

# Sexual Violence and Gendered Policy Responses in an Indonesian Urban Governance: A Critical Feminist Perspective

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## ABSTRACT

*This study provides a critical feminist analysis of how women's roles in social production and reproduction, coupled with inadequate government policies, shape their vulnerability to sexual violence in Makassar City. Employing a qualitative descriptive methodology, the research draws on data from observations, in-depth interviews, and documents collected from a diverse range of sources including government bodies, women's organizations, legal aid institutions, and labour unions. The participants encompassed white-collar and blue-collar women workers, housewives, and domestic workers. Through Nancy Fraser's critical feminist framework, the study indicates that the capitalist system imposes a double burden on women, exploiting their labour in the workplace through wage discrimination and limited career progression while simultaneously relying on their unpaid, devalued domestic and care work within the household. The dynamic fosters economic dependence on husbands and subordination in decision-making, intensifying their vulnerability. The study further concludes that existing government policies are ineffective in safeguarding women's basic rights, offering weak protections and social assistance. Consequently, this research offers a significant critique of the modern capitalist system's exploitation of women across both productive and reproductive spheres. Its value lies in providing empirically grounded recommendations for formulating more responsive, progressive policies to protect female workers and housewives, and for reforming legal and institutional guidelines for handling sexual violence cases, thereby contributing to both academic discourse and practical policy reform.*

## Introduction

Sexual violence against women, whether it occurs against housewives in the home or against female workers outside the home, is a systemic violation of human rights that transcends national borders and economic levels. In Europe, despite a legal framework that supports gender equality, gender-based violence is still seen

as a “hidden epidemic,” as seen in several Nordic countries (e.g., Sweden and Finland) where, despite high rates of domestic violence, reports of it are rare due to structural barriers and economic dependence (Humbert, et al., 2021). Meanwhile, in Asia, there are particular challenges arising from patriarchal social structures and strong collectivism, especially in South Asian countries such as India and Pakistan, as well as in China and Japan, where “family honor” is often considered more important than individual safety, making it difficult for victims to speak out and seek justice (Tang & Wang, 2019). In addition, female workers in vulnerable sectors, such as manufacturing factories in Southeast Asia (e.g., Cambodia, Vietnam), are at high risk of exploitation (Varnekar & Chutia, 2024).

The complexity of sexual violence cases in Europe and Asia is highly relevant to the analysis of the situation in Indonesia. This relates to the tension between legal modernization and patriarchal socio-cultural realities. This context is particularly crucial in rapidly developing urban centers such as Makassar City. The Makassar City Government's policy, as expressed in the mayor's vision, is to “create a safe and comfortable city for all,” which is a ratification of Makassar City Regional Regulation No. 5/2019 on Gender Mainstreaming in development. The city government then encourages the resolution and prevention of domestic violence cases based on the community in the neighborhood as a service innovation. This initiative was later awarded the *Anugerah Parahita Ekapraya* (APE) award from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection in 2023. This award was given for the commitment and role of local governments in realizing gender equality and gender mainstreaming through the integration of gender issues in development innovation.

In fact, Makassar still holds the title of being the city with the highest rate of sexual violence in Indonesia. Data analysis from SIMFONI-PPA (2023) shows that the number of cases in Makassar City in 2022, by time of occurrence, reached 6 cases. This figure is significantly higher than in other regions, such as Gowa Regency, which ranks second with 97 cases, Toraja Regency with 61 cases, North Luwu with 49 cases, and Maros Regency with 51 cases, while others have fewer than 30 cases (Kementerian PPPA, 2022; 2023; 2024). Even at the national level, Makassar City has the highest number of gender-based violence cases, surpassing districts/cities in Central Java and West Java, which are the provinces with the highest number of gender-based violence cases. In terms of numbers, sexual violence ranks second highest and shows a relative increase every year. By 2022, the number had reached 378 cases (DPPPA Kota Makassar, 2023).

