alliance with legal status, will make the Alliance separate from women's movements. Furthermore, the Alliance may also compete with women's groups in seeking funding support from donor agencies, which will make it more difficult for women's

groups to survive, since resources are already limited and programmes addressing boys and men in gender equality initiatives and the elimination of violence against women are considered more attractive to donor agencies. As Andi said during the follow-up interview:

So far, the New Men's Alliance still holds its principle that if there are funding opportunities, they will be allocated to women's organisations [members of the consultative group]. And again, the Alliance rejects donors' suggestions to formalise the Alliance through legalisation to enable donors to provide the Alliance with funding support.

As an informal organisation, the New Men's Alliance is not allowed to make contracts with donor agencies and therefore it cannot access any funding support directly. However, the Alliance offers an alternative partnership by suggesting donor agencies make contracts with any of the women's organisations that are members of the Alliance's consultative group. In so doing, the New Men's Alliance still can be part of the partnerships, and programmes that address boys and men can also be integrated into programmes for ending violence against women and for achieving gender equality.

Being an informal organisation, therefore, does not limit the New Men's Alliance ability to support women's groups, but offers more flexible and various alternative ways of collaboration between the Alliance and women's groups without being trapped in competitive and conflictual relationships.

While some donors suggest that the Alliance formalises its organisation, there is a donor that has a strong policy of applying the maximum budget quota for programmes addressing men and boys through which the efforts for securing funding for women's empowerment programmes can be strengthened. As Ahmad said during his interview:

For the programmes [of the New Men's Alliance] in NTT [East Nusa Tenggara] and NTB [West Nusa Tenggara] that are supported by Oxfam, there is a quota applied by Oxfam in which the maximum budget for programmes for male transformation is about 10 per cent [from the whole programme budget].

Based on these findings, the organisational principles of the New Men's Alliance regarding funding policies as well as the donor policy on the budget quota for programmes addressing boys and men are important to prevent the engagement of men from diverting resources away from women's empowerment programme.

6.6 Influencing policies: between positive and negative consequences

Policies and legislation are considered critical tools in the efforts for ceasing violence against women and to achieve gender equality (Flood 2011a), due to their important roles in shaping and reproducing particular norms and social order. In addition, policies and legislation also can be used as a tool to improve the status and opportunities of marginalised groups (Htun 2012). Therefore, policies and legislation are crucial for changing the structure underpinning social relations.

As revealed by feminists as well as scholars, violence against women is a personal as well as a structural problem (Yodanis 2004). Therefore, policy change is one of the necessary actions to resolve this problem. Through the new policy on ending violence against women, new norms and a social order that represents equal status and opportunities for men and women can be established.

The engagement of men in the movement for ending violence against women can be seen as bringing positive contributions, among other things, if it can influence the production of new policy regarding the elimination of violence. Therefore, this section will discuss the ability of the New Men's Alliance to influence public policy regarding the prevention of violence against women by examining the number of policies that have been influenced by the Alliance either directly or indirectly.

For the members of the Alliance, identifying policies regarding the prevention of violence against women, particularly policies on engaging men in the prevention of violence against women as result of the Alliance is difficult because the New Men's Alliance is not the only group that plays a role in anti-violence against women advocacy in Indonesia. Moreover, regional and global trends also influence the direction of the national efforts for ending violence against women and for achieving gender equality. As reported by Huda:

For me, we cannot say that the significant [policy change regarding men's involvement in ending violence against women] as a result of the LLB [the New Men's Alliance movement] because it has become a global movement, most of the Ministry or institutions related to gender issues start to think about engaging men or integrating men into their programmes.

Discussing policy on men's involvement, including engaging men as perpetrators and perpetrator programmes for ending violence against women in Indonesia cannot be separated from the *Undang-Undang Penghapusan Kekerasan*

dalam Rumah Tangga (anti-domestic violence act), better known as UUPKDRT, in which the necessity of engaging men is emphasised. This legislation is considered as one of the milestones of the feminist movement in Indonesia (Munir 2006). Although the legislation only mentions an additional sentence requiring male perpetrators of domestic violence to attend counselling programmes, it provides a legal basis for addressing men involved in domestic violence. Therefore, feminist groups in Indonesia, in fact, have built a foundation for the New Men's Alliance in pursuing other policies related to the promotion of men's engagement in the prevention of violence against women.

