

STATE



OF THE

WORLD'S

FATHERS

COUNTRY REPORT: INDONESIA

STATE OF THE WORLD'S FATHERS COUNTRY REPORT: INDONESIA 2015

Produced by Rutgers WPF Indonesia

Writer

Sita Thamar van Bemmelen

Editor

Monique Soesman

Siska Dewi Noya

Reviewer

Rachel Ploem

The original report citation is: Levtov R, van der Gaag N, Greene M, Kaufman M, and Barker G (2015). *State of the World's Fathers: A MenCare Advocacy Publication*. Washington, DC: Promundo, Rutgers, Save the Children, Sonke Gender Justice, and the MenEngage Alliance.

Layout

Zulfikar Arief

Production team

Program MenCare+ Team

Rutgers WPF Indonesia
JI Pejaten Barat Raya 17B
Pejaten Barat, Pasar Minggu
Jakarta Selatan, 12510.
Indonesia
info@rutgerswpfindo.org
www.rutgerswpfindo.org

TABLE OF CONTENT

Foreword	4
Introduction	5
STATE OF THE WORLD'S FATHERS	5
INVOLVED FATHERHOOD IN INDONESIA: WHY IT IS RELEVANT	6
A country with a large and extremely diverse population	6
Trends requiring involved fatherhood	6
Dominant, but unhealthy images of masculinity and fatherhood	7
Signs of nascent awareness of men's roles as partners of women and as engaged fathers	8
INDONESIAN FATHERS	11
Teenage fathers	11
Divorced Fathers	14
Polygamous Fathers	16
Older fathers	18
Fathers in families with one spouse working abroad	19
Incarcerated fathers	20
Importance of kin support for Indonesian fathers	20
FATHERS AND UNPAID WORK IN THE HOME	22
FATHERS' INVOLVEMENT IN SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH	25
Indonesian fathers' attitude towards health	25
Usage of contraceptives by Indonesian men	26
Fathers bringing home an unwelcome present (HIV)	29
Fathers and circumcision of sons and daughters	31
INVOLVEMENT OF FATHERS IN MATERNAL AND CHILD CARE	34
Fathers' involvement during pregnancy and delivery: traditional and modern practices	34
Role of religious leaders	36
Fathers' role in reducing maternal mortality	36
Fathers' role in reducing infant and child mortality	38
Dormant issue: paternity leave	40
FATHERS AND DOMESTIC VIOLENCE	42
Violence of husbands against their wife	42
Violence of fathers against their children	45
THE ROLE OF FATHERS IN CHILD DEVELOPMENT	48
The Indonesian concept and practice of father's parenting	48
Challenges faced by fathers	49
Change benefits fathers too	50
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	51
FOOTNOTE	54

FOREWORD

Why a report on fathers and fatherhood in Indonesia? When the Global State of the World Fathers (SOWF) was launched, followed by a SOWF report for the Netherlands, Rutgers WPF Indonesia immediately expressed interest to develop such a report for the Indonesian situation. Fathers and fatherhood in Indonesia have never been the subject of a comprehensive study. This is exactly why we seized the opportunity to write a report on the State of the World Fathers for Indonesia.

While implementing the Mencare+ programme since 2013, we became aware of a rapidly changing socio-cultural and economic environment that impacts on notions of fatherhood. A multifold of questions on fathers and fatherhood came to our mind. What does it mean to be a father? Do Indonesian fathers think about fatherhood or about their participation in care and domestic work, rather than just being biological fathers? What kind of fathers do we have in Indonesia? How do teenage fathers, divorced fathers, absent fathers, polygamous fathers cope with fatherhood? What is the impact of violent fathers on families, from one generation to the next?

What we do know is that fathers matter. All father-child relationships, whether positive, negative, or lacking, at any stage in the life of the child, have a tremendous impact on the future life of girls and boys. This will in turn affect the way men enter relationships and become fathers. Additionally men's participation as fathers and caregivers also significantly affects women's lives.

In the heteronormative society of Indonesia most boys will become father at some point in their life. The role of fathers is pivotal to establishing healthy and harmonious families. And yet public policies in Indonesia do not promote men's and boys' involvement as fathers and caregivers in the framework of achieving gender equality. All the more reason to produce a report on the state of fathers in Indonesia.

We were lucky to find a dedicated writer in the person of Sita van Bemmelen. Her in depth knowledge of the society and cultures of Indonesia has made this report rich with insights from within. We are greatly indebted to her for her meticulous work on this report. A final draft was proofread by gender expert Rachel Ploem from Rutgers, who was also a member of the editorial board of the Global State of the World Fathers report, resulting in further resourceful input.

I am convinced that all fathers, fathers to be, mothers and mothers to be, as well as policy makers in Indonesia, who will read this report will find much that they can identify with in this report. We hope it will foster mutual respect between men and women and gender equality, which are so important to the well-being of our children and the future of the Indonesian nation.

Monique Soesman
Director Rutgers WPF

INTRODUCTION

State of the World's Fathers

Increased involvement of fathers has a wide range of benefits. It is vital to foster women's and children's health and welfare, to increase women's participation in the work force contributing to family and national income, it decreases the incidence of domestic violence, and it is beneficial to men's health as well. State of the World's Fathers (SOWF) is an internationally co-sponsored project assessing the state of men's involved parenthood around the world. It aims to enhance this across many dimensions.

SOWF is an initiative of MenCare, which launched a global fatherhood campaign 2011. The MenCare+ Program, developed in 2013 from the tenets of the MenCare Campaign, is a 3-year, 4-country collaboration between Rutgers WPF and Promundo-US. It engages men, in the age group 15-35 years, as caregiving partners in maternal and child health (MCH) and sexual and reproductive health rights (SRHR). The program is supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands. It is implemented in Brazil, Indonesia, Rwanda and South Africa.

The SOWF project intends to provide a periodic, data-driven snapshot of the state of men's contribution to parenting and care. Four key areas have been identified that demand father involvement: 1) unpaid care in the home, 2) sexual and reproductive health and rights, and maternal, new born and child health, 3) violence against women and children, and 4) child development.

The SOWF country report Indonesia presents a rapid assessment of the state of fathers and fathering in Indonesia, based on available statistical data, government policies, relevant laws and other legal regulations, MenCare+ Indonesia outcomes, relevant literature and articles published in the media. The report does not pretend to be comprehensive: due to the limited time to compile the report, it is very well possible that relevant academic literature and research reports have not been consulted. Still, it is safe to say, that as engaged fatherhood is a relatively new area of concern in the country, many aspects of fathering require more research. Suggestions for this are given throughout this report.

Involved Fatherhood In Indonesia: Why It Is Relevant

A COUNTRY WITH A LARGE AND EXTREMELY DIVERSE POPULATION

With a population of approaching 257 million people, Indonesia is the fourth most populous state in the world. Indonesia is also the country with the largest Muslim majority in the world: 88,3 % of the population aged over 10 years old embraces Islam. The state recognizes five other religions as well: Protestantism (6%), Catholicism (2%), Hinduism (1,7%) Buddhism 1,3%), Khong Hu Chu (0.1%).¹ Indonesia is an archipelago populated by different ethnic groups, each with its own distinct culture. Alongside the national language Bahasa Indonesia around 350 different languages and many more dialects are spoken. The legal system with regard to marriage, divorce, inheritance, and adoption is plural, with separate courts for the Muslim population applying Islamic law, and national law for the rest of the population, whereas customary law is still recognized as legally binding by the state in matters of family law. Religion, customs and customary law prominently influence the lives of Indonesians. Values, norms and practices rooted in religion and custom often limit the full involvement of women in development and determine fulfilment of basic rights, access to education, health services, financial resources and status of men and women in the family.

In view of this extreme diversity, values, norms, and practices with regard to gender, father- and motherhood are extremely diverse too. However, despite the diversity there is an overall pattern of patriarchy underlying father- and motherhood. There are several general trends that call for change concerning fatherhood that can be identified.

TRENDS REQUIRING INVOLVED FATHERHOOD

Indonesia has developed from a predominantly agricultural to an increasingly industrialized and service-oriented country, with a growing part of the population living and working in urban areas. Urban lower and middle class couples often depend on two incomes to cover the costs of living and upbringing of their children. Consequently, the need for couples to share household tasks is real, all the more so because due to frequent traffic congestion commuting between home and the workplace adds to the hours away from home.

Poverty is more common in rural areas: 13,76% of the rural population was rated as poor versus 8,16% of the urban population (susenas 2014).² In several regions in the country the solution sought by poor couples is outmigration of one spouse to increase family income. The destination is either one of the urban centres in Indonesia or one of the countries providing employment for low-skilled Indonesian workers. Outmigration of the mother leaves the daily care of children to the father and his or the mother's relatives, which may include grandparents.

Indonesia also faces several dire conditions in the health and social sectors. The mortality rate is still the highest in South-East Asia and the country has not achieved the MDG's target set for 2015 (102 deaths per 100.000 live births, which was still as high as 359:100.000 in 2013). Marriages below the legal age – 19 for boys and 16 for girls - are not uncommon: parents still marry off daughters at a young age and to a lesser extent boys too in some regions and teenage pregnancy appears to be on the rise. The number of adults and children living with HIV is rising as well and this also counts for the divorce rate. Despite the promulgation of a law on domestic violence in 2004, the number of cases reported increases each year. Involved fatherhood might mitigate all these problems.

DOMINANT, BUT UNHEALTHY IMAGES OF MASCULINITY AND FATHERHOOD

The Indonesian marriage law promulgated in 1974, positions the husband as the economic provider of the family and the wife as housewife and caretaker of the children.³ In particular the wife's role has been presented as natural – read determined by God Almighty -(kodrat) in government's rhetoric in the past. The norm about a father's role as provider has been reinforced by the Indonesian government. . Still often presented as such over the past forty years: the majority of its programs in the economic sector have been targeted at men. It is therefore not surprising that the majority of Indonesian fathers has internalized the norm that their role in the family is mainly restricted to that of provider of the family's financial needs.

The separation of men's and women's roles as defined in the marriage law tallies with dominant, religious norms as taught by religious leaders and understood by the majority, and practices in religious communities. The gender division of tasks and rights is also buttressed by traditional customs in many regions of the country. Religious leaders of Muslim organizations, most of them male, remind their congregations that men and women have different but complementary roles. Traditional leaders, generally men too, have gained new status after the introduction of decentralization in 2002 do the same. Men and women are seated apart while worshipping and attending weddings and other ceremonies, are assigned different tasks in communal affairs, and to some extent are still subject to religious and customary laws that define their rights and obligations differently. Needless to say, that the separation of men's and women's worlds has not fostered a tradition of understanding from those of men on the part of Indonesian fathers when it comes to the needs of wife and children. The strict separation also limits men to enter the domestic arena because it is considered a woman's realm. This deprives a father of the joy and personal fulfilment which he may feel when, for example, he takes part in child caring.

Tradition also prescribes that all men (and women) have to get married and have children. A childless marriage is considered a calamity. Underlying these social norms is a man's role as progenitor. Only two generations ago couples sought to raise large families, based on the assumption that a large flock of children is a blessing: many hands helping out meant that wealth could be accumulated easily (*banyak anak, banyak rezeki*). Although family planning has been vigorously advocated and with considerable, albeit not universal, success under the regime of President Suharto (1966-1998), this traditional value has to some extent remained persistent and recently seems to be revived in Muslim religious communities adhering to the belief that God will see to the welfare of all children. Sexual prowess and siring many children is thus still regarded by traditionally minded men as an integral part of masculinity. It does not, however, include care of children and involvement in domestic work.

Modern media expose Indonesian men to new images of masculinity which are at odds with traditional ones, but to some extent are also contradicting. Ads for modern housing on television present the image

of a male executive, but at the same time a married family man living in an urban suburb with wife and two young children, in combination with the car as modern status symbol and one or more in-living domestic helpers which is a status symbol of traditional elite households. This image is also projected in many popular Indonesian television series, which are rarely located in the context of a regional and traditional culture. This modern Indonesian man does not need to worry about domestic affairs: they will be taken care of by his wife who works with the domestic help or supervises her, if she has a paid job. In other words, traditional patterns persist, clothed in a modern jacket. Another image of masculinity is the Indonesian version of the Marlboro cowboy: the young, athletic, unattached, and adventurous man who explores Indonesia's nature alone or with buddies, presented in ads for the very popular Indonesian clove cigarettes in magazines and on bill boards in cities and towns. His needs are taken of and domestic life is not of his concern. Many fathers of nuclear families, however, are confronted care at home with the situation that their wife is away for work during the day and domestic help is becoming scarcer and more expensive. They therefore have to come to terms with the necessity to share domestic work, which may lead to inner conflict about their own norms regarding the gender division of labour and, if not solved, to domestic disharmony.

Gender equity – translated in the Indonesian language as 'equal gender relations and gender justice' (*kesetaraan and keadilan gender*) - has been advocated in Indonesia by women activists since the mid-1990's, followed by a commitment to gender mainstreaming in government policies and programs in 2000 under Indonesia's fourth President, Abdurrahman Wahid (1999-2001). Many Indonesian men have interpreted this policy and the goals of the Indonesian feminist movement as a call for equal rights and the same roles for men and women in public and domestic life to which they have responded negatively, arguing that it is not in conformity with Indonesian and/or religious values. As the debate emphasized the need to correct gendered inequalities to the disadvantage of women, many men felt cornered and did not see any benefit for themselves. In this climate reflection on Indonesian masculinity and men's role in the domestic realm could not flourish. Even men who were basically supportive of more equal relations between men and women, referred to themselves as 'men who are afraid of their wives' (*laki-laki takut istri*), an expression which does not sound appealing to the majority of men.

SIGNS OF NASCENT AWARENESS OF MEN'S ROLES AS PARTNERS OF WOMEN AND AS ENGAGED FATHERS

.. Part of men are of the opinion that women's problems are the problems of women only and men feel that they do not need to think about them. Although, if we look at it from a wider perspective, and if we take into consideration what the Prophet has said: in fact, a woman is the sibling of a man. Well, if we think about our sister having an unpleasant problem - injustice, violence and discrimination – how can we as men just stand by in silence. It is what needs to be thought about together, in particular by us, men. If a problem strikes a woman, men too have to feel that it is also a part of men's problems. Based on that, I think it is not an overstatement to say that men have an obligation and should take part in paying attention to and also stand up for women's problems.

Interview with Nur Achmad, *Jurnal Perempuan*, issue 64 (2009), page 134.



That men have started embracing the notion of engaged fatherhood, cannot be separated from pro feminist men's involvement as partners of women in the Indonesian feminist movement since the 1990's. The main issue propelling men to become active collectively, as men, was domestic violence. How men were involved in promoting a stop to violence against women since 2000 is narrated in section of this report on fathers and domestic violence. Today, the men's movement consists of the men's organizations such as The New Man Alliance (Aliansi Laki-laki Baru). The first New Man group started in 2009 in Yogyakarta (Central Java), its membership partly consisting of husbands of survivors of domestic violence. Since then New Man groups have been established in a several other provinces (Lampung, South Sumatra; several cities in the eastern part of Indonesia). The Alliance has a common website and its regional members organize talk groups for men, in Jakarta a forum discussing masculinity, and occasionally organizes events and campaigns. Another men's group is called The Pavillion/Resting Place for Husbands (Bale Suami) in Bandung, the capital of West Java. Friends of the nationwide Coalition of Indonesian Women (Sahabat KPI) is an another example of a men's group which supports and is closely affiliated with a women's organization. There are probably more men's groups of this type. All these groups share the notion that gender equity and justice can only be realized if men are transformed, an approach very recently supported by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment.⁴ The men's movement is the breeding ground for men who are concerned about and interested in promoting engaged fatherhood. For example, articles posted on the website of The New Man Alliance cover subjects such as 'the role and involvement of fathers in upbringing' and 'sharing of domestic roles is a family obligation'.

The leading foreign NGO in the field of promoting engaged fatherhood is the non-profit organization RutgersWPF Indonesia. In 2007 this NGO supported the development of a counselling program for abusive men and their partners, with two local women's NGO's as its partners: Rifka Annisa in Yogyakarta (Java) and the Woman's Crisis Center (WCC) Bengkulu (South Sumatra). The New Man Alliance group in Yogyakarta was an offshoot of this program. In 2013 Rutgers WPF initiated the MenCare+ Program Indonesia, again collaborating with Rifka Annisa, and adding two other partners, the Aceh based NGO Pulih (Recovery) Foundation, and the East Java branch of the Indonesian Association for Family Planning (PKBI).⁵

For easier understanding by the Indonesian population, MenCare+ has adopted the Indonesian name *Laki-Laki Peduli*. The MenCare+ program has the following objectives:

- Redefinition of dominant social, cultural and religious norms on masculinity and fatherhood by norms that provide more room for equality and caregiving roles of partners and fathers;
- Increase of men's share in domestic unpaid work and child care;
- Increase of men's knowledge about sexual and reproductive health rights and services on reproductive health;
- Increase of men's role as caregiving partners in order to reduce the maternal mortality rate (MMR) and child mortality rate (CMR), and of men's use of contraceptives;
- Decrease the number of violence cases against wives and children by providing men with counseling services in order to change their behavior.

Promising results are expected, such as improved communication between couples and increased mutual respect, a more gender balanced division of tasks in the home and with regard to caregiving of children, and a reduction violence against women. The MenCare+ Program will thus eventually contribute to a higher level of gender justice in society.

MenCare+ Indonesia combines a community-based approach involving fathers and male adolescents with advocacy for policy change of executive and judicial government institutions. (Young) women are involved in group sessions to ensure changes among men go parallel with a process of empowerment among women. At national, regional and local level the Program liaises with government institutions and NGO's in the field of reproductive health. The MenCare+ Program is implemented in 4 out of 37 provinces in the country, three on the island of Java (Jakarta, Yogyakarta, East Java), and one on the island of Sumatra (Bandar Lampung). The immediate outreach of the Program is still limited, but lessons learned and best practices of the Program since its implementation in 2013 can be identified, which can be useful for planning of programs by other organizations and to scale up and work together with government institutions. A next 5 year program, Prevention+: Partnering with Men to end Gender Based Violence is about to be started in the beginning of 2016.

Indonesian Fathers

Most Indonesian men want to get married not too late in life. This is evident from statistical data: 87% of all men above 10 years of age are married before the age of 30 or have already been married, but are divorced or have lost their wife.⁶ As there are also men who marry for the first time after the age of 30, it is safe to say, that about 9 out of 10 men Indonesian marry at least once during their lifetime, which is higher than world's average of 4 out of 5. The average age of marriage for men is 26,2 years, which is lower than in most other countries in the Asian region (India, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore).⁷ They marry women who are on average three years younger. Men and women usually want to and are expected by their family to have their first child as soon as possible after marriage. Some categories of married men and fathers experience specific difficulties to give substance to their fatherhood which are presented below.