This number only reflects cases that have come to light, and there are still many unreported cases due to victims' lack of courage or service agencies' inability to reach victims of sexual violence (Masdi, et al., 2023). Moreover, the complexity of the impact is that victims experience *Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder* (PTSD) in the form of unforgettable stress and psychological abuse (Akram & Yasmin, 2023). This is because sexual violence experienced by victims is viewed as a shameful stigma, making it difficult for victims to report the violence they have experienced (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013). The victim experienced trust issues due to the perpetrator's tactics

of playing the victim and threatening the victim with power relations. In addition, symptoms of temporary paralysis due to extreme fear (Budiarti et al., 2022). Furthermore, 70% of services are limited to complaints, while health recovery and legal assistance account for less than 30% (Kementerian PPPA, 2022; 2023; 2024) As a result, only 11% of perpetrators were punished and 15% were married to their victims (Hulahi et al. , 2022). This situation poses a challenge for the Makassar City government, especially after the enactment of Law No. 12/2022 on criminal acts of sexual violence.

The high number and complexity of sexual violence cases in Makassar City require alignment with a research approach. This is to map the root causes of the problem as a basis for effective and efficient public policy-making that is victim-oriented. However, previous studies have tended to use a liberal feminist approach, offering solutions in the form of regulations and internal institutional restructuring. (Rahman et al. , 2022); (Syamsuddin & Sunarti, 2019); (Istiqomah, et al., 2019); (Jamaluddin, 2021); (Yudha, 2021). Furthermore, the analysis is partial and does not focus on the root causes of sexual violence against women (Masdi, et al., 2023); (Awaru & Ahmad, 2023); (Anshor, 2023). Research that focuses on the individualistic movements of several women and does not lead to a movement for common interests (Alfirdaus et. al, et al., 2022). Therefore, case studies specific to the characteristics of Makassar City are still lacking in relation to social practices that reinforce male power relations over women in the household, one of which is *Uang Panai'* or dowery money. This is related to the role of Bugis Makassar women, who are subject to a double burden, both socially and economically (Alfiana, 2023).

Adapted from the thesis and critique of Feminism for the 99%: A Manifesto-Verso (Arruzza, et al., 2019) is considered relevant to analyze the root causes of sexual violence in Makassar City. Furthermore, further analysis is needed regarding government policies that contribute to sexual violence. Indicators adopted from critical feminist ideas relate to the role of women in social production and reproduction. Therefore, this article focuses on two research questions, namely: (1) How do production (activities in the workplace) and social reproduction (care and parenting activities) shape sexual violence against women in Makassar City?; and (2) How do policies in social production and reproduction in Makassar City shape sexual violence against women? The expected outcome of this research is that the results of the data analysis can be used as material for discussion by the community, academics, and government to analyze the root causes of sexual violence, which previous studies have dominated with liberal and radical feminist approaches that focus on the superior position of men and patriarchal culture as the causes of exploitation and oppression of women.

## **Literature Review**

Feminist criticism has shifted from resistance against patriarchy to capitalism as the root cause of sexual violence against women. The core of feminist criticism highlights capitalist practices that shape the division of labor in production, which is dominated by men, as well as the role of social reproduction, which is placed as

the responsibility of women (Arruzza, et al., 2019). This study adopts Nancy Fraser's critical feminism approach to shift the focus of analysis from merely resisting patriarchy to capitalism as the root cause of sexual violence and segregation of social reproductive roles (Johnson, 2018). A distinctive feature of critical feminism is its attempt to correlate gender equality and criticism of capitalism (Mudzakkir, 2022). As part of critical theory, this perspective is more reflective in nature, dismantling all forms of dominant and unequal social structures. Compared to prioritizing scientific objectivity (Kristeva, 2015). This approach was chosen to address gaps in previous literature dominated by liberal feminism, such as the politics of sexuality. (Anshor, 2023), patriarchal culture (Pratiwi, 2021), to the myth of virginity (Nadia, 2018) which tends to limit solutions to individual empowerment and legal regulation alone (Poerwandari, 2016). Unlike previous studies, namely (Hulahi et al., 2022), (Adiputra, et al., 2022), until (Judiasih, et al., 2022) which emphasize the protection of human rights and economic space. This study uses Fraser's manifesto thesis to analyze sexual violence structurally within the framework of neoliberal practices and urban capitalism, focusing on production, reproduction, and government policy in Makassar City.

First, in reviewing the dialectic of social production and reproduction, critical feminism highlights how the free market drags women into wage labor with minimal protection while continuing to burden them with social reproductive responsibilities. (Helali, 2013). The essence of capitalism is oriented towards capital accumulation, personal profit, and market mechanisms (Lekachman & Loon, 2008) causing the production process to be unfavorable to workers (Marx, 2004), but rather controlled by capital, which leads to alienation (Øversveen, 2022). It is this relationship between capitalism and alienation that is identified as the root cause of women's vulnerability to sexual violence, as elaborated by Nancy Fraser through three interrelated indicators of criticism (Arruzza, et al., 2019).