Policy changes regarding men's involvement in ending violence against women can be observed in three different areas. The first area is policy change in organisations, especially women's organisations that focus on the elimination of violence against women. There is a growing tendency among Indonesian women's groups to integrate men in their organisational policies. As mentioned by Elo:

I see that women activists start to consider the New Men [the Men's Alliance]. For instance, currently when we had a national consolidation for women activists organised by the CWGI [CEDAW Working Group Initiative] for youth and women, a new strategy emerged, the strategy that must be adopted by women activists, which is approaching the New Men's Alliance. [This indicates] that women activists realise that so far they work in the area of transformation, I mean about gender issues, only among women and [they] rarely engage men's groups.

Supporting Elo, Ahmad said:

Last year, there were still many questions about the approach [men's involvement]. However, currently their [women's groups] acceptance is very high. Even the support is very high, as well as the initiatives of women activists to adopt the approach, for instance LBH APIK [Association of Legal Aid Societies for Women] Makassar [South Sulawesi] and LBH APIK Bali. Mbak Budha, director of APIK Bali, established the Bali Women's Crisis Centre, where she adopts the men's involvement approach. Similarly, women activists in Makassar want the New Men's Alliance to be there. In NTT and NTB, they already have a network [between the New Men's Alliance and women's groups]. The latest National Secretariat of KPI [Indonesian Women Coalition] wants to adopt the men's involvement approach.

The adoption of men's involvement approach by feminist groups may carry negative consequences. As raised by Castellino (cited in Pease 2011), men may take women's energy which was previously allocated only to other women. The presence

of men in feminist work has also forced feminists to be 'polite' and not to be too critical of men, as they are requested to respect men, which they have not done before.

However for Ahmad, feminist groups in Indonesia will gain from men's involvement. This is because feminist groups' experience has shown that they encounter difficulties in engaging women, especially married women, in their programmes due to their husbands, who hold power over the family under a patriarchal society, not giving them permission. He said:

For instance in KPI [Indonesian Women's Coalition], the biggest challenge of why women find it difficult to be leaders, women's participation is also difficult, this is because their approach was women's empowerment, meanwhile in the household, the decision lies with men [husbands]. When men are not addressed, it is very hard [for women] to attend meetings. From that aspect, that experience, then transforming men is needed.

The second area of change is government policy at the local level. As discussed earlier, the New Men's Alliance, along with other non-government organisations, has engaged in the process of legislation in two districts in two different provinces. Both legislations are about the protection of women from violence; the first policy is *Peraturan Daerah* (regional regulation) of Gunung Kidul District Number 16/2012, in which the referral system for male perpetrators of domestic violence to attend counselling programmes is included (Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Gunung Kidul 2012). The second policy is *Peraturan Daerah* (regional regulation) of Lombok Timur District Number 9/2013, in which the New Men's Alliance's campaign strategy was adopted in the regulation, by providing awards to individuals or institutions that have positive roles in the elimination of violence against women (Pemerintah Daerah Kabupaten Lombok Timur 2013).

The first policy strengthened the implementation of the UUPKDRT, under which the referral system of counselling programmes for male perpetrators of domestic violence in the Gunung Kidul district can be conducted. Moreover, the policy also allowed male counsellors from the Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre to conduct semi-mandatory counselling for abusive husbands in police stations in the district. Semi-mandatory means the police order the perpetrators to attend counselling during the legal process. Before this policy was passed by Gunung Kidul district government, the behaviour counselling programmes for abusive husbands

were only conducted in the Rifka Annisa office, and were based on the willingness of male perpetrators to attend.

The second policy has been criticised for creating possible negative outcomes for the efforts to end violence against women and achieve gender equality, since men may gain a new privilege that may reproduce male domination over women. Commenting on this criticism, Ahmad argued during his interview that based on his observations in Nusa Tenggara Barat (West Nusa Tenggara), the awards have made men more consistent with the values of gender equality and anti-violence against women. Furthermore, the men who won awards also became role models for other men in their community, which is important in generating change among men.

