Training/Workshop Proceeding

Tax and Gender Inequality in Indonesia

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‘Tax and Gender Inequality in Indonesia’

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FOREWORD

Aksi! for gender, social, and ecological justice (Aksi!) is an organization whose program, Economic Justice, strengthens the voices of women in the community in the struggle against gender and economic injustice. The country's economic growth model, which relies on the exploitation of natural resources and labor, foreign debt, and foreign direct investment, is the root cause of the impoverishment process. This model continues to encourage the extraction and exploitation of natural and human resources. Consequently, economic inequality fuels the feminization of poverty in Indonesia.

The feminization of poverty due to structural economic inequality has received little public attention due to the limited information circulation on this issue. Much public attention and discussion are needed regarding this feminization of poverty, one of which is taxes, which generate economic and gender inequality in Indonesia.

Aksi! believes that solutions to the economic justice crisis need to involve progressive tax reform to reduce income inequality and increase investment in education and skills training. However, this solution requires a holistic approach and cross-sector collaboration to create a more inclusive and equitable economic foundation.

Aksi! together with Solidaritas Perempuan (SP) had conducted a training/workshop on "Tax and Gender Inequality," attended by 28 women from 16 provinces in Indonesia. This activity contributed to women's understanding of taxes as a cause of gender and economic inequality.

Jakarta, 2024
Aksi! for gender, social, and ecological justice

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Aksi! for Gender, Social, and Ecological Justice, in collaboration with Solidaritas Perempuan, conducted a training/workshop on "Economic and Gender Inequality" on November 4-6, 2024, in Jakarta. This activity aimed to build understanding of the impact of taxation on economic and gender inequality in Indonesia. The training workshop was facilitated by Titi Soentoro, Rio Ismail, Risma Umar, Marhaini Nasution, and Andriyani. Twenty-eight women activists from 16 provinces participated: Aceh, Bengkulu, South Sumatra, Lampung, Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Central Java, Bali, West Nusa Tenggara, East Nusa Tenggara, West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, and Maluku. Over the four days, they discussed taxation, economic and gender inequality, and developed strategies for how taxation can fulfill human rights and women's rights.

The training workshop resulted in participants developing an understanding and awareness of tax justice and its impact on women, as well as the ability to analyze fiscal and tax policies from a women's perspective. In addition, participants gained skills in monitoring and advocating for fairer tax policies for women, and established a new network for women's tax justice. Participants have plans to monitor the impact of tax policies on women's lives in their respective regions.

BACKGROUND

Taxes are a major contributor to state revenue, which is then used to finance development aimed at improving the welfare of its citizens, such as providing decent housing, adequate education to meet workplace and career needs, good and affordable healthcare, and more. State funding is also crucial for the fulfillment of civil and political rights, as well as economic, social, and cultural rights, such as education, healthcare, affordable and healthy food, access to capital and employment, and more.

However, the reality is that this does not occur because the state has failed to manage taxes for the benefit of its citizens. Tax revenues are never sufficient to cover state expenditures. A budget deficit occurs in the State Budget (APBN) every year. The average budget deficit during the 2020-2024 period, for example, doubled to IDR 638.48 trillion per year due to the COVID-19 pandemic.[1]

The increasing debt burden places a growing burden on both fiscal and foreign exchange reserves, threatening the country's financial sustainability.[2] To cover this deficit, the government continues to borrow both domestically and internationally. As of March 2024, government debt had reached IDR 8,262.10 trillion.[3] 3 In 2024, the allocation for debt interest payments was IDR 497.3 trillion. In 2025, the government's debt maturities will reach IDR 800.33 trillion.[4]

To increase revenue and the tax ratio, the government plans to increase taxes, such as the value-added tax (VAT) from 11% to 12%, which will take effect in early 2025,[5] However, this plan has been rejected by civil society because it has the potential to increase inflation and burden people who are already struggling economically.

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[1] https://berkas.dpr.go.id/pa3kn/analisis-apbn/public-file/analisis-apbn-public-93.pdf
[2] Ibid, hal 9.
[3] Sumber: https://ekonomi.bisnis.com/read/20240507/9/1763549/utang-pemerintah-maret-2024-turun-ke-rp826210-triliun-setara-3879-terhadap- pdb
[4] https://www.cnbcindonesia.com/news/20240610065513-4-545118/utang-jatuh-tempo-bengkak-di-era-prabowo-2025-2028-tembus-rp3125-t
[5] https://www.detik.com/properti/berita/d-7545113/bangun-rumah-sendiri-kok-kena-pajak

Unfortunately, this measure is expected to be ineffective in significantly increasing state revenues, as the more fundamental problem lies in revenue leakage due to corruption, money laundering, bribery, tax avoidance and evasion, as well as various forms of abuse of office and tax manipulation. Consequently, revenues entering the state treasury remain small and insufficient to finance state expenditures.

Low state revenues contribute to frugal and ineffective state spending, neglecting the needs of the community, particularly women and other marginalized groups. The persistent decline in poverty rates, persistently high open unemployment rates, and deteriorating maternal and child health are examples of the consequences.

Furthermore, illicit outflows of money through tax evasion and corruption not only harm the national economy but also exacerbate gender inequality in Indonesia. Unfair taxation has hampered social programs that could reduce poverty, improve women's welfare, improve public services, and create better economic opportunities for women.

The study revealed how tax incentives for corporations often do not contribute to the welfare of the wider community, especially women. Instead, poorly targeted tax incentives actually exacerbate economic and social inequality. Despite efforts to improve tax revenues, the implementation of tax policies has still not been able to significantly cover the state budget shortfall.

WORKSHOP/TRAINING 'Economic and Gender Inequality'

1. Tax in Life

This session provides an understanding of taxes and the fulfillment of human rights and women's rights.