TEENAGE FATHERS

Child marriage of boys: one would not expect this to happen often as the legal minimum age of marriage for men is 19.⁸ The vast majority of teenage boys in the 10-19 years group is indeed still single. This does not mean that the number of teenage boys who are married below 19 is negligible. The 2010 census as compiled by the national Central Body for Statistics (BPS) gives the staggering figure of slightly over 700.000 married boys, 3.17% of all boys in this age group. Within the age group 10-14 this percentage is of course much lower – 0.63% -, but we still talk about 73.537 boys. The percentage of married boys aged 15-19 is already significant: 5.96% (against 13,72% of girls in this age-group).⁹ The census does not give details in which regions of the country boys tend to marry young or are married off which probably is the case when they marry so young. It should be mentioned that the percentages given are too low, because religious leaders and officials are often willing to raise the age of children on the marriage certificate if a child has not yet reached the legal age for marriage. This used to be possible as many children did not have a birth certificate¹⁰, hence submitting a birth certificate for the registration of marriage was not required. It remains to be seen whether this has changed over the past years, because primary schools have started to ask for a birth certificate when a child is registered.

These statistics are important because when men marry in their teens, many will become a father when they are still very young, often still in school, and dependent on their parents. There are two reasons for early fatherhood. First, a relatively limited number of parents arrange a marriage for their son at a young age, and expect the young couple to produce a grandchild. Having grandchildren is a source of pride and the question addressed to an older person how many grandchildren he or she has is common. Secondly, early marriage made their girlfriend pregnant and then a father within a few months' time.¹¹ Parents on both sides will remind him that he has to do 'the right thing' by marrying the girl in order to safeguard the good name of both families and ensure that the child

bears the name of the father on its birth certificate. Parents may also pressure their teenage son to marry his pregnant girlfriend - even if he is unwilling - to avoid the punishment in the form of a fine or expulsion that traditional leaders may impose in the case of extra-marital pregnancy. It is not clear whether and how often this occurs, but reflect the strength of the norm that marriage is the only socially accepted solution in this case. Abortion is a crime according to Indonesian law, generally considered a sin according to most religions, and safe abortion very difficult to obtain and even if so, it is expensive. Consequently it is not an option considered by most parents and their daughter when she turns out to be pregnant outside wedlock.¹² The office registering marriages of Muslim couples and the civil registry for couples of other religions usually give dispensation when a teenage boy who has a child out of wedlock on the way, but has not yet reached the legal age of marriage. It sometimes happens that a divorce follows soon after the child is born, with previous mutual consent of the families.¹³

Teenage fathers may also marry and live with their young wife, without having their marriage registered at the civil or religious registry. Reasons are that parents are of the opinion that registering the marriage is not necessary, as the religious ceremony suffices and they want to avoid the expenses of the registration. Occasionally social organizations organize and pay for mass marriage registration ceremonies to overcome this problem.

MARRIAGE OF ARYANTO (18) AND NURUL HIKMAH (17) REGISTERED 3 YEARS AFTER THE RELIGIOUS CEREMONY.

Aryanto and Nurul met when they were 14 and 13 years old. They met through a mutual friend, fell in love and Aryanto decided to marry Nurul a year later. Their marriage was concluded by a religious leader according to Muslim practice (akad nikah). When a local Foundation in Jakarta (Yayasan Pondok Kasih dan Harmoni Cinta Indonesia) organized a mass marriage registration ceremony, they joined as the youngest out of 5000 couples. At the time Aryanto worked as a driver which allowed him to provide for Nurul and their one-year old daughter. Aryanto stated to the press that he was very happy that his marriage was now acknowledged by the state.

<http://rtv.co.id/read/news/1504/resepsi-nikah-massal-pengantin-termuda-mendadak-jadi-artis>

In eastern parts of Indonesia a young father may not marry his wife formally in church and have their union registered at civil registry, because his family is not yet able to pay the brideprice to the family of his wife. They are, however, allowed by their families to live together. In some regions such as Bali and Lombok marriage by elopement is a form of marriage allowed by custom and occurs frequently, but registration of the marriage does not always take place or is postponed. In these informal unions according to the state the young father is not absent. There are also teenage fathers who do not marry, either because their parents do not allow them to marry their pregnant girlfriend or because he himself refuses to do so, because the prospect of marrying her does not appeal to him. Another reason can be a difference in religion: interfaith marriage is outlawed in Indonesia¹⁴ and if he or his girlfriend is not allowed or does not wish to convert to the faith of the other, he will not marry her.

No research is available on how teenage fathers in Indonesia experience the challenge to cope with their responsibilities as a husband and father, but probably they go through the same experiences as their peers elsewhere. Young husbands and fathers are more likely to have economic and employment challenges and are more often economically disadvantaged than adult fathers: they often are still economically dependent

on their parents or because of their young age and lack of higher education end up in low paid jobs. Their perceived or actual inability to provide for their family may cause tension with their wife and instill a sense of frustration in them. They also may be emotionally unable to be a supportive parent for their young child. Early fatherhood is also incompatible with an adolescent's participation in peer activities, which may induce a young father to neglect his responsibilities as a parent. Case studies presenting the experiences of Indonesian women who have married young, show that their young husband did not change his previous lifestyle after marriage: he continued to go to school or college, while hanging out with his unmarried peers, and leaving the care of his child to his wife and his or her parents. In cases when the young father is forced to marry, he may do his best to break up the marriage.¹⁵ There is a lack of information on the experiences of teenage fathers, who have not married the girl who has given them a child.

On the other hand, it would be untrue to state that teenage fathers are always unable to fulfill their parental role. Cases of teenage fathers are known who have been able to live up to the challenge, probably because they experience marriage as a rite de passage that comes with new responsibilities and other men in the community also marry young.

Recently several Indonesian women's organizations, health foundations, and feminist academics have revived the issue of child marriage after it laid dormant for many decades. These groups intend to eradicate child and teenage marriage, but mainly of girls and lobby for a revision of the marriage law by raising the minimum age of marriage for girls to 19 years (the same as for boys), but the call for this change has not yet born fruit as it is not yet supported by a wide public awareness campaign. The National Board for Family Planning has recently started a program for young people to postpone marriage until a young man has reached the age of 25 and a woman 20 (PUP).¹⁶ The objectives of this program are to lower the birthrate by raising the age of women at first marriage to at least 20 years which will automatically reduce the number of children born to women below that age and help ensuring that the couple is able to stand on its own feet. Several reproductive health programs for teenagers are implemented by the same government agency, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education, the Indonesian Family Planning Association, and women's organizations. PLAN Indonesia together with Rutgers-WPF Indonesia has recently developed a module on SRHR for young people at community level and a module on preventing child marriage. These programs provide comprehensive sexuality education for teenagers of both sexes, among others to counter child marriage and reduce teenage pregnancy. Due to insufficient funding from regional governments, however, the outreach of the government programs in most regions is limited to a few high schools, usually in urban centers. To which extent these programs help teenage boys to prevent unwanted fatherhood, is yet unknown and should be the topic of future research.

MenCare+ (Laki-laki Peduli) runs a program for young unmarried men in the age group 15-25 years to fill the gap that teen fathers face a lack of parent programs to help them.¹⁷ This program addresses the various challenges which young fathers face as mentioned above. This program also familiarizes young men with the positive idea that fatherhood is a wonderful opportunity of how to become a caring, non-violent and responsible man, husband, and father.

DIVORCED FATHERS

The social norm about divorce as shameful is still strong in Indonesia and divorce is condemned by religious leaders. For these reasons a husband and father may choose to preserve his marriage despite marital discord. Many count on their wife to endure an unsatisfactory marriage: a survey by MenCare+ found that 50% of male respondents are of the opinion that a woman has to preserve her marriage even if the husband abuses her.¹⁸ Concern for the children is another reason for staying together. Children of a broken home – the English term

for this is commonly used - suffer from this stigma. In some cases men do not want to arrange for a divorce in court, which is the only way to end a marriage formally, because of the high costs and sometimes because they do not want to free their wife from the marital bond.

However, many men are unable to preserve their marriage. The 2010 census gives a total of 1,067 million men who were divorced: 1.11 % of all men above 10 years of age. This percentage is significantly lower than that of women in the same age group (2.5%).¹⁹ This discrepancy does not mean that men divorce less often: they just remarry sooner and more often than divorced women. This can be interpreted as an indication that divorced Indonesian men need a housewife and a stepmother for their children, if their children are not yet adult and if children are allocated to them and not to the mother.

The rate of divorce in Indonesia has increased over the past years: from 10% of the number of registered marriages in 2010 to 14% in 2014.²⁰ The highest divorce rate is found among the group of young couples who have been married less than five years. The three main causes of divorce (out of 14) reported by National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) in 2015 based on data provided the year before by the Religious Courts (Badan Pengadilan Agama) are: lack of harmony (31%), the partner acts irresponsibly, which often refers to the husband having abandoned his wife (24%), and economic difficulties (22%).²¹ A striking finding is that ca. 70% of the recent requests for divorce at the state and religious courts are filed by the wife, which contrasts with the practice in the past when divorce used to be more often filed by the husband. The increased divorce rate and increased percentage of women requesting divorce has become a matter of concern, giving rise to public debate. Several contributors to this debate blame women for breaking up their marriage, considering them too demanding regarding the financial contribution of the husband or of being under the influence of ideas about gender equality, which they regard as pernicious. Others however, point out, that a man may have difficulty living up to his wives' expectation that he provides the bulk of between the family income. After all, many lower class men are unemployed or earn a meager income, and in particular young husbands and fathers tend to depend financially on their parents for the upkeep of their family. Research on these groups of divorced fathers might highlight to which extent they feel inadequate and consider the demand of their wives that it is their duty only to provide for the family as unfair.

A revision of the wording about the husband's role as provider in the 1974 marriage law is advocated by the women's movement, because women also work and contribute to family income and they need the support of the husband in sharing domestic and care tasks. That it also victimizes men who fail in their role as provider is not stated, while this could be a powerful argument for support of this legal change on the part of men. So far, their support has not been forthcoming.

When it comes to custody of the children, the 1974 marriage law is used as guideline by judges of the state courts the compilation of Islamic law is used as guideline in the religious courts. This guideline stipulates that children up to the age of 12 should preferably be allocated to the mother. However, if the husband can convince the judge that his wife is unfit to bring up their offspring or is unable to provide for them, the husband usually finds the judge on his side. Children who are older than 12, can state in court which parent they prefer to live with.²² Often, however, a couple does not file a request for a court's decision concerning the custody of their children, but follows local custom in this matter. This makes it impossible to provide representative data on how often children live with their mother or their father after divorce, but it is safe to say that they follow the mother more often than the father except when the couple comes from a patrilineal society in which case the children nearly always go to the father. If children live with their father it does not necessarily mean that

he will be involved as their primary caretaker: he may leave the daily care of them to female relatives.

If the children are allocated to the mother, their father is sometimes not allowed to keep in contact with them after the divorce. His ex-wife may use his inability or unwillingness to support the children financially as an excuse to withhold him access to his children and even turn them against their father. This is in violation of the 2002 law on the protection of the child, which states that the parent who has custody of the child is not allowed to sever the relationship of child with the other parent.²³ As there is no legal arrangement concerning parental access in place in Indonesia, divorced fathers cannot file a claim to be allowed access to their children, if the mother refuses this (vice versa, the mother cannot do so either, if the children allocated to the father).

Divorced fathers who leave the upbringing of their children to their wife are legally obliged to pay for the child's upkeep according to Islamic law. In practice, divorced fathers often do not comply with the court's decision regarding alimony. They may be unwilling to do so out of spite or they just cannot afford to pay the amount in the longer run, particularly when they remarry and start a new family. A divorced man can get away with this as the enforcement of such a court decision is still weak: the wife has to request a court order summoning the police to act which may require additional expenses, therefore poor women tend to let it go.

Divorced fathers have not yet been the subject of qualitative research, whereas the legal aid offices for women and other women's organizations have compiled a mass of information on reasons why women request divorce, the psychological dilemma's they experience when doing so, and the problems they face in court when suing for divorce, demanding custody of children and their rightful part of the marital property, which according to law is half of it. In all these matters, women face tremendous obstacles, as a woman who sues for divorce is often scorned by relatives and society at large as a bad wife and the husband and father of her children often finds the judge on his side when the children or the marital property is the bone of contention. Qualitative data from these organizations is used by the National Commission on Violence Against Women for their annual reports. It is obvious that there is a pressing need for more information about men's experiences and perspectives. How do men in general feel about divorce and divorced men in particular about their own divorce? Do they accept that they may be at fault or do they blame the divorce on their wife? Have they tried to make amends and sought help from relatives or other parties to reconcile them with their wife? How do they cope when the children live with them? How do they feel when they do not or rarely meet with their children after the divorce? In the latter case, have they made an effort to change this or not, and why?

POLYGAMOUS FATHERS

In the pre- and colonial past traditional Indonesian rulers and prominent religious leaders were polygamous and sexual prowess was part of Indonesian masculinity. Soekarno, the first president of Indonesia, followed this traditional ideal of masculinity: he married five times and divorced his first wife only. Today, the number of Indonesian men who have more than one wife is unknown: the data on household composition in the 2010 census do not include the number of a man's spouses. But an indication of the frequency of bi- and polygamy is the relatively small number of requests for permission to take another wife filed by married men at the Islamic courts in 2014: 701 (data 2014 annual report of the National Commission on Violence Against Women) out of over 2 million marriages concluded in 2014.²⁴ One should bear in mind though, that an unknown but probably much larger number of second and subsequent marriages of men are concluded while their first union is still standing with the assistance of an Islamic leader presiding over the ceremony (akad nikah) but without the marriage being registered at the Islamic court. One reason is that the husband

does not want to ask his first wife for permission to marry again, afraid that she might not grant it. It is not uncommon that the first wife only finds out long afterwards that her husband and father of her children has married again and started a new family.²⁵ Still, it is safe to say that the vast majority of Indonesian men are married to one wife only. Most men are not polygamists in the strict sense, but bigamists. The majority belongs to the Indonesian Muslim community. However, polygamy is also found in Hindu Bali²⁶ and several tribes in remote areas.

The reasons why a man marries more than one wife vary. Some men desire to have access to more than one wife for sexual pleasure, or they take a second wife if they do not get along with their first spouse and/or if she is not interested in sexual intercourse anymore. Others value the labor of multiple wives as a means to amass wealth and status. If the first marriage has remained barren, a man may take a second wife in order to beget offspring, perhaps not even entirely of his own free will, but succumbing to social pressure on the part of his family.²⁷ In some communities, a man may take multiple wives, because it is still regarded as a sign of high social status. A survey among bi- and polygamous men could establish which of these reasons or perhaps there are more, are most common.

A Muslim man is allowed to marry up to four wives according to Islamic law and the 1974 marriage law, with the restrictions that he has to be able to treat them equally in a spiritual and material sense (*lahir/batin*) and the first wife has to give her consent in court if her husband wishes to marry a co-wife.²⁸ Since 1983 civil servants and members of the armed forces have to ask the permission of their superior if they want to take another wife, a regulation meant to counter polygamy. During the President Suharto period monogamy was thus promoted as the norm. In the decade after he stepped down, the implementation of the regulation that men in public office should not be polygamous has become lax.²⁹ Polygamy has also been promoted again in certain Muslim circles.³⁰ These developments have caused heated public debate. Of late, the former regulation regarding polygamy (and divorce) pertaining to civil servants and the military has been officially buttressed by the state, which now requires payment of taxes on income and property as proof of a man's ability to support more wives.³¹ This regulation issued by the Minister of Defense intends to forestall a polygamous man's neglect of one or more of his families, but it has yet again given rise to controversy.³²

Polygamous Muslim men usually refer to their financial capacity to support more than one wife to justify taking a new spouse, which implicitly also support for includes the children they will have with their spouses. This argument is clearly reinforced by the dominant norm that a man has to be the provider for his family. Polygamous men are also aware of their duty to treat their wives equally in other ways and argue that they will visit each of their wives in turn. Another justification: it is better to marry more than one wife than having an extra-marital affair or making use of the service of sex workers, both types of behavior falling into the category of adultery (*zinah*) according to Muslim law.

The opponents of polygamy, among them women activists are most vocal, point out that the practice gives rise to a range of problems in polygamous families. Men are not always capable of providing for all their wives and their children, which leaves one or more of their families destitute. They may also abandon one of their wives altogether, thereby becoming a *de facto* absent father for their children. Polygamy is also known to be a cause of jealousy on the part of wives and marital discord, leading to domestic violence and divorce.

PUNISHMENT FOR EX-HUSBAND WHO DOES NOT CARE ABOUT HIS CHILD

My ex-husband and I divorced nearly a year ago and now he has married again. Before he did so, he often asked to meet my child outside the house, because he did not want to set foot in my parents' house. Until now I have given in and granted his wishes, although according to me that was not respectful, but thinking of the child I gave in. But now that he has remarried, I do not want him to meet the child outside my house anymore. I told my ex-husband that if he wants to see his child, he has to come to the house. But it turns out he prefers not seeing him rather than entering the house. Perhaps self-esteem and pride has made him like that. Until now he doesn't care about my child, even asking me about him he doesn't. At the end of the month, he gives, but a child needs love too, not only money, isn't it? Once, when my child was sick, I informed him but he didn't care at all, although my child was sick because he wanted so much to see his daddy. Once he said to me that he prays for his child every day. I was surprised about this (..): how can he bear to treat my child like that whereas he is an expert on religious duties (*ibadah*), very good at reading the Qur'an (*mengaji*), and generously gives to charity?

<http://www.eramuslim.com/konsultasi/keluarga/hukum-mantan-suami-yang-tidak-peduli-terhadap-anaknya.htm>

The National Commission on Violence Against Women recorded 9.506 divorce cases in 2014 on grounds of 'unhealthy' polygamy: 3,4% of total divorce cases handled by religious courts. This number does not include cases of de facto separation between a polygamous man and one or more of his wives. As the cases were filed by women, this reflects growing displeasure on their part when their husband takes a second wife or inability to continue living with a co-wife. Women who are well-educated and being able to provide for themselves are probably the ones who come first when preferring divorce over accepting a polygamous husband. The knowledge that they can obtain moral and legal support from women activist groups such as the Coalition for Indonesian Women and legal aid offices for women (LBH-APIK) may also encourage women to take that step. This needs courage, because Muslim religious leaders remind women frequently that polygamy of the husband has been practiced by the prophet Mohammad and therefore women should accept it. Demonstrations of women activists against high profile cases of high-placed polygamous civil servants and religious leaders which have been covered by the media over the years, perhaps also play a role: women know that if they file divorce they can count on moral support of some groups.³³

The figure of the insufficiently caring polygamous husband and father may not become a phenomenon of the past in the near future. A recent survey conducted in 2011 among young Muslim men shows that 52,9% rejects polygamy, 32,9% strongly objects to it, but this still leaves 14,1% who are either in favor of the practice or have declined to give their opinion.³⁴ This is an interesting finding, as polygamy is a practice accepted by Islam and fundamentalist teachings have become more popular over the past decade in certain religious communities, so one might expect that the percentage of men in favor of polygamy would have been higher. The reasons why over 80% of the survey respondents rejects polygamy, is definitely worth exploring. Is it because the younger male generation do not feel it is compatible with the image of a modern Muslim man? Or do they think that it might have negative consequences for the relation with the wife and for the children? One should also bear in mind, though, that the opinion of young Muslim men may change later in life, when they find that a disharmonious marriage can be offset by taking a second wife.