The third area is policy change at the national level. As mentioned by Huda earlier, certain ministries or institutions related to gender issues in Indonesia have started to consider engaging men in their programmes. Among these ministries is *Kementrian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak* (the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection). In 2013 the Ministry developed guidance to engage men in prevention of violence against women at the community level. For this initiative, the Ministry consulted members of the Alliance, including Anto, Beni, Ahmad, Huda and Andi, to provide input. Among their input was the integration of the feminist standpoint into the rationale of the guidance and its general principles, in which the engagement of men is perceived as part of women's empowerment programmes. The Alliance members also emphasised that the engagement of men should be directed towards building gender equality and eliminating violence against women. Most of their input was incorporated into the guidance, including their recommendation to identify initiatives of men's engagement in ending violence against women that have been made in Indonesia, including the activities and programmes of the New Men's Alliance and its networks.

As a manual, this guidance describes the steps to be taken by community organisers in involving men and boys in the effort for ending violence against women. It starts by conducting a pre-assessment and progresses to programme evaluation. The guidance also provides practical examples of activities and programmes that can be run by the organisers and their communities, such as conducting training at the community level, organising seminars and workshops, and conducting campaigns. The guidance has been finalised and was published in 2014

by the Ministry, and is entitled *Pedoman Pelibatan Laki-Laki Dalam Pencegahan Kekerasan Berbasis Gender* (Guidance for Engaging Men in the Prevention of Gender-Based Violence) [Kementrian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Republik Indonesia (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, Republic of Indonesia) 2014]. As mentioned by Ahmad during his interview, this manual is provided to all internal staff of the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection and related departments at the provincial and district levels.

Although this policy is strategic for the national mobilisation of men to engage in the anti-violence against women movement, it has triggered criticism from feminist groups in Indonesia. The guidance is considered to carry risks for the budget of women's empowerment programmes and anti-violence against women advocacy in Indonesia. Ninik Rahayu (2014), a commissioner of *Komnas Perempuan* (the National Commission for Anti-Violence Against Women) is among the feminists who criticises the guidance. Although she does not oppose the idea of men's involvement in the movement for ending violence against women, Rahayu disagrees with putting the agenda of engaging men and boys under the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection. This is because it may reduce the budget of the Ministry, which responsible for women's empowerment programmes in Indonesia. For her, it is better that the initiatives to engage men and boys in ending violence against women are administered by other departments, such as the Ministry of Religious Affairs or the Ministry of Culture and Education.

For members of the Alliance, this criticism is understandable. Similar to Rahayu, Ahmad suggests that it is better for the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection to encourage other ministries to adopt a men's involvement approach in achieving gender equality. As he said:

The KPPA [the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection] is supposed not to adopt [the men's involvement approach] for itself, but it encourages [other ministries] to adopt this approach, for instance the Ministry of Education and [the Ministry of] Health. This is because the budget of the KPPA is very small.

Although Ahmad, as a member of the New Men's Alliance, expressed his agreement with some feminists' criticism on the potential risks of the manual, the Alliance, as a network, has not (yet) responded to the criticism. The New Men Alliance focuses on ensuring that the content of the manual is guided by feminist

principles, that this guidance is made under the women's empowerment framework and that it should not reduce the budget for women's programmes.

6.7 Conclusion

Indeed, assessing the impact of the New Men's Alliance on the movement to end violence against women in Indonesia is not an easy task, since the Alliance is not the only actor in this movement. Moreover, as a long-term result, the impact of the Alliance is also not always easy to determine only five years after the establishment of the Alliance. Therefore, what this study has found is an initial impact, or in more accurate terms, outcome, on the many actors that are concerned with the engagement of men in anti-violence against women advocacy in Indonesia. Among these actors is the New Men's Alliance.

Although it is not stated in the assessment framework, the change in individual members of the Alliance is clearly identified. This change is considered as important as other impacts described in the assessment framework, such as generating discussion on men and masculinity within the issues of violence against women, mobilising more men to engage in the anti-violence against women movement, generating resources for women's groups and changing policies.

The findings from this study show that the Alliance changes male and female members differently. For male members, the Alliance has transformed them individually: they acquire new knowledge, attitudes and behaviours related to gender equality and anti-violence against women. Another importance change is their growing empathy for, and their solidarity with, their female counterparts. At the same time, the female member of the Alliance gain confidence in relation to men, and they also believe that there are men who are supportive of women and can be allies in challenging the patriarchal structure of dominance.