- a. Wage discrimination against women: Androcentric production legitimizes low wages for women, creating economic dependence that is vulnerable to exploitation by employers through sexual coercion for financial stability.
- b. Career discrimination against female workers: Patriarchal constructs and the burden of social reproduction hinder women's vertical mobility, creating weak bargaining positions and increasing the risk of violence in the workplace and at home.
- c. Weak social security and protection for female workers: The absence of adequate social security and legal protection for low-wage female workers exacerbates their structural vulnerability to sexual violence.

Social reproduction is a vital feminist issue because capitalism exploits it to reinforce gender-based segregation and oppression (Arruzza, et al., 2019). Fraser (2013) defines this concept as affective and material labor, such as childcare and housekeeping, which are essential but often unpaid and assigned to women. As the foundation for cultural, economic, and political sustainability (Lins, 2023), Social reproduction involves the complex institutions and social relations that maintain communities (Bakker & Silvey, 2008). Based on this framework, this study will use

social reproduction indicators correlated with sexual violence as instruments of analysis.

- a. Women are not paid for domestic work: The separation of production and reproduction in capitalism burdens women with unpaid work, creating subordination that legitimizes sexual objectification by men as economic providers.
- b. Wives' economic dependence on husbands: The division of sexual labor deepens women's financial dependence, reinforcing male authority that is prone to manifesting as sexual coercion against partners.
- c. Inequality between men and women in household decision-making: Male dominance in decision-making and economic control makes sexual violence a mechanism for asserting superiority in the household hierarchy.

Capitalism exploits not only wage labor, but also commodities and public services that should be accessible to the public, to the extent that it exploits unpaid labor (Arruzza, et al., 2019). Nancy Fraser asserts that policy affirmation is needed, referring to efforts to eliminate inequality without changing the underlying structure and transforming the structure of injustice. The concept of critical feminism contains three forms of ideal-typical collectivities based on the analytical differences between economic and cultural injustices described by Fraser (2013), namely: maldistribution (neglect), misrecognition (belittling), and misrepresentation (unrepresentative) (Stokke & Hiariej, 2022). Based on this framework, this study will use indicators measuring government policies correlated with sexual violence in Makassar City as one of the main analytical instruments.

- a. Policies on Production Work in the Workplace and Sexual Violence Against Women: The struggle for substantive rights, ranging from equal pay and free healthcare to the restructuring of domestic work, must be positioned as a structural movement of the marginalized classes, not merely as individual efforts (Arruzza, et al., 2019). This requires criticism of carceral feminism, which perpetuates legal injustice by granting privileges and impunity to men (Hawkesworth, 1994).
- b. Policies on Care Work and Sexual Violence Against Women: To alleviate the burden on women as sole caregivers, a shift towards a "universal caregiver" paradigm is needed, requiring men's participation in domestic work (Mudzakkir, 2022). This transformation requires the state's commitment to formulating responsive and progressive policies to ensure that women's basic needs are met (Arruzza, et al., 2019).

The researcher first describes the social production and reproduction that shape sexual violence in Makassar City. The creation of a free market with financial demands in capitalism forces women to take on dual roles, participating as productive workers while still bearing the responsibility of social reproduction (Helali, 2013). Women who are caught up in the cycle of social production and reproduction are vulnerable to sexual violence (Arruzza, et al., 2019).

## Research Methods

This study uses a qualitative case study approach to explore limited systems using detailed data (Creswell & Creswell, 2014). This focuses on the background, interactions, and conditions of a particular society (Schoch, 2020). The aim is to examine the reality of sexual violence cases from a critical feminist perspective that focuses on social production and reproduction in capitalist practices. The research was conducted in Makassar City from December 2023 to June 2024. The exploration was carried out using two data sources. Primary data was obtained directly from informants through purposive sampling, namely, individuals, organizations, or related institutions. Female informants consisted of various categories, namely working and non-working women, married and unmarried women, as well as white-collar workers with college qualifications and blue-collar workers with elementary and secondary school qualifications. Meanwhile, the relevant institutions or agencies consisted of Regional Work Units (SKPD), Law Enforcement Officials (APH), labor organizations, and civil society organizations focused on assisting with issues of sexual violence. Details on the sampling of research informants are provided in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Categorization of Research Informants