Research on the frequency and interaction of polygamous fathers with their children from different mothers, is another worthwhile topic for research: it might shed more light on how polygamous men view and give substance to their fatherhood. Have they considered that they take a formidable risk that their first marriage will break down, because their wife cannot accept his second marriage? Have they considered the various negative consequences on the psychological development of their children, who perhaps may even grow up hating him for his neglect of their mother and being absent most of time?³⁵

OLDER FATHERS

Few Indonesian men have their - usually last - child in their fifties or sixties, probably when they marry again after having been widowed or, in rarer cases, when they take a new wife. Many older men lack the knowledge that the capacity to have sexual intercourse declines with age. They want to remain sexually active until late in life and if they marry again, this is also expected of them by their younger wife. Traditional medicines which stimulate a man's capacity to engage in sexual intercourse are popular and can be bought at markets in even remote areas. Men may also seek help of traditional healers who are specialized in providing treatment for this. Being able to have their spouse conceive is proof that their sexual prowess is still intact. The widespread idea that having a child together is cementing a marriage is another reason why older men still beget offspring. The stigma that is attached to these men exists in the form of mild ridicule: he could be his child's grandfather.

How older men view their parenting role of a child whom they sired late in life, has not yet been the subject of research. It appears, however, that they are not particularly worried that they may not be able to see their youngest child grow up. The prominent role of close relatives may explain this. An older father does not only expect his wife to see to the upbringing and education of his still young child after his death, but also relies on his brothers and sisters and/or his eldest children. The norm that an older sibling, often the oldest son, has the responsibility to take care of the education and welfare of younger siblings is still strong. The notion that a child brought into world by an older man is more likely to have health problems and mental deficiencies than children of a younger father is not yet common knowledge.³⁶ Norms and the (dis) advantages of having a child later in life, is therefore a subject that might be included in discussions in men's groups. It might also be useful to discuss male sexuality and challenge the notion that men when they get older have to do whatever it takes to preserve their sexual prowess. It might come as relief for men to know that becoming less interested in sex when they get older is normal.

FATHERS IN FAMILIES WITH ONE SPOUSE WORKING ABROAD

Husbands of whom the wife is working abroad, are de facto single parents if the couple has children. Their number must be substantial: 56,7% of nearly 430.000 Indonesians who worked overseas in 2014 are women,³⁷ and although data on the marital status of these women are not available, it is safe to assume that many of them are married and have left their husband and children behind.³⁸ The majority of migrant workers – men and women - work in other South-East Asian countries, whereas countries in the Middle East come in second. They come from poor rural areas on the island of Java and Eastern Indonesia (Lombok), where well paid employment is scarce for landless, low educated and low or semiskilled villagers. They leave their family for a few years to earn a much higher income in the receiving countries than at home. The Indonesian government facilitates labor outmigration because it yields foreign valuta: in 2013 migrant workers' remittances amounted up to 7.88 billion USD.³⁹

The impact of labor outmigration on family life has become a matter of growing concern, in particular the negative effects of labor outmigration of married women with children. The study by Puspitawati, Herien and

Shely Septiana Setianingsih (2011) conducted in three villages in West Java showed that fathers who stay behind are not always able to take over the role of their wife in running the household and taking care of the children. Those who could count on the assistance of other family members fare better. Children of these basically single parent families, were found not to do not well in school. On the other hand, the additional income from the absent mother's remittances paid for extra lessons and facilities to learn which otherwise they would have to forego. Some children were found to be stressed because of their mother's absence and exhibited deviant behavior because they were not sufficiently watched over by their father and other relatives. Stability of the marriage appeared to depend on the level of communication between the husband and his migrant wife and the wellbeing of the children on the increased care of the father and available care of other relatives.⁴⁰ Another study conducted in a village in East Java about the same subject showed similar results.⁴¹ Husbands of migrant wives not only experience difficulties with the reversal of their role as income provider into that of caregiving parent. Prolonged absence of their spouse can lead to marital infidelity and use of the wife's earnings for personal pleasure instead of for the upkeep of the children.⁴² The high divorce rate found in several poor districts on the island of Java from which many female labor migrants originate can be considered as an indication that such behavior of men as husbands is not tolerated by their wives on their return.⁴³

Occasionally outmigration of female migrant workers has become the subject of debate and in stricter Muslim communities voices have been raised against it, as not being in conformity with the religious obligation that a woman should only be allowed to go out when accompanied by a male relative. Based on this interpretation, the local government in one district in West Java (Cianjur) supported by 48 Islamic organizations issued a regulation (Perda) forbidding women to work abroad. The view that doing so is a sin (haram), however, is not shared by the largest Islamic organization in the country, the Nahdatul Ulama.⁴⁴ As long as no viable alternative sources of income become available women in poor rural areas, they probably will continue to opt for employment abroad to increase family income.⁴⁵

The National Board for Family Planning has recognized the need of families of migrant workers, in particular of families of fathers left behind, and has started an initiative to mitigate the negative impact of labor outmigration on family life.⁴⁶ Another initiative has come from the Foundations Seruni and TIFA which have developed a community based program for single fathers in one district in Central Java (Banyumas) and published a nicely illustrated manual with many practical tips on how to raise kids.⁴⁷ To which extent these program manage to empower fathers to cope with their role as single parent remains to be seen.

There are also Indonesian men who leave behind their wife and children. How many of the 186.000 male migrant workers in 2014 were married is not clear, but – again – their number must be significant. The media remain silent about the impact on family life of labor outmigration of fathers. The plausible explanation: they fulfill their role as provider and their wife continues to function as housekeeper and mother of their children. Their ability to be a better provider, earning enough to pay for a good education of their children for example, may make them feel proud and earn them the love and gratitude of their children who appreciate the sacrifice their father has made. The advantages of working abroad these men perceive, but also how they feel about leaving wife and children, whether they worry about the consequences of their absence for their wife and children, and in which way they try to fulfill their role as father while absent, has not yet been the topic of research. It has been established, however, that prolonged absence may weaken the marital bond and lead to negligence in sending remittances home, which leaves wife and children more destitute than before. The modern media – skype, facebook, and whatsapp – can make a huge difference because absent fathers can communicate frequently with their children and be a caring parent which is particularly important when their children are in their teens, as Vera Astuti and Putri Puspitarani point out.⁴⁸

INCARCERATED FATHERS

Indonesia has a large number of imprisoned men which is not surprising in view of its large population: in 2007 Indonesia took the 13th place in the world in terms of numbers of incarcerated men. However, when looking at the percentage of incarcerated men of the total male population Indonesia scored very low in 2007: only 38:100.000, the country's ranking was 145 out of 161 states.⁴⁹ No data are available about the number of incarcerated men who are married and a father and how they view their fatherhood. This also counts for the incidence of divorce: incarceration is accepted as grounds for divorce according to the 1974 law. Divorce can severely affect contact between incarcerated fathers and their children. As children are subjected to social stigma because they have an incarcerated father, they may not wish to visit their father.

CONFUSED BECAUSE PARENTS ARE IN PRISON

Parents are humans being who are not perfect and not being infallible, they can make mistakes. Certainly going to jail is an embarrassing consequence and makes us as children ashamed. Besides feeling ashamed, we also are confused when other people ask us about the whereabouts of our parent. What should we do?

http://www.telaga.org/bila_orang_tua_masuk_penjara

IMPORTANCE OF KIN SUPPORT FOR INDONESIAN FATHERS

Indonesian fathers rely heavily on support from their kin-group, because they are not used to take the responsibility for the daily care of children and the household. Teenage fathers depend financially and for mental support as a young husband and father on their parents, divorced fathers and fathers of whom the wife works abroad depend on their parents or parents of their wife and support from other kin (sisters and brothers, aunts, uncles, cousins). Support from kin is relatively easily forthcoming, because the importance of the extended family in Indonesia is more pronounced than in the West. Moreover, reliance on relatives has a long history. Labor migration of men and women within the country, seasonal or semi-permanent, together or apart, was common in the colonial past and still is today. It is far from unusual that children are raised by their grandparents in the village, while both parents work elsewhere, to avoid the higher costs of living and extra accommodation needed if they take the children with them to the city.⁵⁰ That children should be raised by their biological parents only, is not a dominant norm. Perhaps research will show that fathers who are of the opinion that this is best, will be found more often in middle class urban families than in middle and lower class families in rural areas.



Fathers and Unpaid Work in the Home

The entrenched norms about the division of tasks between men and women stands in the way of fathers taking over household chores from their wives. Interesting is the finding of a baseline survey held in 2013 by University of Indonesia, Centre of the Gender Studies for MenCare+ program in Indonesia: all 896 male respondents of whom half were married and the other single expressed the opinion that a woman's first task is to cook.⁵¹ This finding mirrors Indonesians' love for good Indonesian food. Cooking Indonesian food is time-consuming: going to the market in the morning to buy ingredients, grinding, pounding and mixing a variety of spices and roots for the usually two, three side or more side dishes served with rice. Today, ready-to-use sauces to mix with meat and vegetables are for sale in supermarkets but are not yet commonly used. That men prefer women to continue doing the cooking is not only because it is time consuming but also because they are not taught to cook. They are also not taught to clean, washing the dishes, and doing the laundry. Men who do help their wife with household chores are exposed to ridicule by family members who also scorn the wife for allowing her husband to take over tasks which are considered hers. This social sanction is often effective in deterring men to do more at home, in particular if they still live with parents and/or other relatives. The media and advertising agencies are not supportive either: images of Indonesian men doing housework are conspicuously absent.

These entrenched norms also explain why women are constantly reminded that they have to be clever in allocating their time for paid and unpaid work and to take care that they strike a 'proper balance' between their two roles, or rather three or four when the large variety of female community and religious duties are included. This approach has been the dominant Indonesian answer to women's predicament in facing their 'double burden' since the 1980s. Research conducted by legal aid offices for women (LBH-APIK) in 1998 on the position of all male Muslim organizations has shown, that most religious leaders still refer to the Islam teaching that women's place is in the home and that she should not set foot out of the house, whereas the moderate ones allow women to work, with the reservation that her duties as wife, housewife and caretaker of children always have to come first.⁵² All responded negatively to the call for an equal gender division of domestic labor. Recently, the Indonesian Vice President still came with the suggestion to reduce women's working hours so they can devote sufficient time to their core tasks, but due to protests from women's organizations the idea was quickly shelved.⁵³

The positions of the dominant religious organizations contrasts sharply with present and past reality. Men are indeed more often working than women: the 2012 GII (Gender Inequality Index) as compiled by the UNDP mentions that 84,2% of all men work, but also no less than 51,2% of all women.⁵⁴ Lower

class Indonesian women have always worked alongside men in agriculture, on plantations, and traditional markets which are still dominated by female traders in many regions. Moreover, they more often work in the informal sector and home industries and therefore are not always registered as working. Part-time work in the formal sector is rare and in the informal sector working hours can be very long. Women's organizations have pointed out that it is about time that men start sharing unpaid work in the home, in particular when the wife works outside the home, and many are the calls for this from young women.⁵⁵ Since the research of 1998 mentioned above, the debate on division of labor in the domestic and public arena has not abated within Muslim organizations⁵⁶, but if men are exhorted to play a larger role in the home, it is their role in the upbringing of children which is emphasized and not so much the need to do their part in unpaid housework in the home.

Apparently change is on the way: some young men already see the advantages for men of learning how to do domestic chores⁵⁷ and report on positive reactions when they do so.

ADVANTAGES OF TEACHING A SON TO DO THE DISHES

If he is boy, he will become a patient adolescent, doing the dishes requires being reliable, right? After dinner people go, hey, we are told to do the dishes. So, guys who are used to be told to do dishes since childhood, are men whom you can consider as eligible for marriage.

<https://annacalista.wordpress.com/2013/04/08/kebiasaan-mengerjakan-pekerjaan-rumah-dan-hubungannya-dengan-masa-depan/>

SERIOUSLY, A MAN USING KISPRAY?

One day, a female friend of mine asked me: "Who irons your clothes, Bai?" "Me". My friend didn't believe me. Her eyes popped out of her head. "Using Kispray, don't you"? My turn to be curious. "How do you know that?". My friend laughed. I frowned. "Hey! I am woman, you know", she said loudly. "I know that. The fragrance of Kispray and your favorite perfume leave their scent whenever you leave the room!" My friend added, "It hardly never happens that a man wants to iron his own clothes. Using Kispray on top of that, that may take quite a while! I smile sheepishly.

http://www.kompasiana.com/bairuindra/serius-laki-laki-pakai-kispray_54f38f39745513962b6c7a1e

At present, however, MenCare+ is the main program representing the male voice calling for this.⁵⁸ Father's involvement in domestic work is presented as good for the development of the children: they become familiar through his example with the idea that running the household is a task shared by both parents and fosters harmonious relationship between them. There are signs that young men have picked up this idea. Noteworthy, though, is that photographs on sites on the web which encourage young men to be more involved in doing household chores, invariably portray Western men busy doing the dishes, the laundry, cleaning the toilet etc. An indication that such activities are in fact not that popular among Indonesian men?



Anak Penjaga Herdabat Ibu Di Masa Depan
#WUJUDKAN KABUPATEN JAWAPURA LAYAK ANAK!

Fathers' Involvement in Sexual and Reproductive Health

INDONESIAN FATHERS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS HEALTH

Indonesian men's life expectancy at birth is lower than that of women: 68.8 versus 72.2 years (Gender Development Index 2012). Apart from men's greater vulnerability to infections and cardiovascular disease than women another cause is Indonesian men's attitude towards their own health. Men tend to have a less healthy life style than women: they eat less healthy food and engage more often in life-endangering activities. Specific for Indonesia is that 67% of the male population smokes against only 5% of women. Bear in mind that Indonesia is the fifth tobacco producing country in the world and that cigarettes are relatively cheap. The percentage of male smokers is a very high compared to other Asian countries: for example in the Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and Vietnam it is below 50%.⁵⁹ Not surprisingly, long diseases and long cancer are among the top-raking causes of death of Indonesian men, because it is often detected too late for cure.⁶⁰ The same counts for cancer of the prostate, a disease which affects predominantly men over 65 in Indonesia, so grandfathers rather than fathers.⁶¹

The Indonesian concept of masculinity is another reason for men's shorter life expectancy. Boys are taught not to whine when they get hurt and adult men often view illness as a sign of weakness, which they prefer to ignore. The result: they are less inclined to see a doctor when feeling unwell than women. If they do go to a clinic, they tend to expect to get well soon by taking the prescribed medicine for a few days. They are also often unwilling to follow advice on changing their diet and disregard the necessity to take medicine on a daily basis for a longer period of time or for the rest of their life. In sum, Indonesian men cannot be said to be 'health-conscious'. The consequence of this: children lose their fathers earlier than necessary and wives become widows sooner than need be. Indonesian fathers also do not regard looking after the health of their wife and children, which includes attention to their sexual and reproductive health needs, as part of their duty as a husband and father. They leave this task to their spouses.

BOYS DON'T CRY

"Quiet, don't go on crying. Do you want to become a woman?" That sentence I heard directly from the mouth of a parent who scolded his approximately four year old son. Whatever the reason why the child cried, what is clear is that the parent appeared annoyed, because the child kept on crying. That was not the first time I heard the statement that a boy should not cry. Once I met a person who scolded a boy who had fallen and cried. "Stop now, don't cry, are'nt you ashamed of yourself?" That was what that person said to a boy who groaned with pain because of a fall.

Eko Bambang Subiantoro, "Laki-laki Baru Mendobrak Tabu", *Jurnal Perempuan* no. 63, page 77.

USAGE OF CONTRACEPTIVES BY INDONESIAN MEN

Most Indonesian husbands and fathers do not take an active part in family planning. Statistical data provided by the National Board for Family Planning indicate this. Of a little over 8,5 million married users of contraceptives who joined the family planning program in 2014 only 539,012 were men, a mere 6,34%. Of these men 96% opted for the use of a condom, whereas only 4% was willing to undergo a vasectomy operation.⁶² Although not covering all couples in the fertile group brackets – many couples do not wish to join the family planning program, have once taken part but not continued, or have no access to services – these figures are sufficiently indicative of Indonesian men's lack of involvement in family planning. Despite Indonesia's long-standing family planning program, involvement of men lags behind compared with many other Asian nations such as China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines, and Malaysia, where contraceptive use prevalence is much higher.⁶³

Why is involvement of Indonesian fathers in contraceptive use so low? There are several reasons for this, the first being that from the very start of the family planning program launched by the National Board for Family Planning in the 1970s the target has been married women in their reproductive years. The long-term psychological impact of this cannot be overstated: it has become the norm that married women are the ones who are supposed to use a contraceptive, not married men. Once the National Board for Family Planning started to involve fathers the limited birth control methods available for men – the use of a condom or a vasectomy - turned out to be an obstacle. Surveys have shown that many men dislike using a condom because they feel that it diminishes their sexual pleasure. The other method, vasectomy, was initially forbidden by the largest Indonesian Muslim organization (MUI) in 1979, which argued that the operation was against Islamic teaching. Moreover, the operation was and still is feared by many men who think that it deprives them of their masculinity and that it is similar to castration.⁶⁴ Insufficient information that a vasectomy does not affect a men's ability to have an erection and engage in sexual intercourse plays a role in the perpetuation of these misconceptions.

During the first decade of the 21st century, the fertility rate stagnated at 2.6 children per family. It also became clear that many female long term users of contraceptives experience reproductive health problems and therefore abandon using them. Moreover, it has been recognized that older women who have already given birth to a (large) number of children and suffer from high blood pressure, diabetes or other health problems, should not use contraceptives anymore. Their lives are at stake, if their husband declines to use contraceptives instead. At the same time, the family planning program was in crisis as due to Indonesia's policy of decentralization the dense network of National Board for Family Planning's offices build up during the Suharto period at the provincial and district levels as well as the Board's number of cadres crumbled.