Taxes play a crucial role in fulfilling human rights and women's rights. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the derivative rights that must be fulfilled by the state, depending on the status and circumstances of its citizens. This session provides participants with an understanding of the analysis of actors and factors related to taxes and human rights and women's rights, based on their own experiences..

The right to citizenship and the right to movement relate to migrant workers abroad, those who transmigrate through government programs, those who change citizenship, Indonesian citizens (WNI) married to foreign nationals (WNA), and children born abroad.

The right to be free from torture and inhumane treatment relates to workers at home and abroad, including the behavior of companies and state agencies that regulate employment. Furthermore, it relates to situations of torture and inhumane treatment perpetrated by companies or the state during the exploitation of natural resources against communities who resist or oppose it.

The right to equal opportunity in government relates to the opportunities for citizens as stipulated in the 1945 Constitution and other state regulations. Opportunities in government are unequal due to educational attainment, a situation that stems from an unfair system that leaves people unable to afford school or send their children to school.

Hak untuk diperlakukan yang sama dihadapan hukum dikaitkan dengan perbedaan perlakukan antar golongan masyarakat tertentu. Sistem hukum dibuat untuk dapat 'diatur' atau 'mengatur' sehingga peraturan perundang-undangan yang dibuat hanya diperuntukan untuk kepentingan tertentu. Hal ini menyebabkan negara tidak dapat mengatur atau menjaga aturan, bahkan hukum dijadikan alat untuk dibenturkan atau melemahkan masyarakat sehingga membuat masyarakat sulit untuk berlawan.

Hak atas turut serta pemerintahan dikaitkan dengan kesempatan keterlibatan warga negara di dalam badan dan program pemerintah.

Hak untuk berkumpul dan berserikat berkaitan dengan pelanggaran hak yang dilakukan oleh perusahaan maupun negara dikarenakan pekerja berserikat.

Hak berpendapat dan bebas berekspresi berkaitan dengan minimnya ruang dalam menyuarakan pendapat dan berekspresi dengan bebas terutama masyarakat. Norma patriarki mempengaruhi pengambilan keputusan yang menyebabkan ketidaksamaan dalam akses untuk berekspresi dan berpendapat.

Hak berpikir, berkeyakinan dan beragama berkaitan dengan ketimpangan dalam mengakses pekerjaan, serta pelarangan dalam memakai atau tidak memakai simbol agama di ruang dan lingkungan kerja.

Hak untuk bebas dari perbudakan dan kerja paksa berkaitan dengan lowongan pekerjaan yang tidak terdaftar atau illegal (*trafficking*) maupun pekerja yang tidak diupah. Selain itu, terkait pekerja rumah tangga dimana terjadi kerja paksa dengan jam kerja panjang dan upah rendah, serta mendapatkan perlakukan yang tidak manusiawi.

Hak untuk hidup berkaitan dengan kewajiban negara yang harus hadir dan memastikan untuk keberlanjutan setiap individu. Namun dikarenakan modal asing, perusahaan menggunakan negara termasuk militer untuk 'menguasai' Sumber Daya Alam milik masyarakat.

Hak atas pendidikan berkaitan dengan patriarki yang menyebabkan ketimpangan kesempatan atas pendidikan antara laki-laki dengan perempuan. Negara tidak menyediakan akses dan fasilitas pendidikan yang gratis atau murah bagi warga negara.

Hak untuk mengembangkan hobi dikaitkan dengan individu yang paling dipinggirkan dimana hanya hidup untuk bertahan hidup dan tidak ada waktu untuk hobi. Serta akses minim untuk mengembangkan hobi dikarenakan hobi tersebut semakin 'mahal'.

The right to water is linked to the privatization of water by the state. Furthermore, the state prioritizes water access for companies over the needs of its citizens. This privatization violates the right to basic necessities.

The right to social security is taxed for the benefit of the state; the state should provide social security to the community. Workers whose wages are deducted for social security are not met. Furthermore, the social security provided by the government through programs (such as free food programs) is not adequate or even meets the needs of the community.

The right to work is linked to the state's obligation to provide opportunities and employment for its citizens. However, many people become low-wage laborers. Furthermore, recruitment at companies prioritizes family relationships or acquaintances, or paying money for employment opportunities.

The right to adequate food is linked to the destruction of natural resources by companies and state agencies, which causes pollution, preventing communities from producing food and increasing food prices.

Right to health is linked to the neglect of workers' health, including reproductive health, as well as the public's right to free/affordable and easily accessible healthcare, such as the Social Security Administration for Health (BPJS Kesehatan). It is crucial for the state to guarantee the right to healthcare, including BPJS Kesehatan, at affordable prices but with excellent facilities and services.

The right to participate in cultural activities is related to people's busy lives, leaving them with little time for cultural rituals. Furthermore, projects or developments prevent people from performing rituals due to restricted access or exploitation of natural resources.

The right to develop culture is linked to patriarchy, which results in cultural activities being predominantly participated in by men over women. Furthermore, investment and modernization marginalize indigenous people, including those from their own cultures.

2. State Revenue, Mechanisms and Practices of Tax Evasion

This session provides an understanding of the definition of tax, both according to the law and the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI). The summary of the understanding is that tax is a mandatory contribution from the people to their country. The resource person then explained:

(a) types of taxes: direct and indirect; (b) the nature of taxes: subjective and objective; (c) tax collection institutions: the central government and regional governments.