Regarding the other four variables assessed in this chapter, the findings of this study revealed evidence that the New Men's Alliance is able to generate a positive impact on the movement for ending violence against women in Indonesia, although the four variables do not share a similar degree of positive impact. For example, in terms of generating discussion on men and masculinity, the New Men's Alliance can be considered successful in strengthening the promotion of the men and masculinity issue within the discourse around violence against women and gender equality in

Indonesia. This assessment is based on the fact that the discussion of men and masculinity is increasing in three different settings, including the media, the academic world, and art performance. However, as mentioned throughout this chapter, the Alliance is not the only actor in this area.

In terms of mobilising men to the movement for ending violence against women, even though it does not show remarkable success on the ground, the New Men's Alliance, benefiting from the popular use of social media in Indonesia, has been able to create a virtual community. Using CMC, the Alliance can spread its ideas to a larger audience than face-to-face interaction allows. However, since this virtual activism is not sufficient to free women from violence, the Alliance faces the challenge of how to transform this virtual activism into real activism in which online sympathisers engage in political actions to dismantle the structure of dominance that subjugates women in Indonesian society.

Dealing with the issue of generating new resources for the women's movement, this study found that the New Men's Alliance has strategies that effectively prevent the Alliance from competing with women's groups in seeking funding support and from diverting resources that should be reserved for women's empowerment programmes to men's programmes. Furthermore, the study found that the donor policy on a maximum quota for programmes addressing men and boys is highly important in securing funds for women's empowerment programmes.

For the last variable, changing policies in regard to involving men in ending violence against women and in achieving gender equality, the study found that there are many actors at different levels that have played important roles in introducing new policies that promote the engagement of men and boys in the prevention of violence against women. Even the feminist movement has provided the Alliance with a legal basis for addressing men in the domestic violence issue. Furthermore, the regional and global trend of intervention in violence against women also influences policies in Indonesia. Therefore, at this point, the Alliance's crucial role is to strengthen and to accelerate the production of those new policies.

The critical issue of policies on men's involvement in ending violence against women carries the possibility of negative consequences, whether these are related to the reproduction of male privilege or changing budget policies for women's programmes. Although these negative consequences have not been found, it is

important for the Alliance to be aware of these possible negative consequences to enable the Alliance to prevent their occurrences.

To summarise, despite having some weakness, in terms of overall impact, the New Men's Alliance is rated as generating a **positive impact** for the movement to end violence against women and to achieve gender equality in Indonesia.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights some key findings that have emerged from the data analysis and the overall assessment of the extent to which the New Men's Alliance strengthens the movement for ending violence against women and for achieving gender equality in Indonesia. This is followed by a discussion of the limitations of the research, where some conditions that may influence the research are presented. Finally, this chapter highlights potential further research and theoretical development.

7.2 The key research findings

7.2.1 Compatibility of the New Men's Alliance's beliefs with feminism

The study found a strong feminist orientation in the world view of the New Men's Alliance, in which some main feminist standpoints are reflected, such as 'the personal is political', an orientation towards social change, the attribution of blame to the patriarchy for constructing the social structure of dominance, an emphasis on violence against women as the consequence of an imbalanced power relationship between men and women, and lastly, an emphasis on the accountability and responsibility of men who perpetrate violence against women. Moreover, in its agreement and adoption of feminist beliefs, the Alliance clearly identifies itself as a pro-feminist men's network. This indicates the remarkable influence of feminist groups in Indonesia in shaping the Alliance's ideology.

The study revealed different pathways to feminists and feminism's influence on the men who established and developed the New Men's Alliance, including friendships, training, mentoring and formal education. The findings also clearly showed that friendships with, and teaching by, feminist women have transformed men's understanding of violence against women and gender inequality, by which men define their political choices and participate in the New Men's Alliance movement to end violence against women and to achieve gender equality.

Besides the dynamics of the feminist movement in Indonesia, the regional and global trend of pro-feminist men's movements have also influenced the

establishment of the New Men's Alliance. This trend has allowed the members of the Alliance to engage in the international debate on men's involvement in efforts to end violence against women, which is crucial for the establishment of the Alliance's ideological foundation.

Despite the fact that the New Men's Alliance has a strong feminist ideology, it encounters challenges in how to sustain it. This is because the Alliance does not have a structured learning forum for its members, an effective communication system that reaches all its members equally, or a regular consolidation forum for its members. As discussed in Chapter 5, to enable the Alliance to broaden and strengthen its movement to pursue the feminist agenda of achieving gender equality and preventing violence against women, these challenges need to be addressed.