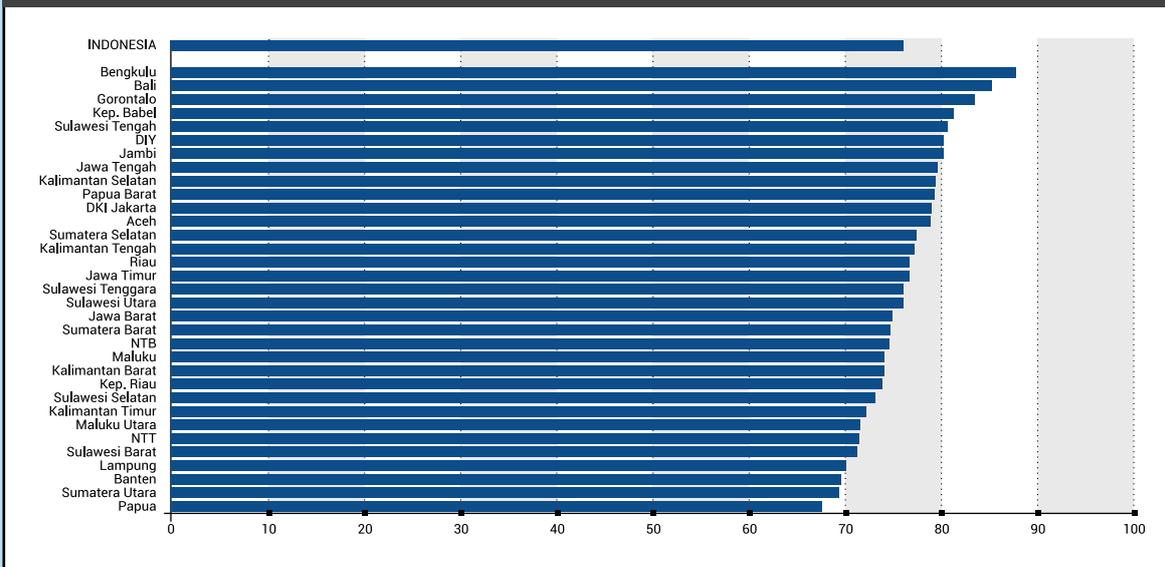
This dire situation has been recognized by the government and since 2010 the National Board for Family Planning has made a comeback. The increased fertility rate among young couples⁶⁵ and the minimal contraceptive prevalence among men has become matters of its concern⁶⁶ which were addressed by its strategy for family planning for the period 2011-2014. Its target - an increase of the number of men as new contraceptive users from 4% to a modest 5% - was reached in 2014 with an additional 1,35%. In 2012 a fatwa of the MUI allowed men to undergo the vasectomy operation, albeit only in the case of emergency, referring to the possibility of the wife's death in child birth.⁶⁷ For the implementation of the program, the National Board for Family Planning makes use of this fatwa as part of its information campaign at grass root level. To provide information and induce more men to opt for a vasectomy, the Board involves men who already have undergone the operation as motivators and men who have agreed to the operation a reward. The operation itself is for free and men gives a small amount of money to cover transport costs. Whether these incentives help to change men's attitudes towards a vasectomy is questionable. So far only 20% has been reached of the target set by the Board for vasectomy operations, which is favored as a more effective method of birth control over the less effective method of condom usage.

In some regions the Indonesian Family Planning Association (PKBI) in cooperation with government-operated health care centers (Puskesmas) runs a counseling program for individual men or couples which includes discussion about contraceptive use, a topic rarely discussed between husband and wife. The MenCare+ Program implements a community based campaign targeted at 20.000 men and women of which one of the objectives is to change men's attitude towards their role in family planning. The Program hopes to achieve that more young couples are protected by contraceptives in order to promote good health. Which of the approaches adopted by the National Board for Family Planning and other organizations to raise the number of fathers using contraceptives is most successful in reaching that goal is recommended as the subject of further research. This should also not be limited to regions with a predominantly Muslim population. For example, the predominantly Christian population of the province of North Tapanuli, which practices a patrilineal system, and other regions in the eastern part of Indonesia with large Protestant and Catholic populations share the lowest rankings in the country with regard to fertility control. In these regions fathers still desire a large offspring, often have a preference for sons, and show little concern about their wives reproductive health.

Viewing the data from sex, some 93,66% of women are currently contraceptive methods higher than men which only 6,34%. This is shown that the level of male participation in family planning is still low. Contraceptives is dominantly used by women.

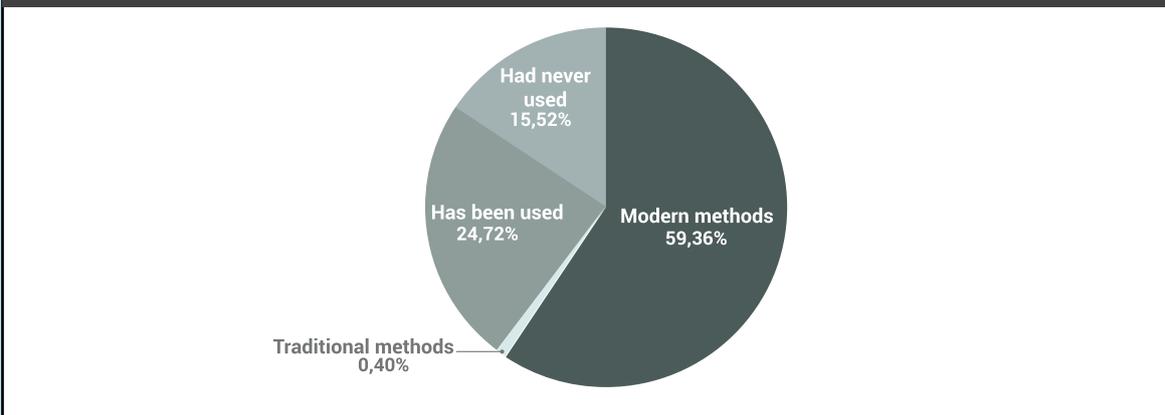
Picture 4

Percentage on active family planning based on provincial level in Indonesia, year 2013



Picture 5

Prevalence of contraceptive use by couples in the age group 15-49) by gender (source: Basic Health Research - Riskesdas, 2013).



The above graphic shows that at the time of the research nearly 60% of all married couples in the age group 15-45 used modern methods of contraception (implant, MOW, MOP, IUD, condom, injection, pill). Nearly 25% had previously used it, and a bit over 15% had never used any of the available methods. The graphic also shows that traditional methods (breastfeeding, use of calender, coitus interruptus etc), is not very common anymore.

FATHERS BRINGING HOME AN UNWELCOME PRESENT (HIV)

In South-East Asia, Indonesia is the country with the largest known number of people living with HIV/AIDS, which is not surprising because its population is much larger than the population of other countries in the region. Noteworthy, however, is that their numbers are growing faster than elsewhere in the region.

HIV BURDEN AND NEW HIV INFECTION TRENDS IN 8 COUNTRIES IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

	Country	Number HIV Infected People	Trend
1	Indonesia	610.000	Increasing
2	Thailand	450.000	Decreasing
3	Vietnam	260.000	Decreasing
4	Myanmar	200.000	Decreasing
5	Malaysia	82.000	Increasing
6	Cambodia	76.000	Decreasing
7	Papua New Guinea	25.000	Decreasing
8	Philippines	15.000	Increasing

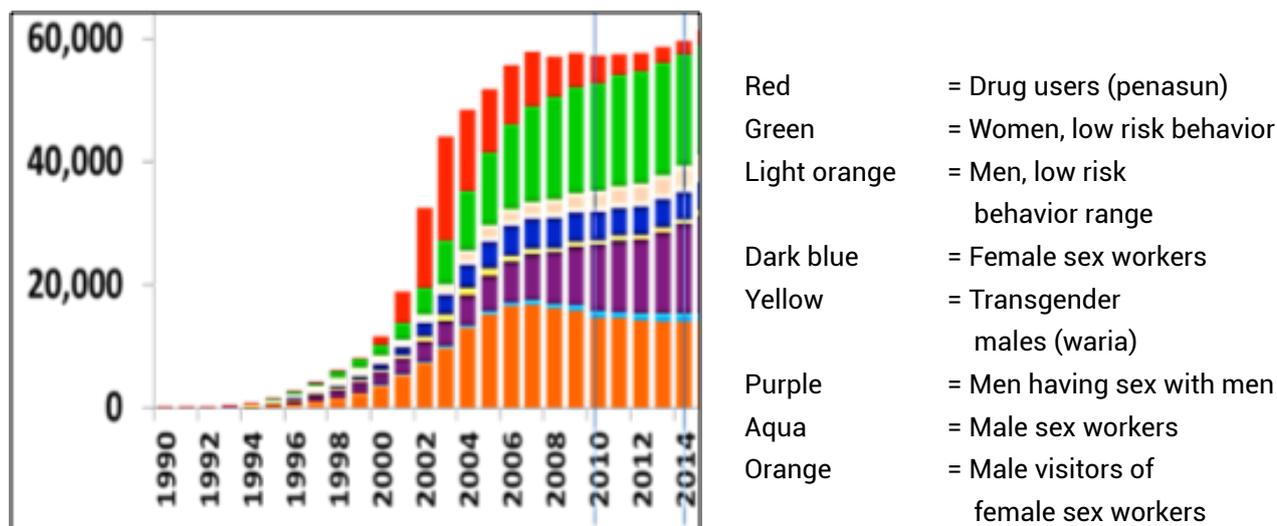
Source: HIV in Asia and the Pacific. UNAIDS report 2013, page 12

The statistics on new cases stated in Indonesia's Health Profile compiled by the Ministry of Health, confirms that the number of HIV infected people in the country is , but as is evident from the curve displayed in the table below not at the same rate as before.

The reasons for this increase are varied. Besides a lack of or still limited knowledge of the risks of unprotected sex and the importance of safe sex behavior among high risk groups, Indonesia scores relatively poorly when it comes to prevention policies and programs. A UNAIDS recent report states that Indonesia (and Bangladesh, the Philippines, and Viet Nam) reported low coverage of HIV prevention programs for men who have sex with men (less than 25%) while China and Nepal reported more than 75% coverage of such programs. Indonesia's prevention programs for sex workers also cover less than 25% of this target group, which puts the country in the same category as Bangladesh and Pakistan, whereas China and Myanmar reported more than 75% coverage.⁶⁸

The low coverage of HIV prevention programs in Indonesia has a political background. Health programs have to be funded in part by regional authorities from income derived from the region (*Anggaran Pembangunan Daerah – APD*) which means that politicians at the local level have to push for a sufficient budget. This is generally not forthcoming as many politicians at this level have other priorities and, besides that, they do not consider HIV prevention a 'sexy' political issue that might win them votes. They are also often influenced by the moral stance of their constituency. Many Indonesians are still of the opinion that HIV infection is the result of sinful behavior for which the person committing that sin 'has to pay'.

HIV INFECTED PEOPLE PER CATEGORY (1990-2014)



Source: Outlook 2015: Kebijakan Penanggulangan HIV & AIDS di Indonesia

Particularly alarming is the increase of HIV infected women in the low risk behavior range (green). HIV prevalence within this group has been growing faster than in any of the other groups since 2000. As the graphic shows, women in the low risk behavior brackets already made up 25% of the total of HIV positive persons in 2014. Presently, their number exceeds that of female sex workers, one of the high-risk categories, living with HIV (dark blue) by far. The Association for Indonesian Family Planning (PKBI) reports that many of married women are infected and that their number still on the rise: 6.539 cases in 2013, the following year 8.497.⁶⁹ Most of them must have been infected is by husbands, who were previously infected because they had unprotected sex with female sex workers. Probably many more married women are HIV positive, but may not be aware of it as they do not consider themselves at risk. No less worrying is the increasing number of mothers who give birth to babies with HIV or AIDS as well as children living with HIV.⁷⁰

The graphic also shows a decline since 2007 in the number of men who were HIV infected through unprotected sex with female sex workers (orange). Research could shed light on its cause or causes. Is it because programs for heterosexual men who make use of the services of commercial sex workers have been successful? Or is it due to their heightened awareness that they put the health of their wife and children at risk if they have unprotected sex with female sex workers? Or has the number of Indonesian men who frequent brothels or make use of the service of ambulant sex workers and call girls simply declined? Access to sex workers has indeed changed: over the past years local authorities in many large cities and towns have dismantled complexes of brothels (lokalisasi) in response to the call for upholding public morality by politicians affiliated with religion-based parties. This has forced sex workers to solicit clients on the streets, in hotels, bars and other locations. The closure of the brothel complexes makes it more difficult to reach the sex workers and their male clients "on location", which consequently calls for a different approach to provide men with information and prevent them from becoming infected by HIV.

Obviously engaging husbands and fathers in HIV prevention programs is crucial, not only for their own but also for their family members' sake. This has recently been identified as one of the challenges for the Indonesian government's HIV/AIDs program.⁷¹ Concerned about the increasing number of married women infected by HIV, the Association for Family Planning, has started a new training program for cadres of its Centers for Public Health Information (*Pusat Informasi Kesehatan Masyarakat – PIKM*) in 12 of the 37 provinces of the

country. The purpose is to provide information on HIV-AIDS and encourage people taking an HIV test: so far over 300.000 people have been reached.⁷² It would be useful to know how many fathers have taken the test.

We need to know more about how fathers feel and act once they suspect or already know that they are HIV positive. Is an HIV positive husband brave enough to inform his wife? Research by Gabriela Anandita found that one of the reasons why he holds back is fear that might leave him.⁷³ When and why he makes the decision to inform her? If the wife is afraid that her husband might be HIV positive, is he willing to take an HIV test?⁷⁴ Does the HIV positive husband accept that he should use a condom to avoid his wife getting infected? Is he worried about whether he can have children and does he want to know if it is possible to avoid that the baby will be HIV positive too? Stories confirm that men have difficulty facing the fact that they are HIV positive, but eventually seek help and answers to their questions.⁷⁵

FATHERS AND CIRCUMCISION OF SONS AND DAUGHTERS

Circumcision (*sunat/khitan*) is a rite de passage every boy in the Indonesian Muslim community will experience at the onset of adolescence, marking his entrance into adulthood. As elsewhere in the Muslim World, circumcision is considered a religious obligation, implying that parents have to make sure that their sons will be circumcised. One can also safely say that it is done without explicit consent of the boy. The occasion is celebrated on as grand a scale as the boy's family can afford. The removal of the foreskin is painful when done without anesthesia and can be the cause of infection. These drawbacks seem to be accepted as negligible, and so far the circumcision of boys has never been raised as a reproductive health issue in Indonesia. On the contrary, today circumcision is presented as promoting a man's reproductive health.⁷⁶ Probably the main issue for fathers today is, which method – the conventional one in his community or a medicalized one – will be used for the circumcision of their son.⁷⁷ But perhaps there are other relevant issues that may be revealed if fathers are asked about the circumcision of their son(s).

Circumcision of girls is a common practice in Indonesia as well. This has been recently established by a survey conducted by the National Institute of Health Research and Development (Balitbangkes) of the Ministry of Health in 2013 which encompassed 300.000 households in 33 provinces and 497 districts/cities. This survey – the first ever conducted on circumcision of girls in Indonesia – showed, among other results, that more than half of girls under the age of 12 have undergone some form of circumcision (3 out of 4 within the first 6 months after birth), and that in 80% of the cases the decision about the operation is taken by the parents. The similarity with the circumcision of boys is that the population thinks it is a religious obligation, although this point of view is not universal in the Indonesian Muslim community. Many Indonesian Muslim women are not circumcised. The difference with the circumcision of boys is that in the case of girls, circumcision is not a rite de passage into adulthood and is not accompanied by a celebration. Circumcision of girls is done in a large variety of ways. It is often done in a symbolic way; extremely rare is the removal of clitoris.⁷⁹ A prominent Muslim female academic, however, has remarked that whereas previously the circumcision of female infants rarely took the form of cutting a part of the clitoris, this has become more common due to the growing influence of fundamentalist Muslim groups after the Suharto period.⁸⁰

The practice has given rise to a heated debate before and after the survey was conducted.⁸¹ The controversy evolves around two fundamental issues. Should the Government promulgate a regulation regarding the medicalization of the circumcision of girls, which in practice was and still is often provided by traditional midwives without medical training? The MUI, the Council of Muslim leaders desiring the continuation of the practice for theological reasons, has urged the government to issue a regulation ensuring that circumcision will be done a safe manner. Or should the government abolish the practice? The opponents of the practice

consisting of the Indonesian federation of gynecology, women's NGO's, and progressive Muslim activist are in favor of this. Their arguments are as follows: circumcision of girls does not bring any health benefit for women, is against the law on the rights of child ratified by the government, violates the sexual rights of women, and is not in conformity with Islamic teaching which prohibits any intervention causing harm to the human body. Despite the national lobby of opposing parties as well international pressure in 2013 to abolish the practice, the Minister of Health took sides in 2014: she gave a mandate to The Advisory Council of Health and Islamic Teaching to publish guidelines for the female circumcision that ensure the safety and health of girls and prevent female genital mutilation. These guidelines were published two months later.⁸²

Where does this leave Muslim Indonesian fathers and mothers? The survey mentioned above states that parents desire circumcision of daughters to ensure that their daughters are socially accepted and marriageable, and to uphold their status and honor and that of the entire family. If a woman is not circumcised, she is regarded as 'unclean'. These values are internalized by men and women and as they are also upheld by the community, deviation from the norm is difficult as this will isolate a family, a step few will have the courage to take. Support for a change of their mindset that supports abolition of the practice is also not to be expected to come from the government nor from the majority of Indonesian Muslim religious leaders in the immediate future. Part of these leaders may feel that the religious guideline (*fatwa*) issued by the Council of Indonesian *Ulama* already sufficiently protects the health of girls as it only allows the removal of the praeputium but forbids cutting or hurting the clitoris. But do these leaders indeed abide by this guideline themselves? And will they succeed in influencing the men in their community to forbid their wife using the services of traditional midwives (*dukun*) who used to and still often performs the circumcision of girls in traditional communities? Intrusion that female realm is not that easy, even for religious leaders. It is relevant to find answers to these questions.

It appears that with the affirmation of religious leaders of the principle that a girl's reproductive health should not be put at risk, the debate on abolition of female circumcision has reached a deadlock. The argument against the practice put forward by the Commission on Violence against Women that any form of female circumcision, including the symbolic one, is still a form of violence against women, is not an argument that has found resonance within the male Muslim religious leadership. This challenge needs to be tackled in the future by action targeted at the male religious establishment and religious communities, but at the same time at women at grass root level who are in favor of the female circumcision and often take the lead in putting it into practice. An approach that involves couples within the same community where female circumcision is practiced with the objective that they refrain from continuing it, might also bear fruit.

GEDUNG
KEBIDANAN DAN KANDUNGAN
"Zr. de DEIS"



Involvement of Fathers in Maternal and Child Care

FATHERS' INVOLVEMENT DURING PREGNANCY AND DELIVERY: TRADITIONAL AND MODERN PRACTICES

Most Indonesian men are happy when their wife turns out to be pregnant, in particular when she carries their first child. In many traditional communities in the country husbands are expected to support their wife during pregnancy and ensure an easy delivery by observing certain traditional practices and abstain from violating traditional prohibitions.⁸³ The most well-known tradition which is still widely observed in all strata of society is the obligation of the husband to fulfill his wife's craving for food, however bizarre, during her pregnancy, at any time of day and night. Other traditions are taboos for men such as to cut one's hair during pregnancy of the wife; to kill or hurt a human being even if he or she is a criminal or kill an animal – it might cause the death of the fetus or the baby to be born with a deformity; fill a hole in the soil – it might obstruct the delivery, build or renovate the house, go out fishing – it might cause a premature birth, and so forth. Concern of the father and the entire family is also expressed through a rit till upheld by many Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese. Although many prescriptions and taboos do not make sense from a medical point of view, observing them contains a strong psychological message: the husband cares profoundly about the wellbeing of his wife and his child in her womb.

In some regions men were present during the delivery, even singlehandedly assisting their wife during the delivery if no one else could help out. In Bali male traditional healers (*balian manak*) used to assist women when giving birth, because only men were allowed to say the mantra's considered necessary for a safe delivery.⁸⁴ This male profession has nearly entirely disappeared on the island, except for a few communities which still uphold many ancient customs (Bali Aga villages).⁸⁵ It is possible that in other regions a taboo existed on presence of men during the delivery. It would be worthwhile to find out whether this used to be and perhaps still is the case.