Why is tax important?

a. **Funding public services**: Taxes serve to finance essential public services, including education, healthcare, infrastructure, security, and social assistance. The government's capacity to provide essential facilities is significantly hindered without the collection of taxes.
b. **Promoting economic development**: Taxes facilitate government investments in development projects, such as infrastructure, including roads, bridges, and ports. This infrastructure is pivotal for economic growth, as it attracts investment, creates employment opportunities, and enhances the nation's competitiveness in the global market.
c. **Reducing inequality**: Taxation enables the redistribution of income through policies such as social assistance or subsidies, thereby reducing economic inequality. By allocating tax revenues to vulnerable populations, the government can foster a more equitable society.
d. **Economic stability**: Taxation enables the government to regulate economic conditions, including inflation and recession, thereby promoting economic stability. In times of crisis, such as a pandemic or natural disaster, taxes become a crucial source of funding, enabling the provision of emergency relief and economic stabilization.
e. **Sovereignty and independence**: A stable source of funding from taxes reduces a country's reliance on foreign loans or international aid, thereby enhancing its autonomy in making political and economic decisions aligned with national needs.

Participants in groups discuss 1 question, describe their understanding, and include the rules (if any). The questions are as follows:

1. What are illicit financial flows?
2. What is money laundering?
3. What is corruption?
4. What is trading in influence?
5. What is illicit enrichment?
6. What is tax amnesty?
7. What is tax ratio?
8. What is tax evasion?

State funds derived from taxes and then allocated for the welfare of its citizens are often insufficient. This is due to "tax leakage" loopholes, including tax avoidance, evasion, corruption, and other issues such as a complex tax administration system.

- Taxes have two sides: charges and services. The most common are charges, such as progressive income tax (PPH 21) and inheritance taxes, as well as regressive taxes (consumption tax), and others. However, the service side of taxes, namely the benefits received from the government in the form of public services, infrastructure, health, education, and others, still falls short of public expectations.
- Low levels of tax compliance by companies/agencies and wealthy individuals reduce tax revenues that should be collected from these groups.
- According to the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK), taxes on the fisheries sector are around IDR 200 trillion, but IDR 20 trillion is actually channeled into the state budget. Similarly, only IDR 30 trillion is channeled into the forestry sector, compared to the estimated IDR 300 trillion. Much of the natural resource tax revenue does not enter the state budget and cannot be used for public services such as education, health, infrastructure, security, and social services, including social assistance, services for the elderly, children, and people with disabilities, among others.
- Tax evasion by foreign companies that own companies that do not fully operate as legitimate entities or do not fully comply with applicable Indonesian laws and regulations, or that invest in Indonesia. This tax evasion occurs predominantly in the natural resource management sector.

These examples result in the state budget not being sufficient to provide for the welfare of its people, including for social services, facilities and public services.

Tax leak loopholes

Illicit financial flow/IFF

This section discusses the mechanisms and practices of tax evasion through Illicit Financial Flows (IFFs), which can harm state revenues and worsen the situation of the community, particularly women.

IFFs, or illicit financial flows, are the illicit movement of money or capital across national borders. Their sources are illegal, such as corruption, smuggling, or human trafficking, and involve illegal activities such as tax evasion. The use of funds in IFFs can also be illicit, such as for terrorist financing and money laundering. IFFs can take the form of various financial instruments and assets, including cash, mobile money, bank transfers, cryptocurrencies, and valuables such as luxury goods and gold. To address this issue, the government has implemented a tax amnesty policy through Law No. 11 of 2016 concerning Tax Amnesty and Law No. 7 of 2021 concerning Harmonization of Tax Regulations (HPP). By providing tax amnesty, the government hopes to reduce the number of tax evasion cases related to IFFs and encourage the reporting of true assets and income. However, this was unsuccessful because the tax amnesty program fell short of its target. The return of previously unreported or hidden assets outside Indonesia (asset repatriation) in 2016-2017 only reached IDR 146 trillion out of a target of IDR 1,000 trillion. The tax amnesty was also considered unfair to compliant taxpayers, as they were required to pay taxes at the normal rate, while tax evaders received a lower rate.

There is no single definition of illicit financial flow (IFF). Generally, the understanding across many countries is that illicit finance is the use of funds derived from various types of crimes, including corruption, bribery, tax evasion or avoidance, smuggling, money laundering, and various other forms of abuse of office.

Meanwhile, Illicit Financial Flow (IFF) is the cross-border flow of funds originating from illicit activities, transferred through illicit transactions, or originating from illicit activities and used in illicit ways. According to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), these flows include:

- Flows originating from illicit activities;
- Funds originating from legitimate sources but transferred through illicit transactions;
- Outflows originating from legitimate activities and used in illicit ways.

The four components of IFFs, differentiated by motivation, are:

1. Market/regulatory abuse;
2. Tax abuse;
3. Abuse of power, including theft of state funds and assets; and
4. Use of proceeds of crime.

How IFFs can threaten/exacerbate the situation of women:

1. IFFs are a significant drain on state capital and revenue;
2. IFFs undermine the fiscal system;
3. IFFs reduce resources available to provide essential public services;
4. IFFs increase inequality by enabling the richest to hide their wealth.

International financial institutions create opportunities for large-scale corruption by providing the means to secure and enjoy the proceeds of corruption.

- In 2015, Global Financial Integrity (GFI) reported that between 2004 and 2013, Indonesia experienced losses due to tax evasion through outflows of money in the range of USD 180.71 billion, equivalent to IDR 2,100 trillion (an annual average of around IDR 210 trillion).
- In 2016, GFI again reported that Indonesia lost USD 6.5 billion, equivalent to IDR 62.86 trillion, in tax and royalty revenue due to trade misinvoicing, or the misuse/falsification of invoice data in international trade transactions.
- In the international community, the term illicit finance evolved into the concept of Illicit Financial Flows (IFF), which became widely known in the 1990s. IFF is also understood as a "binding" term for various previously unrelated issues of illicit money flows. Initially, it was only associated with the concept of capital flight. However, then referring to Raymond Baker's definition (2005), IFF is generally defined as "the movement of black money transferred or used across national borders."