Categories	Number	Description
<b>Female Workers</b>		
Married White Collar	8	Consisting of civil servants, private employees, government-owned enterprises, factory workers, servants, and educators. Researchers explored information about the background of women performing dual roles in different work environments. Education levels can underlie the way people view dynamics and issues in the household and work environment.
Married Blue Collar	8	
Unmarried White Collar	6	Consisting of educators, private employees, counselors, sales promotion girls, and store employees. Researchers explored information related to the vulnerability of unmarried women to becoming victims of sexual violence in the workplace. The level of education became the basis for making decisions about self-protection.
The Unmarried Blue-Collar Worker	6	
Domestic Worker	6	Consisting of women with elementary and secondary education levels. Researchers explored information about the background of women carrying a double burden between paid and unpaid care and childcare tasks.

Categories	Number	Description
<b>Housewife (Not Working)</b>		
White-collar worker husband	8	The husband works as a private employee, entrepreneur, contractor, day laborer, labor union supervisor, and civil servant. Researchers explored information on women's vulnerability to exploitation and sexual violence in the household. The occupation and education level of white-collar husbands are influential factors in family dynamics.
Blue-collar worker husband	8	
<b>Stakeholders</b>		
Regional Work Unit	15	It consists of leaders and staff from the Manpower Office, Health Office, Social Office, Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office, and the Makassar City Religious Affairs Office. Researchers gather information in accordance with the main tasks, functions, and scope of programs related to government agency programs and policies that tend to cause or prevent sexual violence against women.
Law Enforcement Officials	4	It consists of leaders and staff from the Makassar City Police, the Religious Court, the High Court, and the District Court. Researchers gathered information related to the role of law enforcement as an instrument of public policy in handling and preventing cases of sexual violence.
Labor Union	5	Consisting of the chairperson of the Makassar City labor union. Researchers gathered information related to the vulnerability of female workers experiencing discrimination in the fulfillment of their rights as workers, which increases their vulnerability to becoming victims of sexual violence.
Legal Aid Institute	4	Consisting of leaders or members of legal aid institutions under the auspices of the government and foundations in the city of Makassar. Researchers gathered information related to the variety of cases that occurred and their causes, as well as responses related to law enforcement programs and strategies carried out by the government.
Non-government Organization	16	Consisting of leaders and members of local and national social organizations focused on the issue of sexual violence against women. Researchers gathered information related to the

Categories	Number	Description
		role of institutions through policy advocacy programs and assistance for victims of sexual violence.

*Source: processed data from informant interviews, 2024*

Data collection can be done through observation of field conditions and in-depth verbal interviews of informants' statements, behavior, activities, or personalities. Secondary data in the form of reports, journals, and books related to sexual violence in Makassar City can also be used to supplement data that is not explained in the primary data (Sugiyono, 2017). Data triangulation was used to ensure the validity and accuracy of the data by comparing pay slips and statements from male coworkers of female informants. Secondary data in the form of statistics and reports from relevant institutions and agencies were also compared. After the research data were collected, they were analyzed in a structured and comprehensive manner. Data analysis is an ongoing process of analyzing the data that has been obtained. Data can be in the form of text, images, or interview results. The stages of data analysis consist of: transcribing research results, reflecting on holistic meaning, reducing data, presenting data, and triangulation to check the validity of the data (Creswell & Creswell, 2014).

## Results and Discussion

### *Production, Social Reproduction, and Sexual Violence Against Women*

Critical feminist-based data analysis in this study highlights how women's dual roles in social production and reproduction construct vulnerability to sexual violence in Makassar City. The main criticism is directed at free market mechanisms that exploit women as low-paid and poorly protected workers, while continuing to burden them with social reproduction responsibilities (Helali, 2013).

#### *Production and Sexual Violence Against Women in Makassar City*

Women's involvement in the capitalist production system in Makassar City does not necessarily empower them, but rather constructs multiple layers of structural vulnerability to sexual violence. Women's position as production workers is often alienated due to the lack of fulfillment of their basic rights, which is directly correlated with patriarchal domination in the workplace. This phenomenon can be explained through an in-depth analysis of three crucial dimensions.