Today, many traditional prescriptions, prohibitions and practices are not handed down from parents to sons and men do not observe them anymore. Modern media – magazines for parenting and various websites such as 'father-mother' (*Ayahbunda*) and 'my midwife' (*Bidanku*) - offer Indonesian men a range of alternatives how to be a caring husband for their wives during her pregnancy. Advice given to fathers generally follows practices found in the West, illustrated by photographs of white husbands and white expectant wives: a husband must face his wife's mood swings with patience, bear change in her bodily functions, accompany her for an X-ray examination, not demand sexual intercourse unless the wife is willing, practice breathing exercises with her and so forth. Men are also recommended to attend the delivery as their support is considered important for the wife psychological wellbeing and because he can help her using learned breathing techniques.⁸⁶

Husbands have started to accompany their wife to for regular check-ups on the progress of her pregnancy, but many still do not, regarding this a woman's affair. Expectant fathers have started to attend the delivery of their child, but they are still an exception.⁸⁷ Nervous fathers waiting outside the delivery room, often accompanied by other relatives, is a common sight at maternal clinics run by a midwife or in hospitals. The father is called in after the wife has given birth and the baby is examined, washed, and wrapped in a clean piece of cloth. Many fathers are indeed too afraid to attend the delivery⁸⁸, doubting whether they can stand the agony of the wife, the sight of blood and excrements.

EXPECTANT FATHER AFRAID HE WILL FAINT

My mother accompanied my wife in the delivery room. I shrank from it and was afraid because I suffer from a trauma seeing blood. When I was small, I once fell from my bike and blood oozed out. It could very well be that I faint when I see blood when attending the delivery.

Rizal Indraswari, 31 years old.

<http://www.solopos.com/2015/03/15/tips-keluarga-ini-faktor-yang-bikin-para-suami-takut-temani-istri-melahirkan-584710>

Sometimes the father not even bothers to be on the spot when his wife gives birth. This can be attributed to the lack of involvement of men in all matters concerning reproduction, including contraception. In many parts of Indonesia older female family members are the decision-makers when it comes to select the location where a woman gives birth and who will be assisting at the delivery: at home helped by traditional midwife, by a trained midwife at the nearest clinic or at her home, or by an obstetrician in a hospital. In doing so, they push the husband aside. Many trained midwives and obstetricians play a part in this too: they often actively discourage men to be present at the delivery. They consider a squeamish husband who might even faint during the delivery, a nuisance. If they allow the husband to be present, they treat him as a spectator only, not allowing him to sit next to his wife and support her. Thus, not only the mindset of men needs to be changed, but the mindset of female relatives, midwives, and obstetricians as well.

MenCare+ Indonesia has an educational program providing fathers with information about the stages of pregnancy, encouraging them to accompany their wife during prenatal care visits and be there for her during the delivery. The program also includes training of health providers on the benefits of men's involvement during pregnancy, delivery, and after the birth of the child. Often biases among health staff hinder a positive attitude towards the husband, as many of them consider maternal matters as an exclusive women's domain. Within MenCare+ the positive aspects of engaged fatherhood are shared and discussed with couples, within the community and with representatives of the health sector.

During the three years the MenCare+ program was implemented, changes in behavior of men did not go unnoticed in the community. Men who began to engage themselves in the care of children also began to understand that what causes gender inequality is the double burden borne by women. In the areas of intervention the numbers of fathers who accompanied their wives to the health clinics increased, such as in East Java, where the local organisation PKBI managed to encourage the community to form a group called the 'cadre of men' who support maternal and child health by engaging actively in Posyandu (integrated health post for the health of mothers and children at the village level).

SO PROUD OF MY WIFE

".. My wife was constantly in pain, her muscles felt taut, every time she tried to push the baby out of her womb. She sweat all the time. The expression of her face told how tired she was of dealing with the pain. Until, finally, my child came out. His piercing cries right away filled the entire delivery room. Instantly I felt relieved, and deeply moved at the same time. I wiped the tears and sweat of my wife's face, and told her: "You are fantastic.. our child is born". I myself couldn't hold my tears either.

<http://gelisahgalaumeracau.blogspot.co.id/2012/02/pengalaman-menemani-istri-melahirkan.html>

ROLE OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS

In the district of Bondowoso, East Java, where MenCare+ program is being implemented, Muhammad Nur Salim, a prominent religious leader in a village has set an example as a caring father and a loving husband. He often preaches about the moral need for men and women to respect and support each other and emphasizes that gender equality has educational, professional, and economic advantages for men. He also makes sure that every man attends the delivery of his wife. The local midwife whom he cooperates with, sends the husband and wife who is about to deliver, to him. He gives the husband a sheet of paper with a prayer in the Arab language, which he has to read out while his wife is in labor.⁸⁹ Muhammed Nur Salim has become a role model for many men in the communities and other religious leaders as well.

This example shows, that local religious leaders can play a prominent role in increasing the engagement of fathers during delivery and pregnancy at community level. It is worthwhile to explore whether approaches such as this which make a connection between religious beliefs and practices on the one hand and modern medical services on the other hand, can be developed elsewhere to foster the involvement of fathers. In regions where traditional leaders (*tokoh adat*) still wield much influence, a similar approach matching local traditional norms and practices regarding a man's involvement with modern healthcare might be promising too.

FATHERS' ROLE IN REDUCING MATERNAL MORTALITY

Any husband who loses his wife during or after she gave birth experiences profound shock.⁹⁰ If he is already a father, he is even more devastated as he faces the task of bringing up his children on his own, a task he has never contemplated before and for which he is entirely unprepared.⁹¹

I REALLY STILL NEED HER

Our second child was born on the 26th of April, on the same date as my wife's birthday. I was so happy at the time... finally we had another child. But six days later, that was a day which was extremely painful for me because my wife died, my wife whom I really still need as partner and supporter, and also as the mother of our children. But God loved her more, so my wife was taken from me. The 2nd of May is a date I perhaps will never forget my entire life.. because on that day she went, leaving me and my two children.. In the evening I immediately brought her body to the village in Sumatra. Like lightning in brought daylight, my heart was broken, I never for one moment imagined that something like this could happen, that I would take care of my wife until the moment I would bring her to and lower her into her last resting place. I have no tears left.

<http://duniaely.com/2014/08/06/istriku-meninggal-saat-melahirkan-anak-ke-dua-aku-harus-bagaimana/>

The question is whether husbands and fathers can play a role in the prevention of maternal mortality. Yes, they can, and their role may make the difference between life and death. Increasing the involvement of fathers as presented above is key to the reduction of the still high maternal mortality rate (MMR) in Indonesia.

In the framework of its commitment to the Millennium Development Goals, the government of Indonesia pledged to reduce its MMR to 102 deaths per 100,000 live births by 2015. The Demographic and Health Survey (Survei Demografi dan Kesehatan Indonesia - SDKI) conducted in 2012, however, showed that the mortality rate was not decreasing as it had been the case in previous years but had risen to as high as 359: 100,000. This finding came as a nasty shock as the maternal mortality rate had consistently declined since 1991 and an MDG's related target – 90% of deliveries assisted by trained medical personnel – had already been reached.⁹² On the other hand, the target set for the number of check-ups during pregnancy – at least four times is recommended by the Department of Health – had not been reached. This has led to the conclusion that complications which might be detected during these visits may still often go unnoticed and are thus in part responsible for the high MMR. The most common causes for MMR in Indonesia are excessive bleeding, and high blood pressure causing eclampsia, both more frequently occurring when the mother is very young or above 35. This finding implies that involving husbands to encourage their wives to visit the midwife or a doctor for regular check-ups might tip the balance. International evidence has already shown that engaged fatherhood leads to an increased uptake of antenatal care visits.

In 1999, the Minister of Women's Affairs (MenUPW) in Indonesia, working with advertisers in Jakarta and international technical advisors the concept of the 'Alert Husband' (Suami Siaga). The purpose was to increase Indonesian men's awareness about their responsibilities as expectant fathers, to take care of their pregnant wives' needs, and ensure early access to trained obstetrics care if needed.⁹³ Subsequently the model was expanded into 'Desa SIAGA', the 'Alert Village', which focused on raising awareness of communities concerning the risks of pregnancy and childbirth, supporting registered pregnant mothers with funding and transportation for emergency obstetric assistance, and identified blood donors. In 2006, after decentralization, this program was revived by the Ministry of Health. It has the objective to empower village communities – families, health providers, and village leaders - in taking care of their inhabitants health's needs. It does not focus exclusively on husbands and reducing maternal and child mortality, although these objectives remain priorities of the program. Husbands of a pregnant women are organized in a prepared husband group and informed about their responsibilities related to pregnancy and delivery of their wives.

Although the program has been implemented on a large scale for several years in a row, a recent evaluation in a densely populated district Sleman, close to the city of Yogyakarta, Central Java, shows that even in a district with a high density of health care providers and centers, and an excellent record pertaining to MMR and CMR compared to other parts of Indonesia, nearly half of the high risk pregnant women (< 20 and >35 years of age) forego the service of professional health care providers.⁹⁴ Not only casts this doubt on the efficacy of the program but also on how much the husband of these women care about ensuring the best possible health care of their wife.

The point of view of Islam is also influential: a woman who dies in childbirth goes to heaven. The Council of Indonesian Ulama, however, has shown its concern about maternal mortality and has issued a *fatwa* that an abortion is allowed when the life of the mother or the child is in mortal danger, thereby following

the 1994 and 2009 Laws on Health on the subject.⁹⁵ In practice, few abortions for this reason take place.⁹⁶ It would not be necessary to resort to abortion if husbands of whom the wife's pregnancy poses a severe risk to her life would make sure that she does not get pregnant anymore and if it still happens, makes sure that she will obtain a safe abortion time. The notion that a woman who dies in childbirth goes to heaven fosters a fatalist attitude. Whether fatalism is still influential in determining Indonesian fathers' attitude towards maternal mortality is worth exploring and also what they think should be done if pregnancy poses a threat to the wife's life and/or if they know that there is a high chance that their child will be born with a mental or physical disability.

The MenCare+ program organizes fatherhood groups and also couples groups. One of the objectives of these groups are to encourage male participants to become more involved in maternal care and attending prenatal care visits. It also fosters young men's understanding of the role they can play in reducing maternal mortality.⁹⁷

FATHERS' ROLE IN REDUCING INFANT AND CHILD MORTALITY

To have children and to see them born, growing up healthy, and becoming successful as adults is the desire of almost all parents. To which extent fathers are able to achieve these goals in life? Facts about infant and child mortality in Indonesia show that many Indonesian parents still lose a child in childbirth or infancy. Even if their children live, they may not be as healthy as they could be. This calls for action, not only on the part of policy makers and health care providers, but also on the part of mothers and fathers.

Between 1990 and 2010 Indonesia has successfully reduced infant mortality rate (IMR) which covers infants less than 1 year old and the child mortality rate for the children below the age of 5 (CMR). In both cases the reduction was to a significant extent due to the immunization program of the Ministry for Health (at present, 90% of children are immunized). Still, around 150.000 children under five die each in year in Indonesia⁹⁸ Lack of nutrition is another problem. Indonesia has the fifth-highest number of stunted children in the world: one out of every three children (37%) is stunted. That means 8.5-9.5 million children under five are malnourished. Other indications of malnutrition: 18% of children under five weigh too little for their age and no less than 57% of the children in rural areas are anemic. UNICEF estimates that in Indonesia malnutrition is the cause of death of about half of the children under five.⁹⁹

The latest trend has shown, that the pace of reducing IMR and CMR has slowed down since 2010.¹⁰⁰ Indonesia's target for IMR by the end of 2014 was 26.7 per 1000 live births, which means the country still falls short of the MDG goal it has set for the end of 2015, which is 23 per 1000 live births. The target for CHR in 2014 was 38 per 1000 live births and this also falls short of the MDG goal set at 32 per 1000 live births.¹⁰¹ The challenge is to bring down IMR and CMR in provinces which are not densely populated and the number of modern health care providers and centers is below average. All these provinces are located on islands other than Java (Papua, West Papua, Maluku, North Maluku, and several provinces in Kalimantan and Sulawesi).

None of the available sources, including the relevant policy strategy of the government, refers explicitly to the role of fathers in the effort to reduce infant and child mortality. This is remarkable as their role in reducing maternal mortality has been recognized and build in into programs to achieve this. One can conclude from this that care for the health of infants and toddlers by their mothers is still the prevailing norm which is reflected in the set-up of the program for Mother and Child's Health (KIA). The MenCare+ Program is an

example of engaging fathers in the development of children. Participating men are informed that their most important job as caregivers during the first 6 months of a child's life is to ensure the children's physical needs, such as providing nutritious food, use of clean water, and pain relief, and providing physical and emotional comfort as well.

It would be worthwhile to explore whether increasing the knowledge of fathers about the importance of immunization – in some regions significant numbers of children are still not immunized – might make a difference. This also counts for knowledge about children's diseases which are the most common causes of infant and child mortality, and their treatment. Fathers are the ones who build and maintain the house the family lives in and therefore they need to know the importance of ensuring access to clean water, sanitary facilities (toilets), and hygienic disposal of waste. Their involvement is thus crucial to lower the incidence of diarrhea and pneumonia, diseases responsible for at least 30% of the deaths of infants and children below five. Malnutrition of children is another matter fathers can help to prevent. Mothers usually prepare food and milk for babies after they are weaned, but they need money for formula milk and nutritious food. That these needs are not always covered is not due to poverty alone. In many families it is still common that husband and wife keep their purses separate and pay for different needs of the family: fathers paying for expenses such as school fees and transportation, mothers for the daily food. Children's health is at risk if the mother does not work, is not allowed to work or absent, and the father does not know and/or does not care about providing nutritious food for them. Research on patterns of income and household budgeting may shed light on the need for involving fathers in joint budgeting to ensure that they too provide the money for nutritious food intake of their young children. Whether educational programs about joint household budgeting are part of the program for poverty reduction, which includes nutrition, remains to be seen. There is also the question: who are the fathers of children who die before the age of five or suffer from malnutrition? How many of them are absent or single fathers?

DORMANT ISSUE: PATERNITY LEAVE

The Indonesian government has promulgated a labor law in 2003 (U.U. 2003, no. 13) which gives women the right to maternity leave with full pay during three months, and the husband paternity leave of two days with full pay.¹⁰² For comparison: fathers can also take off two days with full pay when a son is circumcised or a child baptized, and when a son or daughter gets married. If the husband wants to take off more days to accompany his wife and newborn, he can do so by adding some days from the annual twelve holidays allowed to workers.

Indonesia's economy depends to a significant extent on cheap labor. Foreign investors are attracted by this as well as by labor conditions which are not burdensome. These advantages from an entrepreneurial perspective also serve national companies. Obviously extending the right of male workers to paternity leave is not in the interest of these parties. Neither is it in the interest of the government to estrange the corporate world by adopting such an unpopular measure. A bird's eye view of websites, blogs and Facebook accounts of the nine labor unions which are members of the Indonesian Confederation of Labor Unions (KSPI) yields nothing on paternity leave. Only the KSPI itself has posted an article on the subject, but has not included an extension of paternity leave as a labor issue. No wonder that with respect to paternity leave Indonesia rates among the most unfriendly countries in the world. Ironically, it is at odds with its repetitive emphasis on the welfare of family.

This does not mean that paternity leave is an entirely non-existent issue. Articles in Indonesian posted on websites of national and regional newspapers covering regulations on paternity and parental leave in Western

countries abound, indicate that the media consider this a topic of public interest. But only a few question Indonesia's legal provision on paternity leave. One argument in favor of a longer period of paternity leave than the allowed two days: research elsewhere has shown that women breastfeed their child longer when their husband is around. This touches on one aspect of Indonesia's health policy: the promotion of exclusive breastfeeding of infants for at least a period of 6 months, and preferably two years which is supported by the Indonesian Association for breastfeeding mothers. Other arguments put forward are the opportunity for fathers to bond with their newborn and the strengthening of the marital bond.

In sum, the vast majority of Indonesian working fathers appear to lack the knowledge about the social, psychological and health advantages of paternity leave, do not yet feel the need for it and have not yet started to fight for it. Besides lack of support from government and the corporate world, they are also not really supported by their female co-workers who often still have to fight for their maternity leave with full pay and are still even laid off when motherhood arrives. It remains to be seen whether once Indonesian men have become more caring and sharing roles in the household and actively taking part in the upbringing of children, the request for longer paternity leave will emerge. A promising initiative is the call for lengthening paternity leave to at least two weeks by a group called 'father mother milk Bali' (*ayahasih Bali*). This group also urges fathers to motivate their wives to breastfeed.



Fathers and Domestic Violence

VIOLENCE OF HUSBANDS AGAINST THEIR WIFE

Of all women's issues in Indonesia, none has absorbed public and official attention as much as domestic violence against women over the past two decades as violence of the husband against his wife is the most common form of violence in the home. Concerned about this and based on cases reported at legal aid offices for women and other women's organizations, the Indonesian women's movement lobbied for a law on domestic violence which was promulgated in 2004 by the Indonesian parliament (Law No. 23/2004). This law recognizes the following forms of domestic violence : physical, sexual, and psychological violence, and neglect (including deprivation of the right to work, because it makes the wife economically dependent on the husband).¹⁰⁵ The law also refers to counselling services for perpetrators of violence which in practice are hardly available.

Men have joined the fight against domestic violence not long after the issue was raised by Indonesian feminists. In 2000 a network of men issued a declaration pro women's rights and anti-violence against women, presenting itself under the name Cantik, short for "Guys against Violence" (*Cowok Anti Kekerasan*). This acronym was well-chosen because the word cantik means beautiful, solely used to describe women's physical appearance. In 2007 a group of men organized a long march in Yogyakarta, again calling for an end to violence against women. At the same time, the NGOs Rifka Annisa and WCC Bengkulu, two of the many women NGO's in the country which had started providing services to women who are victims of violence, established a counseling unit to help men who mistreated their wife change their behavior with support from RutgersWPF. Alumni of this group and other concerned men started The New Man Alliance (*Aliansi laki-laki Baru*). This alliance functions as a network for individual men who acknowledge that the perpetrators of violence against women are men and therefore men have to be engaged to solve the problem. They also reject the prevalent patriarchal nature of society, and are in favor of promoting gender equity. The alliance explicitly positions itself as a supporter of the women's movement striving for that same goal. It maintains a website which not only covers the issue of domestic violence, but many other topics as well, including articles that call for a revision of the current concept of masculinity and raising the topic how to be a good father, as a pendant to the usual exhortation addressed to women on how to become a good wife and mother.¹⁰⁶

Has the movement promoting zero tolerance of violence against women born fruit, evidenced by a change of mentality of men and decrease in cases of violence by the husband against the wife? Unfortunately, many men still think that physical, sexual, let alone verbal violence against the wife

are not criminal acts. Based on their interpretation of Islamic teachings some men believe that the husband has the right to beat his wife to remind her of her duties or punish her for misbehavior.¹⁰⁷ The survey conducted by MenCare+ in 2013 reflects this belief: as mention before, half of the male respondents (50% married, 50% single) are of the opinion that a wife should endure violence (by the husband) to preserve their marriage.¹⁰⁸ This indicates the existence of a culture of tolerance when it comes to violence against wives, which is found in non-Muslim regions of the county as well. In some Christian regions a young husband is even encouraged to beat his wife immediately after marriage to show her who will be the boss in the family.¹⁰⁹ Marital rape is one of the forms of domestic violence criminalized in the law on domestic violence, but is not acknowledged in Islamic law.¹¹⁰ Not a few men are of the opinion that certain *hadits* allow them to demand sexual intercourse whenever they like and the wife should not put the husband off unless she is ill, very tired or has her period.