There are four types of Illicit Financial Flow (IFF), namely:

- Type 1: Flows originating from illicit activities, such as drug trafficking, money laundering, and other crimes. The primary actors in this type are criminal groups.
- Type 2: Funds originating from legitimate sources but transferred through illegitimate transactions, such as tax evasion, concealment of income, and so on. The primary actors in this type are private actors, such as individuals, domestic businesses, and multinational corporations.
- Type 3: Outflows originating from legitimate activities but used in illegitimate ways, such as misuse of public funds, corruption, and so on. The primary actors in this type are public officials and private actors.
- Type 4: IFFs related to political and social agendas, such as funding illegal activities for political or social purposes. The primary actors in this type are criminal groups and possibly public officials.

Identification based on three main actors shows that:

- First, private actors consisting of individuals, domestic businesses, and multinational corporate groups that commit tax and regulatory violations, including related professional advisors. They are the principal actors – these are the primary actors in IFF types 1, 2, and 3 in the classification;
- Second, public officials (both elected and employed). These actors can be classified as IFF types 3 and 4, and may also be involved in type 1;
- Third, criminal groups (those motivated by the proceeds of crime, and those who use crime to fund political and social agendas). They are classified as primary actors in IFF type 4..

Several experts, such as Hillyard (2004) and Dorling (2008), have proposed the concept of zemiology to understand the phenomenon of IFF. Based on this zemiology concept, IFF can no longer be viewed as an act based on individual harm, but rather as a crime rooted in state and corporate policies that have a tremendous impact on the lives of many, even becoming a source of crime.

Using this concept, the shifting or diversion of corporate profits and tax evasion by multinational and national corporations harms or reduces state revenues and various community groups. This can result in women and other community groups losing access to social services that should be provided by the state. Criminal acts such as corruption, bribery, money laundering, and other crimes can support and facilitate these practices, thus categorizing them as violations of the law and even serious crimes.

Money Laundering

The attempt to conceal or disguise the origin of money/funds or assets resulting from criminal activity through various financial transactions to make it appear as if the money or assets originated from legitimate or legal activities. Illegal money is made to appear as legitimate money. The term 'money laundering' originates from a situation in the United States in the 1920s when the mafia invested its criminal proceeds in companies to make them legitimate; one of the early companies invested was in the laundering services sector.

There are three stages of money laundering: (1) placement, where the money is placed in legitimate locations. The money is deposited into a bank, where it is then split into several accounts to avoid suspicion; (2) layering, where illegal funds are mixed with legitimate funds. This involves the transfer of funds from several accounts or locations designed to disguise and eliminate the source of the funds. One layering practice is the purchase of assets in tax havens through legitimate companies; and (3) integration, the final stage, where the money appears legitimate and is often used to purchase assets. Indonesia has regulated money laundering through Law No. 8 of 2010 concerning the Prevention and Eradication of Money Laundering. Examples of such cases include the e-KTP (electronic ID card) case (2016) and the embezzlement of BPJS Ketenagakerjaan funds (2016).

Corruption

According to the Big Indonesian Dictionary (KBBI), corruption is the misappropriation or misuse of state, company, organization, or foundation funds for personal or other people's benefit. The origin of corruption comes from the Latin word corruptio or corruptus, which means to damage or destroy, rottenness, badness, depravity, dishonesty, bribery, immorality, hiding from others, insulting or slanderous words. The law related to corruption is Law No. 31 of 1999 concerning the eradication of criminal acts of corruption which refers to types, including state financial losses, bribery, embezzlement of office, extortion, bribery, the formation of interests in procurement and gratuities.

Trading in influence

This includes forms of corruption, where "trading in influence" is defined as a promise, offer, or gift to a public official or any other person, directly or indirectly, to abuse their influence to obtain an undue benefit. An example is the use of a private jet by the president's son. This is included in the UN Convention on Anti-Corruption, ratified by Law Number 7 of 2006 concerning the Ratification of the United Nations Convention Against Corruption (UNCAC).

Illicit enrichment

The act of trading influence and enriching oneself illicitly. Illicit enrichment is a form of corruption. Illicit enrichment involves possessing or being closely associated with influence/power for the purpose of enriching oneself.

Tax Amnesty
Is a tax amnesty/limited time opportunity for groups (Law No. 11 Year 2016). Ideally in times of disasters, pandemics, social conflicts, and others. Purpose of tax amnesty:

- Repatriation/withdrawing funds of Indonesian citizens who are abroad
- Increase economic growth
- Increase national tax base
- Increase tax revenue

Benefits of participating in tax amnesty:

- Elimination of tax payable
- Not subject to administrative sanctions
- Given free access to audit
- Confidential guarantee
- Income tax exemption

Tax Ratio
Is a measure of tax revenue performance in a country. The simple definition is the ratio between total tax revenue and gross domestic product (GDP). There are 2 factors, namely micro (taxpayers) and macro (tax rates). In Indonesia, in general, it only includes elements of central taxes, such as taxes collected by the Directorate General of Taxes.

Tax Avoidance
Tax avoidance is an attempt to reduce tax liabilities by exploiting loopholes or weaknesses in the tax system. There are two types of tax avoidance: legal tax avoidance and illegal tax avoidance. Legal tax avoidance, also known as tax planning, exploits loopholes or weaknesses in the tax system to legally reduce tax liabilities.

Examples of legal tax planning include:

- Shifting income to other entities with lower tax rates or taking advantage of more favorable tax regulations.
- Using debt schemes to reduce taxable income, as debt interest is deductible from taxable income.
- Structuring business transactions to minimize tax liabilities, such as taking advantage of applicable tax regulations for certain transactions.

- This tax planning is conducted within the applicable legal framework and does not involve fraud or illegal tax avoidance. It should be noted that legal tax planning must comply with applicable tax regulations and not violate the law.

Meanwhile, illegal tax avoidance involves fraud, falsification, or manipulation of data to avoid tax obligations, such as concealing income or assets; filing false tax returns; or claiming unauthorized tax deductions.

