

MANIFESTO

WOMEN'S MARCH JAKARTA 2025

Jakarta, 28 September 2025

Imagining September always leaves a restless impression in our minds and hearts—we, women, the people of Indonesia. September does not only recall the mass killings of 1965 against hundreds of thousands of people, nor the cruel slanders against thousands of women who resisted and thought critically. In the reform era, September has also recently illustrated the peak of anger and anxiety of the Indonesian people—boiling, erupting, and unbearable. Once again, the greedy, patriarchal, authoritarian, and fascist masculine regime blatantly drags our motherland into darkness.

Ecology and Indigenous Peoples

Nature is extracted. Minerals and resources are exploited without limit. Ecosystems are unbalanced, some on the verge of extinction. Indigenous peoples, the guardians of nature, are criminalized in Papua, Sulawesi, NTT, and many parts of Indonesia. Ironically, this massive exploitation is carried out in the name of sustainability. Sustainability here means the increasing sale of electric cars roaming the cities. Thus, the coal mines that have scarred Kalimantan, and the nickel mines bringing ecological disaster in Halmahera, continue: 24/7. Subsidies for ordinary people? No—they go to the wealthy capitalist elite, including subsidies for electric vehicles. Not to mention the series of tax amnesty bonuses. In truth, the sustainability enjoyed by the upper middle class comes from the blood of women and indigenous peoples—displaced, captured, tortured, and cut off from their sources of life. This is what it feels like to be colonized by our own country.

Feminist Economy

This exploitative system forces women, the poor, and the middle class—the 99% of us—to work to the bone, day and night, at home, on the streets, in factories, offices, even across borders as migrant workers. Care work is systematically undervalued, made precarious, with minimal protection. Domestic Workers (PRT)? Forget dreaming of fair wages or decent work—mere recognition never leaves the rotten mouths of those in power. Could capitalism stand without women's care work that keeps society alive? COVID-19 made clear how essential care work is. Yet, our sweat never suffices. Prices soar, education is difficult, healthcare is suffocating. We cannot fathom how rising taxes fail to translate into welfare guarantees for women and the poor.

Public Health

More than 4,000 mothers die per 100,000 births—mostly from infection, hemorrhage, and eclampsia. Unequal health facilities, the logical result of capitalist-style development, are the root problem. Healthcare infrastructure is built not on people's needs, but on market purchasing power. This widens inequality. Access to sexual and reproductive healthcare is limited, poor in quality. Safe abortion is restricted. Stigma and discrimination against women, gender-diverse, and sexual minorities abound. Women with HIV/AIDS are left to die amid recurring drug price wars. BPJS, the

only universal social protection, is forced to show surplus—while the vulnerable are marginalized further. Is this what it means for the state to do business with its people?

Education

Nutrition programs are performative. Initiatives launched for votes become hotbeds of corruption. At least 5,000 fake kitchens plague the government's "Free Nutritious Meals" (MBG) program. Despite claims of success, hundreds of poisoning cases occurred in its first year. Tragically, the Rp 236 trillion MBG budget comes from education funds—while 3.7 million honorary teachers survive on Rp 1–3 million/month, while education excludes girls with disabilities and gender-diverse people, and while curricula ignore indigenous communities. Education is designed neoliberally—as an ivory tower detached from the people, nurturing anti-human rights and anti-feminist values. Again, masculine politics ignores feminism. Social reproduction must be a state priority over profit, realized in quality, accessible, inclusive, and just public services.

Gender, Sexuality, and GBV

Amid these crises, women and marginalized groups still battle gender-based and sexual violence (GBV). Komnas Perempuan recorded 330,097 GBV cases against women in 2024. Arus Pelangi documented at least 373 LGBTQ+ individuals facing violence and discrimination between 2021–2023. Physical, sexual, economic, psychological, and verbal abuse, bullying—daily threats. Heteronormative beliefs fuel conversion therapy against LGBTQ+ groups. Gender bias and lack of education on equality feed GBV. Government inaction kills: femicide takes one woman's life every two days. This patriarchal government has failed to provide safe spaces for women and marginalized groups.

Law and Public Policy

Patriarchal governance breeds laws that threaten bodily autonomy, restrict expression, and ignore the people. At least 177 discriminatory local regulations exist, harming women and vulnerable groups, without any comprehensive anti-discrimination law. At the national level, pro-elite policies are rushed through. Omnibus Law was forced through secret hotel meetings. Now, POLRI and KUHAP bills expand police powers. Meanwhile, the Domestic Worker Protection Bill languishes for decades. We are outraged by lawmakers shamelessly living in luxury atop our suffering.

Freedom of Expression, Militarism, and Authoritarianism

When we resist, they silence us. When we march, they block us with tanks, barracudas, and tear gas—funded by our taxes. Criminalization hits us who defend rights, homes, and the environment. Hundreds are arbitrarily arrested, books and knowledge used as evidence. This is authoritarian rule, fascist masculine politics. Why revive compulsory reserve forces? Why force us into military drills paid to repress our own people? Even now, we await the release of friends held hostage by the police.

This regime shamelessly shows its worst face. It camouflages, frames narratives, shuts down discussions, terrorizes, and brands us anarchists. If anarchist means refusing oppression, repression, and exploitation—then we are anarchists. If anarchist means defending historical truth—then we

are anarchists. If anarchist means upholding justice—then we are anarchists. Are they not satisfied draining the earth, now they also drain women’s bodies to the bone?

Through this manifesto, in September 2025, we stand in solidarity—defending equality and social justice eroded across society. We, Women’s March Jakarta, reject the ownership of nature and women’s bodies by violent, greedy hands. We demand sovereignty return to women’s wombs, to the people’s hands.

“I am not free, while any woman is unfree.”

As organized resistance rooted in collective community experience, we, Women’s March Jakarta, voice Eleven Feminist Justice Principles. These are not mere aspirations, but a roadmap for structural change. Here is our call:

1. Stop National Strategic Projects (PSN) and all extractive activities that seize living spaces, damage ecology, and deploy security forces to silence indigenous peoples and citizens.
2. Lower basic food prices and guarantee universal social protection by allocating public funds for education, healthcare, public transport, stunting prevention, and maternal health.
3. Immediately pass the Domestic Worker Protection Bill (PPRT) and participatively revise the Marriage Law, Criminal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, and repeal the Omnibus Law and other discriminatory regulations.
4. Recognize care and reproductive work as essential labor; abolish exploitative internships, workplace gender/disability discrimination, and protect migrant workers from systemic violence.
5. Abolish all discriminatory rules and criminalization of women, queer people, human rights defenders, sex workers, people living with HIV, indigenous peoples, believers, persons with disabilities, and other marginalized groups.
6. Recognize femicide as a national crisis, establish risk indicators to prevent domestic violence and femicide, and guarantee comprehensive protection for trans women, queer people with disabilities, sex workers, and survivors of tech-mediated sexual violence.
7. Guarantee safe, legal, non-discriminatory healthcare—including reproductive and safe abortion services—as part of the right to health and bodily autonomy.
8. End AI-facilitated sexual harassment, deepfakes, and manipulative tech; regulate digital technology to protect children, migrant workers, and vulnerable groups from online violence and exploitation.
9. Reform the police to be gender-sensitive and humane; stop criminalizing activists, journalists, students, artists, and dissenting citizens; free political prisoners.
10. Withdraw troops from humanitarian conflict zones, including Papua; end militaristic and authoritarian approaches toward civilians.
11. Create safe, inclusive, representative, and censorship-free political and public spaces; honor collective memory of people’s struggles; ensure holistic safety, depathologize identities, and provide psychosocial support for vulnerable communities.