MY WIFE DOES NOT FULFILL HER WIFELY DUTY

My wife never wants to fulfill her obligations as a wife, first of all when it comes to sex (..), so I hit her. If we have sex, it is only when she wants it. If I want it, she always turns me down. I feel that I am not respected as a husband. Whereas in the marriage book it is explained that the husband is the leader. If the wife wishes to go to heaven, she has to do whatever her husband asks.

<https://lakilakibaru.wordpress.com/2012/12/13/laki-laki-bicara-soal-kekerasan-seksual-dalam-rumah-tangga/>

The figures about cases of domestic violence also indicate that violence by the husband against his wife is far from a solved social problem. The number of cases reported to the National Commission on Violence against Women has increased each year: from ca. 14.000 in 2004 to 293.000 in 2014. Of the 8.626 cases for which the evidence sufficed to label it as domestic violence, 59% were cases of the husband's violence against his wife.¹¹¹ The actual number of cases must be even higher: abused women often refrain from reporting their husband to the police for domestic violence but choose to file for divorce instead. Women also rarely use physical or mental violence as grounds for divorce: of all divorce cases filed by women only 3% did so. The Commission suspects that women prefer to give as the reason for their request a lack of harmony between spouses as this saves the husband (and his family) the shame of conviction for his abuse or being divorced because of it. The number of actual cases is also higher, because women who do report their husband for domestic violence are not always assisted by one of the Commission's partner organizations¹¹², and therefore are not included in the Commission's database. And many wives choose enduring violence of their husband for various reasons and do not seek help.

How do husbands react when they are sued by their wife for abuse? The Commission notes that many men do not take this lightly and retaliate by suing their wife for divorce. This is feared by the abused spouse, who often wants to preserve her marriage and only wishes that the violence against her stops. In particular in patrilineal societies women endure the violence, because they are rarely supported by their husband's kin and if they divorce, they usually have to leave their children behind.

Violence of men against their wife is not only a problem for the victims involved. It intersects in two ways with fatherhood: violence of expectant fathers against their pregnant spouse and the effect on children

witnessing aggression by their father against their mother. A study on the first subject in two locations in one district found that more than 4 out of 10 pregnant women said that they had experienced some form of violence on the part of their husband: among other reasons because he did not want them to be pregnant¹¹³ This finding seems excessive, however one should bear in mind that besides physical violence, psychological and verbal abuse as well as neglect were included by the researcher as forms of violence. Occasionally, though, the media or private accounts report on severe cases of physical violence against a pregnant woman by the husband.¹¹⁴ The negative effects of violence by the father against the mother on their children's psychological wellbeing is recognized by Indonesian psychologists and psychiatrists.¹¹⁵ It is not clear, however, whether fathers who are perpetrators are aware that because of their actions their children can become traumatized for life, suffer from low esteem, do not perform well in school, and their sons may become perpetrators themselves as adults.

Because of the still increasing number of reported cases and the increased divorce rate associated with it, violence by husbands against their wife has remained an issue of great concern. Most endeavors, however have been and are still geared to improving women friendly procedures for reporting, women shelters and so forth. Official recognition that something should be done to prevent violence against women in the home, however, has lagged behind. Although changing men's mindset about violence against women as well as their behavior is definitely in the interest of women, the latest annual report by the National Commission on Violence against Women does not include a recommendation on this.¹¹⁶

Although not on a large scale yet, progress has indeed been made when it comes to changing men's views and behavior. Counselling services for abusive men have started by Rifka Annisa, WCC Bengkulu, and other NGOs, as women survivors of violence requested this. Women survivors generally do not want to separate from their abusive husband: they only wish that he changes his behavior and stops being violent. The project explored how male clients constructed an alternative identity and meaning, and how this resulted in the reduction of their abusive actions towards their wives. Two elements of men's honor in Javanese culture – the importance of restoring relationships and family harmony – motivated them to change. The project resulted in what is called 'Toolkit for Men'. At first only a limited number of men made use of the counselling services, but that challenge has been faced. Research has been conducted on the outcomes of the counseling program as well which shows that men's aggressive behavior can be changed.¹¹⁷

TESTIMONY OF A NEW MAN

What has been the benefit of your taking part in this program?

I have learned how to control my anger: not always getting angry whenever there is a problem. Before, I had no idea about these things, the suggestions made to me by Mas Adit. Yes, at least now I know a lot about how to manage myself.

Do you feel that you have become a "New Man" after following this program?

Well, yes. I want to change myself completely now. I want to build up my family again, from scratch, become a new person. Let bygones be bygones. I thank Mas Adit and the friends at Rifka. I never got this before: friends to talk to.

What is your opinion about the men's program after we have gone through it together?

It helps a lot, brings us a lot of benefits. I am very, very grateful. If at one point Rifka Annisa asks for

my help or opinion in connection with this program in the future, I am willing to assist. It is also not a problem for me when I am made use of for giving advice when there is a young couple who has problems. Considering that I am already experienced because of the problems in my own family.

Taken from interview by Dewi Setyarini, Jurnal Perempuan no. 64, Saatnya bicara soal laki-laki, page 130.

From 2013 onward, counselling of men has become part of the broader program MenCare+. Individual changes are accompanied by cultural shifts in the community and supported by institutional and policy changes. In the framework of this program, 200 counselors were trained in domestic violence counseling. They engage around 3000 men who are violent in their intimate relationship in counseling. The program assist them to stop the violence by instilling a respective attitude towards their intimate partner and increasing their capacity to control their anger by making use of anger control strategies. In peer education groups and discussion groups of fathers, domestic violence and violence against the intimate partner in particular are also put on the agenda.

VIOLENCE OF FATHERS AGAINST THEIR CHILDREN

Indonesian fathers often take their disciplinary role very seriously. They expect respect and obedience from their children and resort to corporal punishment if they deem it necessary when the child behaves disrespectful or does not oblige. Corporal punishment, also by the mother, appears to be part of some cultures, and sons tend to be more often the victim than daughters. Corporal punishment is not frowned upon, let alone reported. It only becomes an issue when the child is severely wounded or has died, in which case it becomes a police affair.¹¹⁸ Research done by the Commission in 9 provinces in 2012, found that most children engaged as respondents experienced some form of violence, and most often in the home environment.¹¹⁹ The results show that verbal abuse by fathers was most common.¹²⁰

Sexual violence against daughters - in particular incest by fathers, step- and adoptive fathers, grandfathers or brothers - is condemned by society. Local media often cover cases which have come out in the open, because a case of incest is seen as sensational news. Many cases are assumed to go unnoticed as fathers intimidate their daughters to keep quiet and the mother is either not aware of what is going on or she is too timid to intervene or take action on behalf of her daughter.¹²¹ Usually the community or close relatives take action when the victim of incest turns out to be pregnant.¹²²

The Indonesian government is committed to eradicate violence against children. In 1990 it has ratified by Presidential Decree (no. 36) the Convention on the Rights of the Child which enshrines the rights of children to be protected from "all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child."¹²³ In 2002 the Indonesian parliament accepted a law on the protection of the child. The National Commission for Protection of the Child (Komisi Perlindungan Anak Indonesia, KPIA) mentioned above was installed in that year. This Commission, however, does not yet provide a comprehensive and yearly updated database on violence against children.

The 2002 law has been revised in 2014: heavier sanctions were set for transgression of the rights of the child, in particular with regard to sexual violence. Regulations were included on services to be provided to child victims suffering from physical, psychological and social effects of violence.¹²⁴ This revision came as a

response to the findings of Commission for Protection of the Child and the National Commission on Violence Against Women that each year the number of reported cases of violence against children had increased¹²⁵ and that in particular girls below 18 are vulnerable to sexual violence by male relatives and other men living in their immediate environment, including fathers at home.¹²⁶

Are fathers knowledgeable about the rights of the child, the pledge of the government to eradicate violence against children, and the detrimental effects of violence against their children? According to a KPAI commissioner very few are. Government agencies appear to focus on following up individual cases, whereas a specific program for protection of children against violence is not yet in place. It should be mentioned here as well that the government budget for programs that intend to protect children's rights in general is still minimal.¹²⁷ As the government revised the law on protection of children's rights in 2014 this may change in the near future.



The Role of Fathers in Child Development

THE INDONESIAN CONCEPT AND PRACTICE OF FATHER'S PARENTING

Indonesian fathers are usually fond of their children when they are very young. A father walking on the side of the road carrying a baby or toddler in his arms or chatting with friends with a child on his lap is a common sight in rural and urban areas. However, fathers rarely change nappies, give their child a bath, and prepare milk or baby food: taking care of these needs are considered the tasks of their mother. This also counts for caregiving tasks of older children. Not surprisingly, several sources point out that the social norm positioning fathers as income earners is responsible for their lack of involvement in these tasks. Many fathers believe that when they are capable of providing for their family financially, they are good fathers.

IF A FATHER TALKS TO HIS CHILD IT COMMONLY GOES LIKE THIS

"Have you already eaten, kid?"

"Have you already done your homework?"

"Eh, have you memorized it?"

"You, it is your duty to learn, your daddy's to earn money. So off you go! Finish your homework! If you need anything, ask your mother".

<https://www.facebook.com/notes/sheila-banun/pentingnya-peran-ayah-dalam-pengasuhan/798213233555319>

The dominant role of the wife since early childhood is also given as one of the explanations why fathers rarely communicate with their children once they get older. Many mothers, believing that it is their task to take care of the children, do not encourage their husband to become more involved in their children's life.¹²⁸

The result of several research projects, however, show that the gendered division of parental roles in child development is not absolute, but when fathers are actively engaged in the upbringing of their children, their contribution tends to be restricted to character building, and religious, spiritual and moral guidance.¹²⁹ Fathers are also involved and find pride in staging life-cycle ceremonies for their children such the circumcision of an adolescent son if they are Muslim, the tooth filing ceremony for sons and daughters when they are Hindu, and in all religious communities, the marriage of their children.

CHALLENGES FACED BY FATHERS

It should be added that fathers (and mothers) may face problems due to relatively recent changes in patterns of parenting. Many parents were raised in an entirely different setting and are not as well educated as their children. In the past fathers in rural areas trained their sons 'on the job' to become farmers, fisherman or craftsmen, but today fathers rarely desire a son to follow in their footsteps. The consequence: fathers have become less involved in the upbringing of their sons and bereaved of the opportunity for frequent communication. It is possible that a father is at loss how to guide his son who has ventured into a new world with which he himself is not familiar. Daughters have also increasingly moved out of his orbit: whereas they used to be at home helping out their mother and were therefore under constant supervision, many girls go to school nowadays, even in rural areas until the age of 15 when they have finished junior high school (compulsory education 9 years, recently extended to 12 years). A son and also a daughter might view their father as old fashioned, incapable of understanding their desire to be part of their peer group, and taking part in its 'cool' activities.

How does a father cope with a child who in his view exhibits behavior that he cannot condone: skipping or not interested in school, hanging out with friends, addicted to modern gadgets such as play station, websites giving access pornography, addicted to drugs, becoming part of a school gang prone to violence, and experimenting with sexual activities leading to teenage pregnancy? If teenagers go astray, the social norm is that the mother has failed and consequently the father might blame his wife, unaware of the fact that he could have made a difference. There are signs that this norm is about to change: fathers are more often reminded that they should communicate better with their children and take their responsibility to teach their sons and daughters moral values. Moreover, some sources explicitly blame fathers who are too busy with their work to pay attention to their children's religious upbringing for the deviant behavior of their children.¹³⁰

Obviously it is useful to know more about coping strategies of fathers. Do they copy the parenting patterns of their own father who may have commanded undisputed authority, was able to control the behavior of his children, and was very protective, in particular towards daughters? And does it lead to more tension in the relation with their children, in particular if the children are better educated than their father? Respect for parents is a deeply rooted value in Indonesian culture, but teenagers in particular are not as submissive as they used to be. Do fathers realize that they have to become engaged in the upbringing of their children in other ways, and need knowledge about the different needs of sons and daughters in their infancy, early youth and adolescence? And if so, how do they manage to change their role as a father? Plenty information is available on the internet on how to be good, fantastic, and even ideal father and why being such a father benefits children, the relationship with the spouse, as well as the father himself.¹³¹ But do fathers make use of that information and if they do, is it sufficiently practical to help them change? A relevant question is also which roles they find easier to change than others. Differences in patterns of fathers' parenting and changes therein between rural and urban areas, across social class and cultures are other subjects for research. One thing is clear: fathers would benefit from learning parenting skills and need the support of their wife to put them in practice.

CHANGE BENEFITS FATHERS TOO

That men wish to be closer to their children and are sometimes jealous of the emotional bond their children have with their mother, has become clear during group discussions organized for fathers in the framework of the MenCare+ program. Such discussion groups are a safe environment because men become aware

that they are not the only fathers who experience difficulties with their parental role and that it is up to them to change the relationship with their children for the better. They come to realize that this will make their children and their wife happier, which in turn improves their own mental health. A good relationship with their children during childhood also has the advantage that the children will remain close to their father later in life, which prevents him becoming lonely in old age.



Summary and Conclusions

This report gives insight in the multiple challenges Indonesian men both in rural and urban areas face to be engaged fathers. This is not to say that they do not care about family. Nothing would be more beside the truth: Indonesian men nearly invariably want to build a family and have children. They value their family: wife, children, parents, siblings, and the wider circle of their relatives. But as this report shows, Indonesian fathers do face a huge variety of problems, which often are not recognized as such by others and often are neglected by them as well. Many fathers cannot live up to the expectations of being as good and engaged a father to their children as they could or should be. Teenage fathers can rarely live up to the expectation that they have to provide for their wife and child, as they are still dependent on their parents and some do not feel ready to be father and neglect their parenting role. Divorced fathers often do not have custody of the children, become absent fathers when ties with their children are severed because their wife does not allow them access to children, out of spite or because the father is unable to support the children financially. If the father has custody of the children, he is incapable to replace his wife and leaves the daily care of the household and upbringing to his parents, foremost his mother, or other relatives. Polygamous fathers are not always able to support multiple families and risk alienation of their children who feel that the father has treated their mother unfairly and/ or has de facto abandoned them. Fathers of whom the wife works abroad, fail to step into the role of the absent mother as caring and nurturing parent and although not an absent father like a divorced father of whom the children live with the mother, leave that role to parents and/or other relatives. If the father himself finds a better paid job abroad, he becomes an absent father and may have difficulty to give substance to his fatherhood. Men who have a child in the fifties or later in life, will face the possibility of not being able to be an engaged father when the child grows up. Incarcerated fathers become de facto absent fathers and burden their family with the shame of his being convicted, which may cause his children to distance themselves from him. Last but not least come all the men who have a wife who works and perhaps has career ambitions too and contributes substantially to the family income. These women often want the husband to do his share of household chores and be more involved in the parenting of the children. If they are unable to make an arrangement between them which satisfies both, this can lead to tension at home, domestic violence, and divorce.

The reasons why Indonesian fathers have difficulty becoming engaged fathers are also multiple. To a large extent they are encapsulated by a patriarchal culture, which stands in the way of their ability to become more engaged fathers. It is appropriate to use the plural, patriarchal cultures, as men are members of different ethnic groups and social classes, and they adhere to different religions. On each of these levels patriarchy takes its own characteristic form. The dominant norm of what a man should be and do, however, is fairly universal: the husband is the head of the family and he should be a good provider for wife and children. The norm of what a woman should be and do – being a

housewife and a good wife and mother who has the task of bringing up the children – is its pendant. This set of norms is enshrined in the 1974 marriage law and supported by religious values and local traditions. It limits the ability and willingness of both men and women to swap roles with ease and without feeling uncomfortable, whereas the norm conflicts with real conditions which demand a more flexible division of roles. Poverty pushes women to work in order to sustain the family, education encourages them to have career ambitions, leaving their husbands de facto with no other choice than enter the domestic domain and become a more engaged father if he desires to maintain harmony at home. If he sticks to the notion that the home and the children are primarily his wife's concern, not only does he take a formidable risk, but also deprives himself of the joys of engaged fatherhood.

The dominant norm also has been translated into government programs in the field of reproductive health. The policy and programs developed by the National Board for Family Planning have targeted women in their reproductive years from the start in 1970s. Only gradually men have been engaged, when awareness grew that the lack of support and participation of men stood in the way of reaching the programs' objective of a decreased fertility rate. But the new approach has not yet resonated: many fathers still favor a large family, clinging to the traditional norm that there has to be son and/or the notion that a large offspring brings future wealth. A pro-native norm has been again promoted by religious leaders of some Muslim streams based on the tenet that God will always provide for them. This tenet does not leave much room for thought about responsible fatherhood in terms of caring about the reproductive health of the wife and his own ability to provide for her and the children. The Ministry of Health has already tried to involve fathers in its program to reduce the maternal mortality rate, but apparently without any significant impact as the mortality rate is still very high. None of the available sources, including the relevant policy strategy of the government, refers explicitly to the role of fathers in the effort to reduce infant and child mortality. This is remarkable as their role in reducing maternal mortality has been recognized and build in into programs to achieve this. One can conclude from this that care for the health of infants and toddlers by their mothers is still the prevailing norm which is reflected in the set-up of the program for Mother and Child's Health (KIA). The notion of engaged fatherhood as a guiding principle is also noticeably absent in policies and programs of the Ministry of Health for the prevention of HIV and has not infused the 2003 Labor Law on paternity leave. The law on domestic violence does recognize the role of abusive men and the need for them to change their behavior, but this law has not yet been followed up by providing men with counselling services on a significant scale. In sum, existing laws, government policies, and programs have not done much to foster engaged fatherhood.

This also counts for religious beliefs, which often have influenced government policies, in particular Muslim religious beliefs as the majority of the Indonesian people adheres to that faith. Indonesian men are also heavily influenced individually by these beliefs through the sermons (dakwah) of their religious leaders who occasionally speak at Friday prayer time and through Islamic literature. Some television stations broadcast programs on religion regularly featuring popular religious experts. The influence of the - predominantly male - Muslim leadership is thus enormous and has increased after the Suharto period, when the Muslim majority was politically sidetracked. Results relevant to fatherhood are that long standing practices previously curbed by state issued laws have become openly defended by many Muslim leaders as allowed by Islam, notably polygamy, child marriage, and female circumcision.