Although there are some challenges, the thesis concludes that ideologically the New Men's Alliance is pro-feminist, given its agreement with feminist values and principles as indicated by its organisational documents and its members' accounts. Furthermore, the New Men's Alliance has a clear political stand against violence against women, in which the Alliance opposes this violence and engages in political actions to dismantle it. The Alliance also uses a feminist framework to analyse and understand the problem of violence against women, in which the unequal power relationship between men and women is perceived as the root cause of violence against women. In addition, the Alliance blames the patriarchy for creating the inequalities between men and women and demands that men be held responsible for their violent actions.

7.2.2 The New Men's Alliance's commitment to practise feminism

The study found that the New Men's Alliance shows a commitment to incorporate feminist beliefs in its organisational structure and practices, even though it does not reflect the diversity of feminist structures and practices. This commitment can be seen from the structure of the Alliance, which is collectivist rather than hierarchical. Moreover, the Alliance opts not to construct the organisation as a formal legal entity and applies consensus in its decision-making processes.

To ensure its accountability to feminist groups, the New Men's Alliance maintains its attachment to feminist groups by forming a consultative group that

consists of women's organisations. The Alliance consults and collaborates with this group in running its programmes and activities.

In order to ensure that programmes addressing men and boys and aiming to end violence against women and achieve gender equality remain under women's empowerment programmes, the New Men's Alliance does not manage these programmes. Instead, these programmes are organised and implemented by members of the consultative group. This means that competition for funding between women's groups and men's groups can be avoided and the diversion of resources away from women's groups can be prevented, and moreover, potential resources can be generated. In so doing, the Alliance can secure and maintain the provision of funds for both men's and women's programmes.

Since the Alliance adopts the feminist analysis that violence against women is a personal as well as structural issue, it focuses on transforming both of these dimensions of violence against women. This research finds that for the Alliance, changing its members individually is as important as changing the social, economic and political structures that underpin the problem of violence against women and gender inequality. To achieve this agenda the Alliance applies a personal reflection approach, comprising activities that allow members to be critical of their own sexism and to transform their attitudes and behaviour to be more respectful, equal and non-violent. In addition, the New Men's Alliance employs programmes and activities intended to transform the social and political dimension of violence against women through bringing the issue of men and masculinity into the discussion of violence against women and through participation in the legislative process to produce new policies on prevention of violence against women, especially policies that address men and boys.

However, the study found that the New Men's Alliance has potential problems in these areas. The Alliance tends to be run and controlled by a small number of members, which can lead to unequal participation between members. The members are also not recorded as a consequence of an unclear membership system, which makes it difficult for the organisation to communicate and interact equally with all members. Therefore it is difficult for the Alliance to ensure that all members have similar level of understanding of its common values and principles as well as its code

of conduct. As a consequence, the Alliance has difficulties in maintaining and sustaining its values, principles and code of conduct among its members.

Although there are some inconsistencies, the research findings indicate that the New Men's Alliance has a strong commitment to incorporate feminist values and principles into its organisational structure and practices. It has built a strong partnership with, and accountability to, women's groups and it has also addressed the personal and structural dimension of violence against women. Based on this assessment, the thesis concludes that in terms of the New Men's Alliance's capacity for incorporating feminist beliefs in its organisational structure and practices, the Alliance can be categorised as **substantially pro-feminist**.

7.2.3 The New Men's Alliance's impact on the movement to end violence against women and to achieve gender equality in Indonesia

Although it is difficult to identify the impact of the New Men's Alliance, and difficult to identify this as the direct result of the Alliance as a single social movement actor, there are some impacts that can be observed that are related to the New Men's Alliance's activism. The first impact concerns personal change among Alliance members. For male members, the Alliance has taught them about living with feminist values in which they are required to be consistent in their beliefs and their behaviours related to anti-violence against women and gender equality. Meanwhile for female members, the Alliance has built their confidence in relating to men and has also convinced them that there are men that are supportive of feminism and actively engage in political actions against structure of oppression based on gender and other social classifications. The second impact is the increasing discussion on men and masculinity in relation to violence against women and gender equality issues in different settings, include public media, academia and art performance. The third impact is the growing number of men who support the New Men's Alliance's cause, although most of the Alliance's supporters are 'virtual' sympathisers who do not always engage in 'real' activism.