3. ’Prabowo and Tax’: Future views on taxation

Many policies were inherited as well as new policies as a continuation of the Jokowi regime. However, there is a prediction that the direction of Prabowo's government in running the tax system is the same as Jokowi's, especially with the Minister of Finance remaining the same, which means the economic politics are the same. In addition, there are also indications that Prabowo will use a military approach in his government, namely by conducting ministerial briefings at the Magelang Military Academy and quite a number of ministers in the cabinet who have a military background.

Prabowo-Gibran Policy Highlights: National Capital Development

- Problems: (1) The ratification of the Indonesian Capital City (IKN) Law seems to have been done quickly and amidst uncertainty; (2) Economic growth is still stagnant; (3) The budget is still covered by the APBN, state-owned enterprises (BUMN), and regional-owned enterprises (BUMD); there are no major investors yet; (4) The investment climate is not yet good. IKN will continue with various problems and a budget requirement of IDR 15 trillion.
- Celios[6] scenario indicates that the development of the new capital city (IKN) is at risk of failure without fundamental changes.
- Economic growth from downstreaming has failed to address poverty in natural resource-producing regions. For example, in Konawe, Southeast Sulawesi, where the nickel mining and processing industry is growing, the poverty rate is higher than the national poverty rate. Poverty in Konawe is not only caused by economic growth that doesn't flow to the community but is also exacerbated by environmental pollution from massive coal-fired power plants. This pollution has a significant impact on the productivity of local communities, especially fishermen and farmers. Air and water pollution have caused a sharp decline in fish catches.
- Free nutritious meals, which should be distributed to all students, are not being provided. The large budget of IDR 71 trillion for 2025 is not balanced by efficient distribution, creating significant potential for corruption.

[6] CELIOS is a research institute based on independence, quality, interdisciplinary approach to combat the climate crisis and inequality.

Global Economy
A downturn in the United States economy could significantly impact Indonesia through reduced export demand, fluctuations in the rupiah exchange rate, and an increase in the external debt burden, thus affecting Indonesia's economic stability.

Currently, Indonesia faces several challenges, including:

- Indonesia is experiencing the Chilean Paradox, a situation that occurs when high economic growth ignores and facilitates the interests of the middle class. This has dashed middle-class expectations while the economy experiences low growth.
- Hidden hunger: Indonesia has one of the highest rates of hidden hunger (7%) among developing countries.
- Private companies tend to hold money in banks and underutilize available credit facilities, resulting in ineffective credit expansion. This is evident in the high number of unused credit facilities (undistributed loans).
- Youth unemployment is increasing, with Gen Z members categorized as NEET (Not Employed, Educated, or Training) already reaching 10 million.
- Indonesia is facing a serious challenge of deindustrialization. The government often touts downstreaming. However, downstreaming is deemed insufficient to stem the pace of deindustrialization. Further efforts are needed to improve the resilience of the industrial sector and increase its contribution to state revenue.
- During Jokowi's 10-year administration, there have been inappropriate and populist budget increases, such as the use of rice reserves for campaign purposes, accelerated infrastructure projects, increased but poorly targeted energy subsidies (which actually prioritize the upper middle class and corporations), and an increase in national debt (next year, debt maturing is IDR 1,300 trillion, including interest, not including state-owned enterprise debt).
- The Corruption Perception Index dropped from 38 to 34 – indicating that investment in Indonesia is risky.
- 6% of Indonesia's economy is controlled by the super-rich in the extractive sectors. Allocations for the military remain high, resulting in lower allocations for other public services.

Furthermore, Indonesia has problematic tax policies, such as the reduction in corporate income tax rates, the elimination of property taxes, and the 12% increase in VAT. Therefore, tax policies require oversight and public participation.

"The wealth of the 50 richest people in Indonesia is equivalent to the wealth of 50 million Indonesians"

The relationship between taxes and global economic politics

Taxation is a power relationship between a ruler who owns a territory and the people who live in that territory; there is a division of labor. The ruler's work is war to expand territory and obtain wealth (natural resources, agriculture, etc.). The people work, while the ruler has an army to guard his territory; in return for the security provided by the ruler, the fruits of the people's labor are given to the ruler. However, what occurs is not an equal and fair division of labor, but rather unequal compensation or even semi-slavery because the ruler's power oppresses the people. Article 33 of the Constitution considers the people as people who live in the territory controlled by the state, so the state owns that territory. This pattern of power relations still applies, but the modern era covers it with many laws and regulations.

Indonesia is not immune to global political struggles. The IMF and World Bank were created to prevent war, recognizing the aftermath of World War II. The wealth accumulated during the colonial period of the previous war was depleted in just five years. This situation prompted an agreement to stabilize monetary positions and make countries interdependent through free trade. Thus, interdependent countries avoided hostilities but encouraged competition. To promote healthy competition, subsidies were not provided, leading to the elimination of protective domestic regulations, lowering import and export taxes, and so on.

4. Women Community views on tax policies and their impact on women's daily lives

Mrs. Herda – North Jakarta

"I pay taxes like the Land and Building Tax (PBB). However, the PBB was removed due to rumors of eviction for road expansion. The area where I live is zoned industrial. When we wanted to obtain a Building Permit (IMB), we faced water problems because we used PAM water, which is already salty. Meanwhile, the PAM water has a small and murky flow, and it often goes off, making it impossible to get water. Meanwhile, the community pays monthly dues, and the water only comes back on when the payment date approaches. The community already pays taxes, including when paying PAM dues. This shows that the taxes paid do not improve the welfare of the people."

"The community collaborated with gubernatorial candidates to ensure the safety of our region, suggesting the establishment of cooperatives. However, the community also faced difficulties in starting businesses (MSMEs or Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises) due to tax obligations. Cooperatives were established to sustain the community, but they failed due to tax inability."