#### a. Wage Discrimination Against Female Workers

Analysis of the research data shows that 61% of female workers experience wage/salary discrimination in the workplace. Meanwhile, only 39% of female workers receive equal wages/salaries. The gender pay gap reveals systematic injustice that limits women's economic development and exacerbates gender inequality in the workplace. This problem occurs in several countries, including Indonesia (Carlsen, 2020). The average wages received by female workers/employees/staff were lower than those received by male

workers/employees/staff from 2021 to 2023. The average wages in 2023 for male workers reached IDR 3,470,000, which was higher than that for female workers, which was only IDR 2,640,000 (BPS RI, 2023). This situation hinders women's participation in the workforce. Women earn 34% less than men, and in certain occupations, the gap is as high as 65% (Cameron et al., 2018).

b. Career Discrimination Against Female Workers

Male workers dominate almost all types of jobs. The number of male workers in leadership and administrative positions is 6,801, which is higher than the number of female workers, which is only 6,053 (BPS Kota Makassar, 2024). Similar findings were seen in the research results, which showed that 71% of female workers answered “no” in the sense that they had never received or would never receive a promotion or career advancement. Only 39% answered “yes” in the sense that they had received a promotion or career/job advancement. The most common type of work is professional, technical, and expert work, accounting for 29% of female workers. The second and third most common types of work are sales, accounting for 25%, and executive and administrative work, accounting for 21%. Leadership and management positions ranked second lowest, with only 4% of all female workers who were informants. This condition is in line with the feminist concept of viewing the alienation of women involved in production roles. When some women occupy the public sphere and positions of power, it is always viewed as illegitimate, disruptive, and lacking authority (Fraser & Nicholson, 1989). This implies that power becomes the victim as the object of sexual violence occurring in the workplace.

c. Social Security and Protection for Female Workers

Weak social security and legal protection mechanisms exacerbate this situation. Although regulations such as Makassar City Regulation No. 9/2004 and Law No. 11/2020 normatively guarantee the rights to protection, leave, and welfare, their implementation is still far from expectations. There are 46% of female workers—mainly those with contract and honorary status—who are not covered by social security, and 18% who do not receive basic reproductive leave rights (menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth), especially in the small business sector. Furthermore, existing protection approaches tend to be technical and superficial, such as the provision of CCTV and security guards (71%), but fail to address substantive aspects. This is evident from the lack of agencies that have special institutions (14%) and standard operating procedures (SOPs) for handling sexual violence (7%). The absence of adequate infrastructure for handling cases leaves female workers without real protection when facing violence in the workplace.

*Social Reproduction and Sexual Violence Against Women in Makassar City*

Culturally imposed domestic roles create alienation of rights and economic vulnerability for women, which leads to sexual violence. This vulnerability is evident in the plight of domestic workers in Makassar who work without formal

contracts, social protection, or decent wage standards. These dynamics are analyzed through three main dimensions.

a. Women Are Not Paid for Domestic Work

Women in Makassar City tend to bear the burden of unpaid domestic work, resulting in a loss of economic income. Unpaid housework from 2020 to 2023 is still dominated by women (BPS Kota Makassar, 2024). Analysis of research data shows that 56% of women perform caregiving and childcare roles without male involvement. Although the difference is quite small, these roles are not solely assigned to men. Instead, they are performed jointly in a mutually agreed system in 44% of households. The caregiving and nurturing roles assigned to women are not compensated through wages or salaries paid by men for their needs. This is felt by 66% of women. This aligns with the concept that capitalism assigns the responsibility of social reproductive work to women. While avoiding payment for this work, it serves as a new form of oppression against women (Arruzza, et al., 2019).

b. Wives' Economic Dependence on Husbands

The percentage of marriages in Makassar City in 2023 shows that the number of women who married was higher at 47.46% compared to men, who only reached 40.64% (BPS Kota Makassar, 2024). This condition poses a challenge because the social practice of *uang panai* (dowry), which tends to lead to transactional marriages in the eastern region, gives parents the authority to sell their daughters into marriage at a price commensurate with their economic means (Saadawi, 2007). Women's authority in determining economic resources is limited, as felt by 38% of women who experience interference from their husbands. Meanwhile, 22% of women tend to experience intimidation and subjugation. As a result, this study provides data that 62% of domestic violence is influenced by economic factors.

c. Inequality between Men and Women in Decision-Making in the Household

Married women in Makassar tend to dominate decision-making in the household, especially in terms of financial management and determining family planning programs. This can provide a positive picture for the protection of women in the family. Fifty percent of women are the decision-makers for financial management in the household. More positive data can be seen in women's authority in determining the system and timing of their family's participation in the Family Planning (KB) program, with 61% of women having this authority. However, it is concerning that 69% of women stated that the decision to have sexual relations is determined by men. The desire to maintain household stability compels women to fulfill the obligation to satisfy sexual desires, which is deeply ingrained in sexuality (Federici, 2012).