Change, however, is on the way. Women's organizations have started to question nearly all of these issues, through the National Commission on Violence against women, and the many women's NGO's active in the country. One of the successes is the acceptance by parliament of the act on eradication of violence against women in 2004. Men have been involved in this endeavor since 2000. Another outcome has been that some

of these NGO's have started counselling services for abusive men, supported by the MenCare+ Program and other donor agencies, which has led to the formation of The New Man Alliance and its regionally based groups. The need for a transformation of Indonesian masculinity, sharing domestic work, men's involvement during pregnancy and delivery, and the importance of a father's involvement in parenting have been included as important points on its agenda alongside a stop to violence against women. Young male Muslim community leaders have started to work on these issues in their communities as well. They do not yet belong to the higher levels of the male Muslim leadership establishment, but might become part of it in the future. Moreover, even a prominent organization as the Council for Indonesia's Ulama has accommodated certain demands for change – on abortion, on female circumcision for example – that may not go far enough in the eyes of feminist men and women, but proves that there is at least limited room for debate and change. Also in predominantly Christian and Hindu regions men have started to raise their voices. A characteristic of the developments so far is that change and the demand for it takes place at national, regional, and community level. This multi-layered approach is also put in practice by MenCare+ and its partner organizations.

There are three challenges that need to be answered. The first is, as this report shows, the equivalent of the question "what is it that a woman wants"? What is it, that men as fathers – really – want? What are their dreams and their anxieties? So far, research on men has been scant, whereas research can help to answer these questions and function as the basis for designing programs supporting engaged fatherhood. The second challenge is that several important issues seem to be absent on the agenda of the nascent men's movement. Examples are the plight of divorced fathers and single parent fathers, the positive contribution men can make to counter the rise in HIV prevalence among married women, the circumcision of daughters, polygamy and child marriage, the lengthening of extension of paternity leave. After all, all these issues concern the physical and/or mental health of their own wife, and children, and directly or indirectly affect their own health and wellbeing. The third challenge concerns the men's movement's power to lobby for father-friendly changes of laws, allocation of larger budgets for programs implemented by government agencies and NGOs which already involve and benefit fathers. Far more men need to be mobilized to bring about change on a large scale, in order to make a real difference felt by men as fathers, women as mothers and their children. Many men are pro women's rights, anti-violence against women and children, and not prone to violence themselves, do not wish to take a second wife, and want to give their children a sound upbringing and education for a better life. In sum, they want to be a good fathers, respected, sure, but also loved. But they form a silent majority when it comes to calls for institutional and structural change and do not join any organization. Raising their awareness about engaged fatherhood might stimulate more men to become actively involved as agents of change as engaged fatherhood holds the promise of so many benefits for men themselves.

References

1. Penduduk Indonesia. Hasil sensus 2010. Badan Pusat Statistik. Tabel 07.3.
2. Jumlah dan Persentase Penduduk Miskin, Garis Kemiskinan, Indeks Kedalaman Kemiskinan (P1), dan Index Keparahan Kemiskinan (P2) Menurut Provinsi, September 2014. <http://www.bps.go.id/linkTabelStatistik/view/id/1488>
3. Undang-undang RI No. 1 Tahun 1974. Article 31, ayat (3) and Article 34, ayat (1)
4. Thanks to Mr. Nur Hasyim, one of the founders of The New Man Alliance, for providing this information.
5. MenCare Engaging Men as Caregiving Partners in SRHR and MCH, SRHR Fund Application, 2013-2015, Category B:3, 12 October 2012.
6. Penduduk Indonesia. Hasil sensus 2010. Badan Pusat Statistik. Data used from Table 05.7.
7. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Age_at_first_marriage
8. Undang-undang RI No. 1 Tahun 1974. Article 7, ayat (1)
9. Penduduk Indonesia. Hasil sensus 2010. Badan Pusat Statistik. Tabel 05.7 and 05.8.
10. Indonesia has ratified the 1990 Convention on the Rights of the Child, but since then has not ensured proper implementation of Article 7, Section 1. The child shall be registered immediately after birth and shall have the right from birth to a name, the right to acquire a nationality and, as far as possible, the right to know and be cared for by his or her parents.
11. Pregnancy of adolescent girls is said to be on the rise and although the father of the child may not be an adolescent boy, one can safely assume that a significant percentage of these fathers is not yet nineteen years old. <https://indonesiapoligamiwatch.wordpress.com/2013/05/28/fenomena-kehamilan-usia-remaja-meningkat/>
12. For this reason a separate section on men's attitudes towards abortion is not included in this report.
13. These are main findings of a research on unplanned pregnancy in 8 provinces on the island of Sumatra. Kehamilan sebuah Anugerah? Kompilasi Laporan Penelitian Kehamilan Tidak Diinginkan/KTD di Delapan Propinsi – Pulau Sumatera oleh Konsorsium PERMAMPU
14. For an analysis of the legal background of this policy see Jones, G. Chee Heng Leng and Maznah Mohammad, Muslim-Non-Muslim Marriage. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009, Singapore, pp. 33-58.
15. For an example see case study, Kehamilan sebuah Anugerah? Kompilasi Laporan Penelitian Kehamilan Tidak Diinginkan/KTD di Delapan Propinsi – Pulau Sumatera oleh Konsorsium PERMAMPU, page 115-116.
16. <https://www.k4health.org/toolkits/indonesia/pendewasaan-usia-pernikahan>. For the module used in this program see <http://ceria.bkkbn.go.id/>
17. <http://lakilakipeduli.org/program/advokasi>
18. Survei Penggalan Data Dasar untuk Program MenCare+, Puska FKM UI and Rutgers WPF 2013.
19. Penduduk Indonesia. Hasil sensus 2010. Badan Pusat Statistik. Tabel 05.7 and 05.8.
20. <http://www.khilafah.com/ministry-of-religious-affairs-212000-divorce-every-year-in-indonesia>; <http://theim-pudentobserver.com/world-news/indonesia-divorce-rate-up-ten-fold-why/#.Vi8gP9lrK5c>; [http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/09/12/why-divorce-indonesia-increasing.html](http://www.republika.co.id/berita-nasional/umum/14/11/14/nf0ij7-tingkat-perceraian-indonesia-meningkat-setiap-tahun-ini-datanya); Angka Perceraian di Indonesia Tertinggi di Asia-Pasifik: <http://www.BKKBN.go.id/ViewBerita.aspx?BeritaID=967>
21. Kekerasan terhadap perempuan: Negara segera putus impunitas pelaku. Catatan tahunan tentang kekerasan terhadap perempuan. Jakarta, 2015, Komnas Perempuan, Edisi Launching, p. 11.
22. <http://www.negarahukum.com/hukum/hak-asuh-anak-dalam-undang-undang.html>; http://www.kompasiana.com/equalaws-consultant/tanya-jawab-hak-asuh-anak-saat-perceraian_55300b1c6ea834e9128b4592
23. Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 9, section 3. States Parties shall respect the right of the child who is separated from one or both parents to maintain personal relations and direct contact with both parents on a regular basis, except if it is contrary to the child's best interests.
24. Kekerasan terhadap perempuan: Negara segera putus impunitas pelaku. Catatan tahunan tentang kekerasan terhadap perempuan. Jakarta, 2015, Komnas Perempuan, Edisi Launching, p. 9.
25. See for complaint of a first wife that her husband married again without her knowledge: <http://www.slideshare.net/helmonchan/sikap-istri-yang-suaminya-diam-diam-poligami-38854540>
26. <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2014/11/08/bitter-honey-shows-polygamy-s-hidden-face-bali.html>
27. The 1974 marriage law, article 4, ayat (2.c), allows a man to take more than one wife if she is unable to bear children (not stated whether this is caused by her or of the husband's infertility). In such cases the first wife may consent to the second marriage of her husband, preferring this marital state over the status of a divorcee, although this appears to occur less often than in the past. Other reasons are if the wife is unable to fulfill her duties as a wife (section 2.a), or she is disabled or suffers from an incurable disease (ayat 2.b).
28. Isroqunnajah, H, Poligami, alasan, syarat, dan prosedur. Paper, Universitas Islam Negeri Maulana Malik Ibrahim, Malang, 2013. 2013.
29. <https://indonesiapoligamiwatch.wordpress.com/2011/01/16/poligami-pelanggaran-pns-terbanyak-di-balikpapan/>
30. In 2007 the owner of a chain of popular restaurants promoted polygamy, see <https://indonesiapoligamiwatch.wordpress.com/2007-tahun-kebangkitan-poligami-indonesia/>. In 2013 a rich Javanese merchant married again, after having been married several times before. The debate about this marriage was particularly controversial because his new wife was a 12 year old girl from a poor family. See: <https://indonesiapoligamiwatch.wordpress.com/2013/06/24/luthfi-hasan-nikahi-darin-mumtazah-pada-2012/>
31. Letter issued by the Ministry of Defence (SE/71/VII/215 tertanggal 11 Juli 2015 tentang Persetujuan/ Izin Perkawinan dan Perceraian bagi PNS di lingkungan Kemhan). See: <http://news.metrotvnews.com/read/2015/08/11/420067/surat-edaran-poligami-menhan-ada-syarat-yang-harus-dipenuhi>.
32. Komnas Perempuan has protested against these regulations as well as a prominent feminist academic. See Pernyataan Sikap Komnas Perempuan terkait Surat Edaran No. SE/71/VII/2015 (Poligami) <http://radarpena.com/read/2015/08/12/21931/6/2/Komnas-Perempuan-Tolak-SE-Poligami-Kemenhan#st-hash.dTXDpR4v.dpuf>

References

33. See for an overview of actions against polygamy: <http://www.hidayatullah.com/artikel/ghazwul-fikr/read/2013/05/13/2452/mana-suara-perempuan-dan-feminis-atas-poligami-eyang-subur.html>. For the Indonesian feminist view on polygamy see no 31, Menimbang Poligami (Considering Polygamy) of the influential *Jurnal Perempuan* (Women's Journal).
34. <https://indonesiapoligamiwatch.wordpress.com/category/statistik>
35. <https://alinlovable.wordpress.com/2011/01/07/pengaruh-poligami-terhadap-perkembangan-psikologi-anak/>
36. <http://life.viva.co.id/news/read/476054-ayah-usia-tua-tingkatkan-risiko-anak-gangguan-mental> <http://health.kompas.com/read/2013/04/16/09464313/Terlalu.Tua.untuk.Menjadi.Ayah>
37. Indonesia. Statistical Yearbook of Indonesia 2015. Tabel 3.2.11 Jumlah TKI menurut Kawasan/Negara Penempatan dan Jenis Kelamin. Sumber: Badan Nasional Penempatan dan Perlindungan Tenaga Kerja Indonesia (BNP2TKI).
38. The National Board for Placement and Protection of Indonesian Workers (BNP2TKI) only provides data on marital status of migrant workers which are not segregated by gender: 58,42% is married, 33,14% is single and 8,44% is divorced. See: Penempatan dan Perlindungan tenaga kerja Indonesia tahun 2014 (periode 1 Januari s.d 31 Desember), page 7. One should also take into account, that women may register themselves at this agency as being not yet married, whereas in fact they are.
39. Hirano, Keiko, "When Working Abroad Becomes a "Dosa" (Sin): The Impact of Women's Migrant Domestic Labor on the Gender Relations in Rural Indonesia", *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 2015, 31 (1), p 62.; Other sources that mention the importance of remittances sent by migrant workers for the Indonesian state: <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/koran/podium/14/11/20/nfbkga3-pahlawan-devisa-membangun-bangsa>; <http://nasional.tempo.co/read/news/2013/11/23/173531828/setahun-tki-sumbang-devisa-negara-rp-113-miliar>.
40. Herien Puspitawati and Shely Septiana Setioningsih, Fungsi pengasuhan dan interaksi dalam keluarga terhadap kualitas perkawinan dan kondisi anak pada keluarga tenaga kerja wanita (TKW). *Jurnal Ilmiah Keluarga & Konseling*, January 2011, pp 11-20.
41. Sulis Bintari, Pelaksanaan Pendidikan Anak Dalam Keluarga TKW (Studi Kasus di Desa Sumberputih Kecamatan Wajak Kabupaten Malang). Abstract Thesis 2007. http://lib.uin-malang.ac.id/?mod=th_detail&id=01140003
42. Christin Haryati, Dhina Permatasari, Hidayat Syarifuddin, dan Indri Heryanti Putri, Permasalahan yang terjadi pada keluarga tenaga kerja wanita. <http://masdayat.web.id/2008/09/permasalahan-yang-terjadi-pada-keluarga-tenaga-kerja-wanita>
43. http://www.kompasiana.com/bangdepan/inilah-penyebab-perceraian-tertinggi-di-indonesia_55094a-caa3331122692e3965
44. Hirano (2015, page 64-4. For an opinion from a fundamentalist Muslim organization see also <http://hizbut-tahrir.or.id/2013/03/04/problem-pengasuhan-anak-para-tki>
45. It is remarkable that the international organization for migration (IOM) in its report *Labour migration from Indonesia (2010)* in its list of recommendations to overcome a wide range of problems experienced by the Indonesian labor force abroad, does not include the recommendation for the Indonesian government to make a greater effort to increase job opportunities in poor regions of the country.
46. Amir Panjulpada, BKKBN Perhatikan Ketahanan Keluarga TKW. <http://www.radarcirebon.com/bkkbn-perhatikan-ketahanan-keluarga-tkw.html>. This article only refers to such a program in the district Indramayu in West Java: whether it is duplicated in other areas needs confirmation.
47. The manual can be accessed through <http://buruhmigran.or.id/2014/10/15/buku-pedoman-pengasuhan-anak-bmi-tki-berbasis-komunitas/>
48. Vera Astuti and Putri Puspitarani, Keterlibatan ayah dalam pengasuhan jarak jauh remaja. Paper (no year), Fakultas Psikologi Universitas Diponegoro.
49. <http://www.nationmaster.com/country-info/profiles/Indonesia/Crime>
50. https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keluarga_besar. Supported by numerous examples observed by author.
51. Survei Penggalian Data Dasar unt Program Men=Car+ (Puska FKM UI dan Rutgers WPF, 2013).
52. <http://www.lbh-apik.or.id/penelitian-44-respon-agama-islam-terhadap-pembakuan-peran-perempuan-.html>
53. <http://www.antarane.ws.com/berita/520411/wapres-indonesia-sudah-maju-dalam-kesetaraan-gender>
54. Human Development Report 2013. UNDP.
55. See for examples: Sri Yulita Pramulia Panani, Transisi Perempuan dari Ranah Domestik ke Publik, <http://rifkaanisa.blogdetik.com/2013/02/08/transisi-perempuan-dari-ranah-domestik-ke-publik/>; <http://monaliasakwati.blogspot.co.id/2013/04/peranan-gender-dan-pembagian-kerja.html>; http://www.ubaya.ac.id/2014/content/articles_detail/120/Peran-Domestik---Salah-Satu-Wujud-Keseimbangan-dalam-Keluarga.html
56. Yunar Ilyas, Tajdid Muhammadiyah dalam Persoalan Perempuan. Paper Focus Group Discussion Pandangan Muhammadiyah terhadap Perempuan, diadakan oleh Majelis Tarjih dan Tajdid PP Muhammadiyah di Yogyakarta Sabtu 4 April 2015; <https://kurusislamandangender.wordpress.com/2013/12/04/konsepsi-peran-laki-laki-dan-perempuan-ahmadiyah-manislor/>
57. The author of the very funny posting from which the text in the box is taken also points out the advantages for boys (and girls) when they can cook, do the laundry, sweep and mop the floor, clean the bathroom. Unfortunately all pictures of men doing these chores display (again) Western men. <https://annacalista.wordpress.com/2013/04/08/kebiasaan-mengerjakan-pekerjaan-rumah-dan-hubungannya-dengan-masa-depan/lakilakibaru.or.id/2015/10/pengurangan-jam-kerja-perempuan> https://www.facebook.com/Lakilakipeduli/posts/804993149526489?stream_ref=5
58. Mujianto, Laki-laki mati lebih dulu daripada perempuan. Power point presentation; http://www.who.int/tobacco/surveillance/survey/gats/indonesia_report.pdf; <http://health.kompas.com/read/2012/09/11/19275290/Perokok.Laki-laki.di.Indonesia.Capai.67.Persen>; http://www.tobaccofreekids.org/tobacco_unfiltered/post/2012_09_12_indonesia https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Smoking_in_Indonesia
60. According to the <http://www.cdc.gov/globalhealth/countries/indonesia/pdf/indonesia.pdf>. Long diseases and lung cancer rank 7 and 11 as causes of death in Indonesia, see <http://www.>