Irene – Central Kalimantan

"School canteens are taxed because they are considered MSMEs. However, during the holidays, vendors in the canteen still pay even though there is no income. Furthermore, there is no information on the amount of tax collected from school canteens, nor its intended use. The information provided is that the tax is for the state. Therefore, monitoring and understanding tax transparency is necessary."

Aas –Pari Island

"Before the 1980s, village officials paid taxes, but since then, until now, the residents of Pari Island have not paid taxes such as property tax (PBB). This is because there is no information available about taxes for the public. However, the residents of Pari Island receive free BPJS Health Insurance (BPJS Kesehatan)."

"The provincial government's assistance program requires a Taxpayer Identification Number (NPWP), which is why the people of Pari Island have obtained one. The residents of Pari Island don't have a steady income, so when the tax authorities come to collect their taxes, they don't pay."

Reni – Lampung

"Experienced with Land and Building Tax (PBB), VAT, and Motor Vehicle Tax (VAT). The PBB is paid cheaply due to subsidies. However, the problematic issue is Motor Vehicle Tax. If a motorcycle is lost, it must be revoked systematically; otherwise, the next time you own a motorcycle, you will be subject to progressive tax. Taxes for motor vehicles vary. We also have to pay income tax. This demonstrates the government's efforts to limit the wealth of the lower-middle class."

"During the Covid period, a Taxpayer Identification Number (NPWP) has become one of the required documents for receiving government assistance. Once you have obtained a NPWP, you must pay income tax."

Kasmawati – South Sulawesi

"Currently, communities are fighting for land and management areas. However, those affected by the land acquisition still have to pay taxes. There are neighborhood association (RT/RW) regulations that prohibit houses within 100 meters of the coastline from having a certificate; however, such land is still subject to land tax (PBB)."

5. The State Steps in Addressing Tax Revenue Deficit

Since 2015, the GFI has estimated that approximately 3,000 trillion Rupiah of funds are taxable, but this money is not taxable because it is held abroad. In fact, in 2017, President Jokowi stated that approximately 11,000 trillion Rupiah of taxes should have been paid. Indonesia is estimated to lose 70 trillion Rupiah in tax revenue annually.

The basis of the global agreement on the exchange of financial information is the Convention on Administrative Assistance in Taxation. However, the government has chosen to grant amnesties. During the first amnesty, Rp 4,866 trillion was declared to be returned to Indonesia, but the government only received around Rp 152 trillion. During the second amnesty, the government only received Rp 13 trillion of the Rp 558 trillion declared to be returned to Indonesia. This tax amnesty also guaranteed that there would be no criminal prosecution or administrative sanctions for those participating in the tax amnesty.

The government provides tax subsidies/incentives to individuals and companies, but lacks transparency regarding the allocation of tax revenues for public benefit.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the government implemented a national economic recovery program. Based on a joint agreement between the House of Representatives (DPR) and the government, there was no need for an audit of the 2020-2022 state budget, and changes to the state budget did not require DPR approval due to the urgency of the situation. The government also increased tax subsidies, which were intended for entrepreneurs.

In addition to tax amnesties and tax subsidies, the government is relying on investment to create jobs through the Job Creation Law, assuming that a 1% increase in investment can add 9,000 jobs. However, the reality is different: investment has increased, but unemployment has also risen due to layoffs, indicating that investment has not created significant jobs.

Tahun 2024 merupakan tahun jatuh tempo utang luar negri senilai Rp 800 triliun dengan total bunga mencapai Rp 1.300 triliun. Jokowi menyatakan bahwa tidak ada masalah dengan utang, karena 70% utang tersebut berbentuk obligasi yang dibeli oleh WNI sendiri. Jokowi juga menyatakan bahwa untuk pertama dalam sejarah perempuan membiayai negara. Sebab, menurut Sri Mulyani di atas 70% obligasi tersebut dibeli perempuan.

The Indonesian government has not expanded the role of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) in managing natural resources, such as mineral or oil and gas mining, due to limited capital. This policy has resulted in a reduction in potential state revenue from natural resources, as the government only receives income from royalties paid by private companies managing the natural resources, not from direct profits from the management of the natural resources themselves.

From the above statement, it can be concluded that the government's steps to address the tax revenue deficit are as follows:

- Granting a tax amnesty to taxpayers who have not fulfilled their tax obligations, but the results have been suboptimal (IDR 152 trillion from IDR 4,866 trillion in the first amnesty and IDR 13 trillion from IDR 558 trillion in the second amnesty).
- Providing tax subsidies/incentives to individuals or companies, but lacking transparency regarding the budget allocation of tax revenues for the benefit of the public.
- Relying on investment to increase state revenue through the Job Creation Law.
- Not expanding the role of State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) in managing Natural Resources (SDA), resulting in Indonesia only receiving income from royalties paid by private companies that manage natural resources.

6. The Impact of State Measures to Address The Tax Revenue Deficit on Women

Participants in four groups discussed the real-life situations faced by women due to state taxation and the unequal allocation of funds that disfavors them. The results of the discussions were creatively presented in the form of theatrical role-plays, dances, and songs. The results are as follows:

<u>Group I</u> (theater) They listed the taxes women pay on things like basic necessities, cosmetics, sanitary napkins, and children's needs. In their performance, they demonstrated the unequal distribution of the budget resulting from women's taxes. The message they conveyed in this theatrical performance:

- *This is the state budget from taxes collected from mothers who shop for their daily needs. We distribute it to state institutions and the people's prosperity.*
- *Taxes for gender integration, women's health services, and sanitation are allocated 20% of the state budget.*

- *The legislative, executive, and judicial branches are allocated 80% of their salaries. The reason for allocating a larger budget for salaries is because those who receive salaries are the ones who think about how to improve the welfare of their people.*
- *This group also stated that in the role-playing game, "who told you to play with money?" This role-playing game shows that money is used to achieve positions.*

From this role play, the first group shows the impact experienced by women, namely absolute poverty due to the unfair distribution of taxes in the state budget and their distribution not being in accordance with needs.