The study also found that at a time when many women's groups are concerned about the possible danger of creating competition between men's groups and women's groups in seeking funding support and a possible diversion of resources

away from women's groups, the New Men's Alliance shows a strong collaboration with women's groups. It also strives to maintain the availability of resources for women's groups, such as allowing women's groups to manage and control the budget of programmes for boys and men.

Since the New Men's Alliance is not the only group that plays a role in anti-violence against women advocacy in Indonesia, it is difficult to see new policies on violence against women—and especially policies that promote the engagement of men in violence against women prevention and gender equality projects—as the result of the Alliance's activism. However, it is obvious that the Alliance has influenced, directly and indirectly, some new policies, whether at the level of civil society organisations (especially women's organisations), local government or national government, regarding the necessity of addressing men in preventing violence against women.

While policies on men's involvement in anti-violence against women are growing, so are concerns among women's groups regarding the negative effect of the policies for the women's movement and gender equality in Indonesia. It is important to consider these feminist concerns, although evidence of negative effects of the policy has not been found. This consideration is useful in enabling the Alliance to anticipate the negative effects of these policies on men's involvement in the prevention of violence against women on both women's programmes and the women's movement in Indonesia.

The New Men's Alliance has brought about positive change in its members, generated discourse on men and masculinity within the issues of violence against women and gender equality, mobilised more men to engage in the movement for ending men's violence against women, secured funding support for women's groups, and influenced new policies on men's involvement approach. The thesis concludes that the New Men's Alliance has generated a **positive impact** for the movement to end violence against women in Indonesia.

7.3 Overall assessment

This section summarises the overall assessment of this thesis. This research aimed to measure the extent to which the New Men's Alliance strengthens anti-violence against women efforts in Indonesia by assessing three dimensions of the

Alliance—ideology, organisational structure and practices—and the impact generated by the Alliance. The research finds that the New Men’s Alliance can be categorised as **pro-feminist** for its ideology, **substantially pro-feminist** for its organisational structure and practices, and **positive** for its impact. Based on this assessment, and referring to the criteria of overall assessment as indicated in the analytical framework, the thesis concludes that overall the New Men’s Alliance can be categorised as **moderately strengthening** the movement to end violence against women and to achieve gender equality in Indonesia.

7.4 Limitations of the research

As a male activist and a member of the New Men’s Alliance, the researcher may influence the research in two opposite ways. On the one hand, as an insider, the researcher has had easy access to the main data sources that are important for the quality of the research. On the other hand, the researcher’s subjectivity may influence the interpretation of research findings. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge here that researcher’s position as part of the research subject is one of limitations of this research.

A second limitation of this research is that it is difficult to assess a social movement organisation over a two-year time period. Two years is enough time to investigate the belief system and organisational structure and practices of social movement organisation, but it is too short to evaluate its impact. Given this limitation, this study may not be able to draw a complete picture of the impact generated by the New Men’s Alliance.

A third limitation is that although accountability was discussed throughout this study, there was no a methodological approach to address accountability, which was focus group or interview with feminist who are not members of the New Men’s Alliance. This could be an important data set for assessing three areas of this research.

7.5 Potential further research

This study makes a distinctive contribution to research on men’s and boy’s involvement in preventing violence against women and building gender equality. While there are some studies evaluating programmes and activities to engage men

and boys in violence prevention, evaluation of pro-feminist men's movements themselves are rare. Since the men's groups who engage in the movement for ending violence against women are growing across the globe, the need to evaluate these groups and their contribution to the achievement of the feminist agenda is also increasingly urgent. Therefore, this study can be a point of departure for further research. It offers an evaluation framework that can be used as a benchmark for successful or effective pro-feminist men's organisation and movements, and it provides a detailed case study of one such assessment. In this way, this and further research can contribute to our progress in ending violence against women and in achieving gender equality.

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APPENDIX A: ETHICS CLEARANCE



In reply please quote: HE13/548

13 March 2014

Mr Nur Hasyim

Dear Mr Hasyim

Thank you for your response dated 11 March 2014 to the HREC review of the application detailed below. I am pleased to advise that the application has been approved.