References

- worldlifeexpectancy.com/country-health-profile/indonesia. However, comprehensive statistics on causes of death - let alone data segregated by gender - are not available. Many people die without a death certificate issued by a physician which states the cause of death. Only hospitals keep track of the cause of death of patients. Information provided by a director of a private hospital in Bali. <http://www.worldlifeexpectancy.com/country-health-profile/indonesia>
61. <http://kanker.kemkes.go.id/guidelines/PNPKProstat.pdf>
 62. Situasi dan analisis keluarga berencana. Kementerian Kesehatan RI. Pusat Data dan Informasi, 2014, Jakarta.
 63. <http://www.pikiran-rakyat.com/jawa-barat/2012/07/05/194793/peran-pria-ber-kb-di-indonesia-masih-rendah>; <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/family/worldContraceptivePatternsWallChart2013.pdf>
 64. http://www.kompasiana.com/alchemist/kb-pada-pria-bikin-tidak-bisa-ereksi_552025e6a33311c043b65bac; Merry Wahyuningih, Alasan Pria Indonesia Malas Ber-KB. <http://health.detik.com/read/2012/02/24/152734/1850906/763/alasan-pria-indonesia-malas-ber-kb>
 65. Wiko Saputra, Policy Update. Arah dan Strategi Kebijakan Penurunan Angka Kematian Ibu (AKI), Angka Kematian Bayi (AKB) dan Angka Kematian Balita (AKABA) di Indonesia, slide 11.
 66. <http://nationalgeographic.co.id/berita/2012/02/rendah-partisipasi-pria-mengikuti-program-kb>; <http://www.antarajateng.com/detail/NationalBoardforFamilyPlanning-minat-pria-berkb-masih-minim.html>;
 67. <http://www.antaraneews.com/berita/379566/mui-tegaskan-program-kb-mop-halal-dipakai-pria> <http://www.erasuslim.com/ustadz-menjawab/bolehkah-berkb-dalam-islam.htm>
 68. Kehamilan sebuah Anugerah? Kompilasi Laporan Penelitian Kehamilan Tidak Diinginkan/KTD di Delapan Propinsi – Pulau Sumatera oleh Konsorsium PERMAMPU http://www.unaids.org/sites/default/files/en/media/unaids/contentassets/documents/epidemiology/2012/gr2012/2012_FS_regional_asia_pacific_en.pdf
 69. Ironis, Ibu Rumah Tangga Kelompok Penderita HIV/AIDS Tertinggi di Indonesia. <http://pkbi.or.id/pkbi-penularan-hiv-aids-terbesar-di-indonesia-ternyata-di-dalam-rumah/>
 70. The National AIDS Commission AIDS gave an estimate of over 8.000 pregnant women with HIV for 2011. Republic of Indonesia country report on the follow up to the declaration of commitment on HIV/AIDS (UNGASS), page 5. Other sources that mention an increase of children infected are: Statistik Kasus HIV/AIDS di Indonesia. Dilapor s/d September 2014; <http://health.liputan6.com/read/2041696/infeksi-hiv-aids-pada-anak-indonesia-melonjak-tiap-tahun>;
 71. This is in conformity with the recent recommendation of the Aids team of one of Indonesia's top universities to pay more attention to prevention of HIV infections through heterosexual contact. See <http://www.kebijakanaidssindonesia.net/id/beranda/49-general/1063-situasi-penanggulangan-aids-2014>
 72. <http://pkbi.or.id/kliping-media-pkbi-libatkan-ribuan-kader-selamatkan-ibu-rt-dari-hiv/>
 73. Gabriela Anindita, Konseling dengan Pendekatan Reality Therapy pada Pria HIV Positif yang Sudah Menikah namun Belum Open Status pada Istri. MA. Thesis, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya, 2010.
 74. Muhammad Rizal Fikri, Tak Mau Tertular HIV/AIDS, Hubungan Suami-Istri Ini Hambar. This article discusses a short duration film about a wife who fear infection and refuses her husband sexual intercourse, until he agrees to do the test. Film is accessible at you tube.
 75. One young man about to get married worried about the possibility to have children and asked advice. Suami positif, istri tidak: bagaimana bikin anak. <http://spiritia.or.id/tj/bacatj.php?tjno=07081701>; another, not yet married, eventually told his father, who – shocked - died shortly afterwards. Oris Riswan, Pelukan Terakhir Ayah saat Tahu Anaknya Positif HIV, <http://daerah.sindonews.com/read/1066187/21/pelukan-terakhir-ayah-saat-tahu-anaknya-positif-hiv-1449044772>. Posts on the website with stories of wives and children of whom the husband and father proved HIV positive and died are exceed the number of HIV positive men themselves.
 76. See for an example: <http://www.alodokter.com/metode-dan-manfaat-sunat>
 77. See for an overview of different practices: <http://celanakhitanbandung.blogspot.co.id/2013/09/beginilah-proses-sunat-khitan-anak.html>
 78. Statistical profile on FGM/C_Unicef.pdf
 79. https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khitan_pada_wanita#Manfaat_khitan_perempuan
 80. Musdah Mulia, Sunat perempuan dalam perspektif Islam. <http://www.jurnalperempuan.org/blog/sunat-perempuan-dalam-perspektif-islam>
 81. For an overview of the different points of view on FGM in Indonesia see M. Amin Abdullah, Praktek Sunat/Khitan Perempuan di Indonesia (Perspektif Sosio-Teologis). Power point presentation, sheets 14-21. For discussion about government regulation issued in 2010 in the media see in 2013: Andy Budiman, Sunat Perempuan: Antara Mitos dan Politik [2013], <http://www.dw.com/id/sunat-perempuan-antara-mitos-dan-politik/a-16576668>; MUI: jangan larang khitan perempuan [2013] http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/majalah/2013/02/130204_khitanperempuan_fatwamui
 82. Decision of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Indonesia, Number 6 of 2014 on revocation of regulation of the Minister of Health number 1636/MENKES/PER/XII/2010 ON FEMALE CIRCUMCISION. PMK-No 6_2014 on Female Circumcision_ English version.pdf
 83. <http://sitihermawan.blogspot.co.id/2012/07/pantangan-selama-hamil-antara-mitos-dan.html>; <http://ibuhamil.com/diskusiumum/10694-fakta-membunuh-binatang-pada-saat-istri-sedang-hamil.html>; <http://cakepane.blogspot.co.id/2015/07/pantangan-buat-suami-bila-istri-nya.html>; <http://potatomuch.blogspot.co.id/2015/01/pamali-dan-mitos-jawa.html>; <http://family.fimela.com/ayah/peran/cerita-seru-para-ayah-hadapi-kehamilan-pertama-istri-141024x.html>
 84. <https://yorinadayanji.wordpress.com/2012/10/18/para-pelaku-dan-cara-cara-pertolongan-dalam-persalinan/>
 85. <http://rubbynurin.blogspot.co.id/2013/06/pengasuhan-anak-pada-masyarakat-bali.html>;
 86. <http://www.ayahbunda.co.id/keluarga-tips/petunjuk-untuk-ayah-saat-isteri-hamil>; [56 | STATE OF THE WORLD'S FATHER](http://tandakehamilanawal.com/duku-</div><div data-bbox=)

References

- ngan-sang-ayah-pada-kehamilan-trimester-ketiga.html; <http://bidanku.com/tips-menjadi-suami-siaga-menjelang-persalinan>; <http://bidanku.com/peran-suami-saat-persalinan>
87. <http://gelisahgalaumercau.blogspot.co.id/2012/02/pengalaman-menemani-istri-melahirkan.html>
88. <http://health.kompas.com/read/2015/09/05/101500423/Bila.Suami.Takut.Mendampingi.Istri.Melahirkan>; <http://www.solo-pos.com/2015/03/15/tips-keluarga-ini-faktor-yang-bikin-pa-ra-suami-takut-temani-istri-melahirkan-584710>; <http://lifestyle.okezone.com/read/2015/08/15/196/1196875/ketakuan-suami-saat-istri-melahirkan>; <http://ucha-weblog.com/hindari-menyaksikan-persalinan/>
89. Ikhlil Muzayyanah Dini Fajriyah, Ambigu Posisi Suami dalam Masa Reproduksi Perempuan dan Strategi Tokoh Pesantren dalam Upaya Pelibatan Laki-laki, psgk-ui, pfd.
90. <http://islammubarak.blogspot.co.id/2011/11/istriku-sayang-kisah-nyata-nurani.html>
91. <http://duniaely.com/2014/08/06/istriku-meninggal-saat-melahirkan-anak-ke-dua-aku-harus-bagaimana/>
92. Mother's Day. Situasi Kesehatan Ibu. Infodatin-ibu menkes.pfd, page 2. http://www.kompasiana.com/ditaanugrah/angka-kematian-ibu-di-indonesia-masih-jauh-dari-target-mdgs-2015_54f-940b8a33311ba078b4928
93. <http://repository.usu.ac.id/bitstream/123456789/40630/5/Chapter%20I.pdf>
94. Reni Merta Kusuma, "Analisis kebijakan desa siaga di Kabupaten Sleman Yogyakarta". Jurnal Kebijakan Kesehatan, vol. 02, 2013, hal. 126 – 133.
95. Article 75 of the 2009 Law on Health (Undang-undang Kesehatan no. 36, 2009) states that abortion is illegal. Paragraph 1 of this article makes an exception for cases when "there is a medical indication of emergency detected early in the pregnancy, which endangers the life of the mother and/or the child, who suffers from a serious genetic illness and/or handicap that cannot be corrected, and therefore will make it difficult for the baby to live outside the womb".
96. <https://id-id.facebook.com/notes/indonesian-youth-camp-2015-time-to-act/siaran-pers-iydc-2014-pelibatan-laki-laki-mutlak-untuk-menurunkan-angka-kematian/404894416326755>
97. <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SH.DYN.MORT>; http://www.kompasiana.com/devikumalasari/angka-kematian-bayi-di-indonesia-menurun_54f8375ca333112e5e8b4817; <https://www.kemendiknas.go.id/artikel/angka-kematian-balita-di-indonesia-turun>
98. Indonesia: Mixed progress on reducing child malnutrition: <http://www.irinnews.org/report/96206/indonesia-mixed-progress-on-reducing-child-malnutrition>; <https://www.wfp.org/stories/10-facts-about-malnutrition-indonesia>
99. <http://idai.or.id/artikel/seputar-kesehatan-anak/salah-satu-penanganan-bayi-prematur-yang-perlu-diketahui>
100. Yanti Riyantini, Kebijakan pemerintah terkait balita dan remaja (slideshow); Wiko Saputra, Policy Update. Arah dan Strategi Kebijakan Penurunan Angka Kematian Ibu (AKI), Angka Kematian Bayi (AKB) dan Angka Kematian Balita (AKABA) di Indonesia. http://www.kompasiana.com/nureinhaya/tujuan-tujuan-mdgs-dalam-bidang-kesehatan-di-indonesia_552fe88e6ea834805d8b458a; Sekitar 35 juta balita masih beresiko jika target angka kematian anak tidak tercapai: http://www.unicef.org/indonesia/id/media_21393.htm
101. <http://www.hukumonline.com/klinik/detail/lt4f9e4e622a9bd/adakah-cuti-mengasuh-anak-untuk-pekerja-laki-laki>
102. <http://www.kspi.or.id/di-negara-maju-suami-pun-dapat-cuti-melahirkan.html>
103. Tri Susanto, Cuti melahirkan ayah tidak cukup: <http://www.qerja.com/jurnal/view/cuti-melahirkan-untuk-ayah-tak-cukup-hanya-tiga-hari-4-fakta-seputar-paternity-leave-1>; http://brighterlife.co.id/2015/10/02/perluhak-hak-cuti-ayah-diterapkan-di-indonesia/http://www.kompasiana.com/alwayscahyo/menggugat-aturan-waktu-cuti-melahirkan-belajar-dari-kasus-dinda_55288c2b6ea83439058b4603
104. Since that year, the National Commission on Violence against Women (Komnas Perempuan), collects and analyzes data on all cases of violence against women reported to the Commission by partner organizations and religious courts in all provinces, not only in the domestic but also public sphere. It also collects data on the number of divorce cases, provided by the religious courts.
105. See also articles on the National Commission on Violence against Women website: "Violence Against Women is a Men's Issue" and "Pelibatan Laki-Laki dalam Pengentasan Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan"; For the alliance's activities in various regions in Indonesia consult its website. See also Kesukarelawan dalam Pencegahan Kekerasan Berbasis Gender di Aceh, page 23, for its collaboration with local NGO's.
106. For an explanation of Islamic teachings that supports violence against one's wife see: <https://aryu.wordpress.com/2007/06/16/memukul-istri-dalam-islam/>
107. Survei Penggalan Data Dasar untuk Program Men=Car+ (Puska FKM UI dan Rutgers WPF, 2013).
108. Information received from a pastor working in the Indonesian part of the island of Timor, East Indonesia.
109. Vienna Novia Lurizha Adza, Marital rape: Paradigma masyarakat dan hukum Islam.
110. Kekerasan terhadap perempuan: Negara segera putus impunitas pelaku. Catatan tahunan tentang kekerasan terhadap perempuan. Jakarta, 2015, Komnas Perempuan, Edisi Launching, p. 8, 11.
111. This is mentioned by a police officer in an article about domestic violence cases in a district in South Sumatra. <http://news.okezone.com/read/2015/07/13/340/1180659/polisi-sebagian-besar-kasus-kdrtdipicu-rasa-cemburu> Probably his colleagues have the same experience in districts far removed from the government body and NGO's that assist victims of domestic and sexual violence (BP3A).
112. Kekerasan suami terhadap istri masa hamil-nifas dan dampaknya bagi kesehatan reproduksi perempuan di dua desa Kabupaten Donggala, Sulawesi Tengah. Tesis S2 UGM, 2010. <http://pasca.ugm.ac.id/v3.0/promotion/id/72>
113. <http://ibuhamil.com/ngobrol-apa-saja/46366-suami-kasar-sering-melakukan-kdrtd-saat-hamil.html>; <http://m.hidupkatolik.com/index.php/2012/07/27/kekerasan-dalam-rumah-tangga>
114. <http://psikologiforensik.com/2012/01/26/trauma-kdrtd-dan-perkembangan-psikopatologi-masa-kanak-remaja/>; <http://bagpsikologirosdmpoldampung.blogspot.co.id/2014/01/pengaruh-kdrtd-terhadap-kepribadian-anak.html>; Suryo Dharmono, Dampak psikologik kekerasan terhadap perempuan & anak dalam rumah tangga.

References

115. See for its recommendations: Kekerasan terhadap perempuan: Negara segera putus impunitas pelaku. Catatan tahunan tentang kekerasan terhadap perempuan. Jakarta, 2015, Komnas Perempuan, Edisi Launching, p. 3.
116. The research project was conducted through qualitative method using lines of enquiry informed by the paradigm of narrative therapy. Five participants agreed to participate in this research, including one husband whose wife declined to participate due to safety reason and two couples who completed the counselling sessions at Rifka Annisa Women's Crisis Centre (Yogyakarta). Two wives joining the interview asserted that their husbands committing emotional violence, including verbal aggression and neglect showed changes and became more respectful and less aggressive. However, the issues of clients' ambivalence appeared. The counselling process tended to focus on encouraging the participants to change their behaviors and placed little emphasis on exploring and deconstructing the effects of dominant discourse of being a man in their lives.
117. Rose, Kate Eliza, Anak dari kekerasan Rumah Tangga di Papua, http://www.unicef.org/indonesia/id/reallives_10782.html; <http://www.merdeka.com/peristiwa/kronologi-anak-disiksa-ayah-minta-maaf-dan-tewas-saat-dipeluk.html>; Pengkajian mengenai kekerasan terhadap anak di Kabupaten Sikka and Ende, NTT. Tesis, 2003, Universitas Atmajaya.
118. Rita Pranawati, Kekerasan pada anak dan aspek kuratif. Power point presentation presented at Seminar "Peran Orang Tua dalam Perlindungan Anak untuk Membentuk Karakter Generasi Z", Yogyakarta, 27 September 2014. Respondents were 1026 children in the primary and secondary school age groups in 9 provinces. That this is a not uncommon see: <http://bidanku.com/kebiasaan-membentak-berpengaruh-buruk-terhadap-masa-depan-anak#ixzz3qNtNDigM>; <http://bidanku.com/ketahui-dampak-buruk-sering-marahi-anak-di-depan-umum#ixzz3qNr4a1Nq>
119. That this is a not uncommon see: <http://bidanku.com/kebiasaan-membentak-berpengaruh-buruk-terhadap-masa-depan-anak#ixzz3qNtNDigM>; <http://bidanku.com/ketahui-dampak-buruk-sering-marahi-anak-di-depan-umum#ixzz3qNr4a1Nq>
120. <http://cinta.akugatel.com/search/incest+terhadap+anak+++banyak+terjadi++sedikit+terungkap+++KPAI/>. In the years 2011-2012, for example only 27 cases of incest were reported. <http://www.jurnalperempuan.org/rumah-bukan-tempat-yang-aman.html>
121. See for some incest cases reported in the media: Bejad! Sumatera Barat Dihebohkan Kasus Incest Ayah & Anak! <https://hello-pet.com/berita-gosip/65034>; http://www.kompasiana.com/mahajinoesa/menikmati-seks-incest-bayar-saat-hamil_550ecd84a33311a72dba823f; <http://jogja.tribunnews.com/2015/08/13/dua-kasus-incest-di-bantul-pada-2015>
122. UN General Assembly, Convention on the Rights of the Child Article 19; 20 November 1989, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 1577, p. 3; <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.as>
123. Undang-undang nomor 23 tahun 2002 tentang perlindungan anak; Undang-Undang Nomor 35 Tahun 2014. <http://www.pn-palopo.go.id/index.php/berita/artikel/164-paradigma-ba>
[ru-hukum-perindungan-anak-pasca-perubahan-undang-undang-perindungan-anak](http://www.pn-palopo.go.id/index.php/berita/artikel/164-paradigma-ba-ru-hukum-perindungan-anak-pasca-perubahan-undang-undang-perindungan-anak)
124. Maria Ulfah Anshor, Menghentikan kekerasan dan diskriminasi terhadap anak dan kelompok minoritas dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara. Paper presented at the INFID Conference "Re-demokratisasi Ekonomi, Sosial, dan Politik untuk Pembangunan Inklusif". Jakarta, 14-15 Oktober 2014; <http://www.kpai.go.id/berita/kpai-pelaku-kekerasan-terhadap-anak-tiap-tahun-meningkat/>; <http://pahamindonesia.org/opini/55-miris-kekerasan-terhadap-anak-di-keluarga>; <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/koran/hukum-koran/15/08/03/nshvh4-indonesia-darurat-kekerasan-pada-anak>;
125. Of all cases labeled as domestic violence against women (8.626 cases) in 2014, 10% was identified as violence against daughters, but it is not clear whether it was always the biological father who was the perpetrator. Kekerasan terhadap perempuan: Negara segera putus impunitas pelaku. Catatan tahunan tentang kekerasan terhadap perempuan. Jakarta, 2015, Komnas Perempuan, Edisi Launching, p. 16.
126. <http://www.cnnindonesia.com/politik/20151005125000-32-82852/anggaran-untuk-perindungan-anak-dari-pemerintah-minim/>
127. For a critical and down-to-earth discussion of commonly found patterns of upbringing by the father (and the mother) see: Elly Risman, Peran ayah dalam pengasuhan, <https://www.facebook.com/notes/sheila-banun/pentingnya-peran-ayah-dalam-pengasuhan/798213233555319>. Other sources: <http://rumahinspirasi.com/kontribusi-ayah-dalam-pengasuhan-anak/>; <http://mommiesdaily.com/2014/07/03/pentingnya-keterlibatan-ayah-dalam-pengasuhan-anak/>
128. Harmaini, Vivik Shofiah, Alma Yulianti, "Peran Ayah Dalam Mendidik Anak" in: Jurnal Psikologi, Volume 10 Nomor 2, Desember 2014, pp. 80-85; Ririn Karina and Rina Mulyati, Peran ayah dalam pengasuhan dan kelekatan remaja pada ayah, naskah publikasi, Universitas Islam Indonesia, Yogyakarta 2007.
129. <http://www.arasyikids.com/blog/2014/09/08/peran-ayah-dalam-mendidik-anak-menurut-islam/>; <https://hijapedia.com/peran-ayah-dalam-pembentukan-karakter-anak/>; http://fahima.org/en/index.php/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=99:bukan-sembarang-ayah&catid=62:pendidikan&Itemid=128
130. 7 tips menjadi ayah yang hebat: <http://family.fimela.com/ayah/fatherhood/tips-menjadi-ayah-hebat-untuk-anak-131202b-page1.html>; <http://www.brilio.net/news/kriteria-kriteria-ini-tunjukkan-sosok-ayah-yang-hebat-150406e.html>; <http://www.jw.org/id/publikasi/majalah/g201212/seperti-apa-pria-sejati-itu/>; Manfaat Keterlibatan Ayah Dalam Pengasuhan Anak: <http://mommiesdaily.com/2014/07/03/pentingnya-keterlibatan-ayah-dalam-pengasuhan-anak>

Rutgers WPF Indonesia is a center of expertise on reproductive health, sexuality, and work to combat sexual and gender based violence.

Rutgers WPF Indonesia focuses on developing variety of programs to ensure young people have access to comprehensive sexuality education, sexual and reproductive health services and supporting male involvement which have been implemented in partnership with our local partners in Indonesia.

Rutgers WPF Indonesia has a proven and innovative track record in advocacy, research, gender transformative approach and provide assistance to our local partners.

Currently, Rutgers WPF Indonesia works in partnership with more than 20 partners in 10 provinces in Indonesia.

Rutgers

WPF
Indonesia

Head office

Jl. Pejaten Barat Raya 17B
Pejaten Barat, Pasar Minggu
Jakarta Selatan, 12510
Indonesia

info@rutgerswpfindo.org

www.rutgerswpfindo.org

Men Care +

Laki-laki Peduli

BEKERJASAMA UNTUK KESETARAAN