Group II danced and shouted the following chants:
- *Loss of social security subsidies and rising unemployment*
- *Difficulty accessing small business assistance, domestic violence, poor parenting, and divorce*
- *Women are trapped in debt, and their food needs are not met*
- *Multiple burdens on women and child marriage*
- *Poverty is increasing*
- *Crime is increasing*
- *Women are becoming migrant workers.*

Group III who conveyed the results of his discussion through a theatrical play and showed a poster that read:
- *Impact on the ECOSOC*
- *High prices (children's diapers, basic necessities, baby powder)*
- *High unemployment rate*
- *Low wages*
- *Double burden*
- *Stunting*
- *Debt burden, etc.*

The game demonstrates that every item women purchase or service they and their families use, from food to education, is taxed. This does not improve women's situation; instead, it further impoverishes them.

<u>Group IV</u> sings:

- *"The most valuable asset is the people's taxes, the most beautiful palace is for the ruler, the worst service is for the people, this is the fate of life in one's own country."*
- *Indonesia is currently experiencing a deficit of 4,086 trillion Rupiah, and to cover this deficit, the Indonesian government is making efforts to increase revenue.*
- *The state is doing so by raising taxes, which will result in massive increases in the prices of basic necessities, education, and public services.*
- *The government's efforts to raise taxes will result in massive layoffs, with a multiplier impact on women, who must consider their families' domestic needs, cannot afford their children's school fees, and cannot meet their primary needs. Meanwhile, health services are also poor, with complicated bureaucracy.*
- *Another impact of poverty is that women become migrant workers abroad without protection.*

7. Fiscal Politics: Injustice in The APBN/D Budget System, including budget allocation, programs and distribution practices.

Fiscal policy in Indonesia faces problems of unfairness and disparity in the state budget between the central and regional governments. High levels of corruption lead to a lack of transparency and accountability. Consequently, the quality of public services is low and public needs are not met.

Central Government Spending by Function and Transfers to Regions (TKD)

A cursory glance at the figures for state spending realization in the State Budget (APBN) doesn't reveal any drastic year-to-year or sector-to-sector differences. However, a closer look at the various documents stipulated in the Presidential Regulations governing the annual implementation of the APBN reveals significant differences in budget allocations between sectors, ministries, and institutions, as well as between the central and regional governments.

The substantial education budget is not fully utilized. As a result, school fees and educational equipment remain expensive. Meanwhile, the Ministry of Social Affairs manages only 50% of the budget for social protection. The remainder is spread across various ministries, raising questions about the effectiveness of budget management for state service functions.

Ironically, a large subsidy budget is allocated to other sectors. For example, in 2023, the food subsidy budget was 212 trillion rupiah, but tax subsidies for companies reached 300 trillion rupiah. This raises questions about the priorities and effectiveness of state budget management in meeting public needs.

Indonesia's defense budget remains relatively small compared to several Asian countries. Prabowo portrays Indonesia as being threatened by the geopolitical situation of China and the United States and the war in Ukraine. The Indonesian government consistently portrays Indonesia as being under threat, necessitating the purchase of sophisticated defense equipment.

The Special Allocation Fund (DAK), which should be used for the benefit of the public, was apparently misused. Rp2 billion in aspiration funds was used to finance party activities and irrelevant projects, such as the construction of unnecessary buildings and facilities. Furthermore, the housing budget was misused by giving it to party officials, creating injustice and inefficiency in state budget management.

Sri Mulyani introduced the Omnibus Law, which aims to simplify the decision-making process by reducing bureaucracy and the need for centralization of authority.

Although the central government provides incentives to regions that successfully collect Land and Building Tax (PBB) in full, there are concerns that this policy could unfairly impact lower-income communities. Maximum tax collection for lower-income communities could become a burden, while larger companies may receive more lenient treatment. This could lead to greater exploitation of resources and increase the flow of illicit money. This situation could weaken public oversight of government and corporate performance.

8. Women's strategies for fighting for tax justice to fulfill human rights and women's rights

Participants discuss, formulate, and provide examples of fiscal policy based on the following questions:

- Define what fiscal policy is in Indonesia?
- Analyze the impact of fiscal policy on civil, political, and economic rights and provide examples.

The results of group discussions are displayed in various creative forms as follows:

Group 1

This performance demonstrates how unfair fiscal policies can impact people's daily lives. In the performance, several people applying to a company face various problems, such as educational documents that do not meet company standards, domiciles that differ from their identity cards (different from their residence and the address on their ID cards), freedom of worship that does not meet company standards, and so on. In another scene, the performance also shows the job applicant's family experiencing financial difficulties, unable to pay their water bill.

This illustrates how unfair fiscal policies can hinder people's opportunities to find employment and improve their well-being. Taxes paid by the public do not provide equitable benefits to them, especially women. Fiscal policies that do not consider the needs and interests of the public can widen economic and social disparities.

Fiscal policy is a policy established by the government to regulate state revenue and expenditure to maintain economic stability. However, in reality, taxes paid by the public do not provide benefits to the public, especially women.

Many women feel that fiscal policies do not consider their needs and interests.

Group 2

Group 2 illustrates Indonesia's fiscal policy, which is likened to an unbalanced scale, where the heavy tax burden on the general public is disproportionate to the preferential treatment given to private parties and the wealthy, such as tax amnesty.

This demonstrates the inequality in Indonesia's revenue and expenditures. While the public contributes to state revenue, in reality, state spending prioritizes the military and police, with little for social welfare. Furthermore, corruption further reduces state revenues, further exacerbating the existing inequality.

Group 3

The group performed a performance on fiscal policy in Indonesia, featuring scenes of actors (businesspeople, government, political parties, the crazy rich, etc.) facilitating policies that favor businesspeople, such as regulations that facilitate the exploitation of the environment and natural resources in Indonesia, as well as violations of human rights and women's rights.