Ethics Number: HE13/548
Project Title: Men's involvement in the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia
Researchers: Mr Nur Hasyim, Dr Michael Flood
Approval Date: 13 March 2014
Expiry Date: 12 March 2015

The University of Wollongong/Illawarra Shoalhaven Local Health District Social Sciences HREC is constituted and functions in accordance with the NHMRC *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research*. The HREC has reviewed the research proposal for compliance with the *National Statement* and approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with this document.

A condition of approval by the HREC is the submission of a progress report annually and a final report on completion of your project. The progress report template is available at <http://www.uow.edu.au/research/rso/ethics/UOW009385.html>. This report must be completed, signed by the appropriate Head of School, and returned to the Research Services Office prior to the expiry date.

As evidence of continuing compliance, the Human Research Ethics Committee also requires that researchers immediately report:

- proposed changes to the protocol including changes to investigators involved
- serious or unexpected adverse effects on participants
- unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project.

Please note that approvals are granted for a twelve month period. Further extension will be considered on receipt of a progress report prior to expiry date.

If you have any queries regarding the HREC review process, please contact the Ethics Unit on phone 4221 3386 or email rso-ethics@uow.edu.au.

Yours sincerely

Professor Kathleen Clapham
**Chair, Social Sciences
Human Research Ethics Committee**

Ethics Unit, Research Services Office
University of Wollongong NSW 2522 Australia
Telephone (02) 4221 3386 Facsimile (02) 4221 4338
Email: rso-ethics@uow.edu.au Web: www.uow.edu.au

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM

Research Title:

Men's involvement in the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia

Researcher: Nur Hasyim

I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet provided for this study.

I have been advised about the potential risks and burdens of this study and I have had the opportunity to discuss this research with Nur Hasyim. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I understand that all research data will be treated as confidential and will be de-identified.

I agree to participate in this investigation and understand that I may withdraw at any time until publication without any reason. I understand that deciding to withdraw at any time will not affect my treatment or my relationship with the University of Wollongong in any way.

By signing below I am indicating my consent to participate in this research and I agree that any research data gathered for the study may be published in the form of a thesis and other forms of academic texts.

Name of the subject

Signature of the subject

/ /

Date

APPENDIX C: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION GUIDE

Welcome and thank you for participating.

Purpose of the session:

To gain information about the internal dynamics of men's networks that aim to end violence against women in Indonesia. The information includes the rationale of establishing the network, the network's views of the problem of violence against women, the network's views of men in the women's movement to end this violence, and its organisational structure and practices. This session will also explore the impact of the network to end violence against women as a whole in Indonesia.

Introduction: To start with, please introduce yourself and give your position within the network.

Ground rules:

- Be honest, your individual comments will remain confidential.
- There are no wrong or right comments.
- The discussion will be recorded for analysis and reporting purposes but will not be shared with anyone.
- Respect other participants' comments and ideas.
- Be active and participate.

Discussion:

1. Ideological level

- How long have you engaged in the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia?
- What are the factors that pushed you to become involved in the movement?
- How do you feel as a man when you engage in the movement?
- What do you think about men who engage in the anti-violence against women movement and why should men be involved in this movement?
- The data shows that most of perpetrators of violence against women are men, why do men tend to behave violently in relation to women? Why do some men use violence in their relationships with women while others do not? What is the main cause of violence against women?
- What can men do to end violence against women, as individuals and as a group?

2. Organisational level

- Why do men need to organise themselves or form a network or alliance to end violence against women, instead of joining the movement as an individual?

- Are there any differences by forming men's networks to end the violence against women?
- How do you (as a network) locate yourselves within the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia?
- What is your long-term objective?
- What are the network's values and how do you incorporate them into the network's practices (structurally and culturally). Explore the decision-making processes, leadership, women's representation, accountability mechanisms, relationships, mechanisms to promote anti-violence against women among the members.
- What are the challenges that you encounter in achieving your agenda?
- Some scholars and feminists have raised certain dangers regarding the involvement of men in the movement to end violence against women. How do you respond those concerns, and how does your network avoid these dangers?
- How do you maintain your network's accountability to women's groups in Indonesia?
- What are the strategies and activities that you apply to address the problem of violence against women in Indonesia?