The results of the study refute liberal feminism, which supports minority women who have financial and social privileges to enter the public sphere and become leaders, while ignoring the majority of other marginalized women. Critical feminist thinking initiated by Fraser (2013) argues that women's vulnerability is

influenced by the fulfillment of women's rights as workers in production and social reproduction. The context of this study differs from Fraser's critical feminism in that it focuses on research conducted in an urban area in a developing country. The indicators that distinguish developed countries from developing countries are higher quality human resources, as evidenced by higher levels of education and skills, as well as better and more equal access to employment. Makassar, as one of the cities in Indonesia with the status of a developing country, still tends to encounter problems in terms of education and limited employment opportunities for women.

### *Public Policy and Sexual Violence Against Women*

Although the Makassar City Government has shown responsiveness in addressing sexual violence, its effectiveness is distorted by the absence of derivative regulations and the lack of specific institutions in the workplace. In line with the urgency of public legal intervention to resolve gender inequality (Hawkesworth, 1994), this analysis maps the impact of policies in the production and domestic spheres. The results show ambivalence: only 41% (9 out of 22) of policies are effective in minimizing risk through prevention and specific handling. Conversely, the majority of policies, 59% (13 regulations), have the potential to trigger violence due to gender-unresponsive target biases, impacts that widen gaps, and technical operational constraints that hinder program optimization.

**Table 2.** Policies and Sexual Violence Against Women, Makassar City

No.	POLICY	IMPACT	DESCRIPTION
<b>POLICIES RELATED TO THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PRODUCTION (IN THE WORKPLACE)</b>			
1.	Equal pay	Increasing cases	The Wage Council involves labor unions, but has not yet focused on female workers  Reporting on the employment contract system, which to date has not been running optimally  Disputes between workers and employers that tend to be difficult to resolve by the Bipartite Labor Relations Committee
2.	Career development for female workers	Increasing cases	Worker training and development through the <i>Ma'jama</i> program is still limited to business capital  Male participants still tend to outnumber female participants in job training programs
3.	Fulfillment of female workers' leave rights	Increasing cases	It is still limited to providing guidance and raising awareness among employers who tend to neglect granting leave entitlements to workers, especially women.
4.	Provision of social security	Increasing cases	The formation of a social security compliance team is part of the government's efforts to

No.	POLICY	IMPACT	DESCRIPTION
	for female workers		regulate employers. Budgeting and optimization of the tasks of the team that has been formed to carry out supervisory and inspection functions are still needed.
5.	Provision of facilities for protection from sexual violence	Increasing cases	<p>Limitations on the authority of the Manpower Office in imposing sanctions and taking action. This means that cases reported by workers through the hotline tend to remain unresolved, undermining workers' trust in the government.</p> <p>Dissemination of information on handling sexual violence in the workplace in accordance with Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 88/2023, which is still in the planning stage.</p>
6.	Law enforcement and institutions	Increasing cases	There are no derivative regulations from Law No. 12/2022 and Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 88/2023, and the interpretation of each article is not specific to female victims.
<b>POLICIES RELATED TO THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOCIAL REPRODUCTION (CARE AND NURTURING IN THE HOME)</b>			
1.	Budgeting and distribution of social assistance for women	Minimizing cases	<p>The Makassar City Government has established policies in the form of UEP, PKH, and PEKKA.</p> <p>The APBD budget allocation is still focused on government employee spending and infrastructure development programs.</p> <p>The PEKKA program organized by the DPPPA targets poor women. However, the monitoring and evaluation of the distribution of social security and assistance has not been optimal.</p> <p>Discrimination in the data collection and distribution of social assistance systems. This has resulted in the distribution of assistance not reaching its intended targets.</p>
2.	Universal caregiving and nursing	Increasing cases	<p>Still based on Law No. 1/1974 and Law No. 16/2019 on Marriage, which tend to ignore equal rights in the household.</p> <p>The curriculum presented in premarital counseling does not address equality of roles in the household, women's reproductive health, and the rights and obligations of wives in the household.</p>