3. *Impact level*

- How do men respond to your movement? Are there any specific strategies to invite men to engage in the anti-violence against women movement? Is there resistance from men and how do you deal with this resistance?
- How do women's groups respond to men's networks in Indonesia? How do you convince women's groups that women's interests are main priority of the network? Is there any resistance? If so, how do you respond to this resistance?
- Scarcity of funds is a critical issue for the women's movement nowadays, how does your network respond to this issue?
- Are there any policy changes regarding the prevention of violence against women in Indonesia that are the consequences of the men's movement to end violence against women?

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW GUIDE

Purpose of the interview:

To explore men's perspectives about their engagement in the anti-violence against women movement in Indonesia. Some specific issues will be investigated in this process, such as men's motivation to get involved in anti-violence activism, men's strategies to address violence against women, the challenges that they encounter and how they deal with the challenges, men's strategies to build alliance with women's group including how do they maintain their accountability to women's group, men's responses to some dangers of their involvement in the anti-violence against women movement and men's perspectives on the impact of men's movement in ending violence against women.

Introduction:

Before we start I would like to remind you that there are no right or wrong answer in this discussion. I am interested in knowing what you think and feel, so please feel free to be frank and to share your point of view. It is very important that I hear your opinion.

Questions:

1. Ideological level

- How long have you been working on violence against women prevention? Why do you decide to engage in the anti-violence activism? Are there any factors influencing your participation in the anti-violence against women movement? If so, what are they? How do you feel when you engage in the anti-violence against women movement?
- Why do men tend to be violent? What is the root cause of men's violence against women? Why should men engage in the anti-violence against women movement? What can men do to end violence against women as an individual?

2. Organizational level

- Why do you decide to establish men's network to end violence against women?
- How do you start the network? Are there any supports from women's group? If so, which group that support you and why do they support the

network? Are there any resistance from women's group, which group that resist you and why they resist the men's network?

- What are the long term objectives of the establishment of men's network? What are the values of the network and how does the network incorporate the values into organization practices?
- What are your strategies to achieve your agenda? Are there any challenges? And how do you deal with the challenges?
- Do you aware of dangers which are carried out by men's involvement strategies in ending violence against women? If so, what are your strategies to deal with those dangers?

3. *Impact level*

- What are the significant achievements of your network in fostering men's participation in ending violence against women in Indonesia?
- How do you maintain your network? How do you get fund? What do you think about the issue of scarcity of fund for women's group and women empowerment programs? What is your response to the opinion that men's network in the anti-violence against women movement takes over the resources from women's group? What does men's network do to generate fund for women's empowerment program? And what are the results?
- Does men's network have policy change agenda to end violence against women? If so, what are they? And how do you achieve those agenda?

Thank you for your participation

APPENDIX E: LIST OF DOCUMENT

NO	TITLE	YEAR
1	Organisational Platform	2009
2	Rapat White Ribbon Campaign, 6 September 2009, Bandung (White Ribbon Campaign Meeting, 6 September 2009, Bandung),	2009
3	Rekaman Proses Koordinasi Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru (Minutes of the New Men's Alliance's Coordination Meeting)	2010
4	Proceeding Pertemuan Akhir Tahun Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru (Proceedings of the Annual Meeting The New Men's Alliance	2011
5	Notulensi Konsultasi Nasional Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru (Minutes of National Consultation Meeting of the New Men's Alliance	2011
6	Code of Conduct	2011
7	Outline Kurikulum Belajar Bersama Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru: Perubahan Individual dan Transformasi Sosial untuk Keadilan Gender (Curriculum Outline of Learning Forum of the New Men's Alliance: Individual Change and Social Transformation for Gender Justice)	2011
8	Seruan Laki-Laki Indonesia untuk Melawan Perkosaan (Indonesian Men Call to Fight against Rape)	2011
9	Seruan Laki-Laki Indonesia untuk Melawan Perkosaan (Indonesian Men Call to Fight against Rape)	2011
10	Final Report: Strengthening Capacity Of National New Men's Movement And Promoting Men's Engagement For Gender Equality, Women's Rights And Gender-based Violence Prevention In Indonesia	2011
11	Final Report: Working with Men and Boys to Prevent Violence against Women	2011
12	Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru Mengutuk Perkosaan (The New Men's Alliance Condemn Rape)	2011
13	Final Report: Working with Men and Boys to Prevent Violence against Women in Indonesia	2012
14	Laki-Laki Menolak Kekerasan Seksual (Men against Sexual Violence).	2013