No.	POLICY	IMPACT	DESCRIPTION
			<p>The implementation of premarital counseling is still formal and tends to be ineffective.</p> <p>BP4, as an institution that provides consultation services through the KUA in each sub-district, is no longer functioning and needs to be reestablished and re-budgeted.</p>
3.	Law enforcement and institutions	Minimizing cases	There are various forms of integrated complaint and case handling policies, as well as legal aid centers. However, these can only be effective in protecting women victims when law enforcement agencies have a gender perspective.

*Source: processed data from informant interviews, 2024*

### *Policy on Handling Sexual Violence in the Workplace*

Government policies related to handling sexual violence against women in the workplace tend to be ineffective in reducing the incidence of sexual violence and providing women with the right to protection. First, policies on fulfilling wages for female workers through the formation of a Wage Council involving labor unions have not focused on female workers. In addition, the reporting system for work agreements/contracts is still not functioning optimally. This has led to disputes between workers and employers that are difficult for the Bipartite Labor Relations Committee to resolve. Second, the Makassar City Government has created policies in response to worker career development, but these do not specifically target women. Third, policies on fulfilling women workers' leave rights are still limited to providing information and raising awareness among employers. Fourth, the policy of providing employment social security in the form of establishing an employment social security program compliance team is an effort by the government to regulate employers. Fifth, programs and policies to fulfill protection facilities in the workplace are still limited to the provision of an employment complaint hotline and do not focus on sexual violence. Furthermore, the dissemination of information on the handling of sexual violence in the workplace in accordance with Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 88/2023 is still in the planning stage. Sixth, there are no derivative legal regulations from Law No. 12/2022 and Minister of Manpower Regulation No. 88/2023.

### *Policy on Handling Sexual Violence in the Household*

Policies related to women's involvement in domestic care and childcare roles are mapped into three aspects. First, the Makassar City Government has created policies in the form of legal regulations and programs related to the fulfillment of social security and assistance, such as the realization of the family welfare program budget of Rp. 2,363,293,275 (79.43%). Additionally, 200 people received assistance for Productive Economic Enterprises (UEP), and 156,641 Family Card (KK) were updated in the Integrated Social Welfare Data System (DTKS) in 2023 (Dinas Sosial

Kota Makassar, 2024). This DTKS serves as a reference in the distribution of the Family Hope Program (PKH). In addition, there is Empowerment of Women Heads of Households (PEKKA) policy. Second, the Makassar City Government is one of the regions that opposes gender discrimination through the enactment of Local Regulation No. 5/2019. This is in line with premarital counseling and the establishment of Marriage Guidance and Preservation Agency (BP4). Third, the policy of integrated complaint and case handling services, as well as legal aid centers, is still difficult to implement in cases of sexual violence against women because law enforcement officials tend not to have a gender perspective.

The results of this research data analysis negate the liberal feminist approach and affirm critical feminism. Liberal feminism argues that gender-based division of labor can be changed through legislation (Funk, 2013). The emphasis is no longer on the struggle for social justice, but rather on personal achievement alone. This condition creates inequality among women. Analysis of the research data finds facts that are in line with the critical feminist perspective, which criticizes capitalism for only benefiting capital owners (Arruzza, et al., 2019). The root cause of ineffective government policies lies in the flawed paradigm for addressing gender discrimination. Employment policies are limited to legal regulations that do not focus on women. They are also merely formalistic, as they are not accompanied by technical provisions for their implementation.

The complexity of the challenges in addressing sexual violence against women in Makassar City differs from Nancy Fraser's critical feminism in examining policies in developed countries. The values of critical feminism in the context of developed countries in Europe and France support marriage equality and individual sexual freedom. Feminism 99 percent rejects neoliberal co-optation, neo-traditional homophobia, and misogyny by reviving the spirit of radical rebellion (Arruzza, et al., 2019). This can be realized in developed countries with mature economies and capitalism, as well as a long history of labor movements. The vulnerability of women to sexual violence in Makassar City, particularly in the workplace, is inseparable from the limitations of labor unions in advocating for workers comprehensively due to the provisions of Law No. 21 of 2000. Meanwhile, there is still a lack of awareness among female workers to join labor unions, and they tend to be dominated by economic interests.

### *Contribution to the Discourse on Non-Western Public Administration*

Analysis of the research results clearly refutes the liberal feminist approach, which reduces the resolution of gender inequality to merely legal and formal reforms (Funk, 2013), and conversely affirms the urgency of a critical feminist perspective in public administration discourse, which is currently trapped in neoliberal logic. Although public policy should be an authoritative mandate for resolving public issues (Suratman, 2017), The reality in Makassar shows that labor policies are formalistic or “empty shells” that fail to address the structural roots of capitalism (Arruzza, et al., 2019). This failure is exacerbated by the shift of responsibility from the state to women through market mechanisms and austerity measures, whereby social assistance programs lacking accurate data actually

legitimize the double burden of social reproduction amid economic crisis (Federici, 2012). Instead of providing universal social security or radically deconstructing domestic roles (Wiriranai, 2015), public administration actually perpetuates sexist policies that drag women into a spiral of economic exploitation without substantive protection (Hawkesworth, 1994).

In the dimensions of law enforcement and social protection, this study highlights the dangers of adopting carceral feminism in local public administration that focuses excessively on criminalizing perpetrators without addressing the underlying economic and political inequalities. The enforcement of Law No. 12/2022, carried out without a gender perspective by officials, only results in “pseudo-legal emancipation” that ignores the fact that sexual violence is rooted in social exclusion and economic dependence (Arruzza, et al., 2019). Without integrated public services that include social housing, dignity restoration, and economic security, the legal system fails to break the cycle of violence (McGlynn & Westmarland, 2019). This proves that the public administration in Makassar is failing to provide comprehensive mitigation, leaving victims trapped in violence due to the lack of viable survival options outside of oppressive domestic structures.

As a result, this study makes a vital theoretical contribution by repositioning Nancy Fraser's critical feminist framework in a non-Western context with distinctive economic and political characteristics. Unlike developed countries where mature capitalism allows for radical demands based on strong labor unions, the context in Makassar is characterized by a stagnant economy and the hegemony of economic interests that weaken the consciousness of female workers. The limitations of the labor union movement due to the restrictions of Law No. 21/2000 and the vulnerability of the informal labor market require the public administration in Indonesia to do more than simply imitate Western policy models. Instead, more progressive and protectionist state intervention is needed to protect the basic rights of female workers and housewives, given that civil society and labor unions do not yet have sufficient bargaining power to independently resist neoliberal co-optation.

## Conclusion

The findings of this study urge a reorientation of public policy in Makassar City from a formalistic-normative approach to affirmative structural interventions in order to break the chain of sexual violence. The failure of market mechanisms and formal law to protect women requires legislators and practitioners to adopt three strategic steps: (1) Transformation of Labor Regulations: The Wage Council and the Manpower Office must issue binding technical regulations related to wage equality and gender-specific social security, not just appeals, in order to eliminate discrimination experienced by blue-collar and white-collar workers; (2) Institutionalization of the Universal Caregiver Paradigm: The government needs to allocate social assistance budgets that target women's economic independence to reduce domestic dependence, as well as reform pre-marital preparation programs into substantive gender equality education; and (3) Strengthening Community-Based Protection Infrastructure: Given the weak gender perspective of law

enforcement officials, policy investment must be shifted to strengthening UPTD PPA, community shelters, and accessible legal aid, in order to provide rehabilitative protection, not merely retributive.

Methodologically, this study is limited by its single case study approach in Makassar City, so that findings related to variations in vulnerability based on occupational class and marital status have contextual idiosyncrasies that cannot be generalized to all urban areas in Indonesia or other developing countries. However, the analytical validity of this study offers a representative model for cities with stagnant economic characteristics and strong patriarchal structures. To enrich the discourse on non-Western public administration, future research is recommended to: (1) Conduct comparative studies between cities with different levels of economic growth to test the consistency of Nancy Fraser's critical feminism theory; and (2) Explore the intersection of sexual violence issues with other post-modern variables such as the digital economy (gig economy) or the impact of the climate crisis on women's social reproductive burden, in order to produce policy formulations that are adaptive to dynamic global challenges.

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