Group 4

The group performed a demonstration on the impacts of geothermal projects on communities and the environment. Affected communities reported the project to the government, but received no response; instead, threats were made to report the informants to the police. This situation was exacerbated by the impact of tax increases on people's daily lives, including their economy, education, interests and talents, food, and other basic needs.

The demonstration concluded that fiscal policy should ensure economic stability, but current fiscal policies have created problems, such as the increase in VAT from 11% to 12%. Worse still, state budget allocations are focused on renewable energy projects, which have been proven to damage the environment and impact people's lives.

8. Women's strategies for fighting for tax justice to fulfill human rights and women's rights

This section discusses women's strategies in fighting for tax justice in various regions in Indonesia. The primary focus is on how taxes can be used to fulfill human rights and women's rights, as well as how tax policies can impact the lives of women and local communities.

In this context, women from various regions—Central Java, Yogyakarta, Bali, East Nusa Tenggara, South Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, Lampung, Central Kalimantan, West Kalimantan, Jakarta, South Sumatra, Aceh, Maluku, Southeast Sulawesi, West Nusa Tenggara, and Bengkulu—discussed relevant tax issues and the strategies they would implement in their respective regions.

The following are the results from each region:

Central Java: In Banyumas Regency, there is an issue of taxation on extracted natural resources, namely limestone used by PT. Semen Bima. According to Central Java Regional Regulation No. 12 of 2023 concerning regional taxes and levies, 20% of the tax (extraction) is collected from these activities. However, these activities have had direct impacts on the community, such as severe drought, which has caused hardship for women. For this reason, the strategy that will be implemented is to monitor the Revenue Sharing Fund (DBH) from extraction taxes so that this revenue can be used to mitigate the environmental and social impacts caused by extraction activities.

Yogyakarta: have 610 star-rated hotels and 1,500 non-star-rated hotels by 2024. Hotel tax revenue of IDR 168 billion falls short of the target of IDR 203 billion. The tax allocation is in accordance with a clause in the Tax Development Plan, which allocates tax revenue for the development of Yogyakarta City. However, another issue remains: green space does not reach the 30% target for total hotel area, exacerbated by water extraction for hotels. We will encourage the government to increase tax rates for hotels that use large amounts of water and have a significant impact on the environment, and hotels must comply.

Bali: Hotel and service taxes are levied at different rates. The high taxes imposed in Bali have resulted in increased work demands and operational standards for hotels, thus limiting employment opportunities for indigenous Balinese. As a result, many hotels in densely populated areas have relocated to rural areas in the form of villas to avoid high taxes. We will promote a fair and effective hotel tax that does not burden the Balinese people.

East Nusa Tenggara (NTT): There is a surface water tax in NTT, regulated by Governor Regulation No. 46 of 2001. Under this regulation, water used for household needs is not taxed, while water used for industrial needs is subject to a 10% tax. As a result, companies and industries exploit groundwater to avoid paying the surface water tax. The drought that has occurred in 21 regencies in NTT is also due to the tourism and hotel sectors, which draw significant water to cope with water shortages. They drill to extract groundwater. We will explore the use of the 10% surface water tax and the importance of monitoring it.

South Sulawesi: South Sulawesi Regional Regulation No. 01 of 2024 focuses on two aspects: (1) a 10% surface water tax, which is expected to increase regional revenue and effectively manage water resources; (2) fiscal incentives for businesses, including the elimination or reduction of tax burdens and relief from sanctions, which are expected to encourage more investment in South Sulawesi. Furthermore, the South Sulawesi government also provides tax incentives to companies or renewable power generation projects. We will monitor the surface water tax policy to ensure it does not harm the poor and the environment, and we urge the government to review the fiscal incentives provided to companies or renewable power generation projects.

Central Sulawesi: Non-tax state revenue (PNBP), namely revenue sharing funds (DBH), has been stipulated in Law No. 33 of 2024. However, an evaluation of the DBH distribution between the central and regional governments is necessary, considering the potential for massive environmental damage and the lives of women due to natural resource exploitation. Therefore, we will monitor the receipt and use of the Revenue Sharing Fund (DBH) in Central Sulawesi, including the use of DBH for environmental and community restoration, especially for women.

Lampung: Lampung has numerous development and energy projects that could threaten environmental damage and drought. Therefore, the strategy will be to monitor the surface water tax stipulated in Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2024 concerning regional taxes and levies.

Central Kalimantan: Governor Regulation No. 26 of 2015 concerning the 10% water tax levy has not been fully effective in supporting public welfare, especially in areas experiencing water crises or drought, such as Gunung Rantau.

Therefore, it is necessary to ensure that water tax revenue is used to improve the quality of life of the community, particularly regarding the provision of clean and safe water.

West Kalimantan: Micro-enterprise tax revenue in October 2024 reached IDR 20 trillion, but it has not yet reached the tax target. In West Kalimantan, a woven fabric business selling to the public is still subject to tax. According to tax regulations, micro-enterprises with annual turnover of less than IDR 500 million are exempt from income tax. However, if turnover exceeds IDR 500 million, the tax rate is 0.5% of the turnover. Therefore, ensuring that MSMEs with turnover below IDR 500 million are not subject to tax is crucial.

Jakarta: Governor Regulation No. 16 of 2024 concerning the granting of tax relief and exemptions for Property and Building Tax (PBB), specifically land or buildings with a sales value of less than IDR 2 billion are tax-exempt. However, in 2024, the old PBB tax was reinstated, and residents received bills double the tax amount if the name on the SPPT (Vehicle Tax Return) differed from the resident's National Identification Number (NIK). Therefore, the need for name changes is a burden on the public, especially for notary fees. According to information from the sub-district office, the name change cannot be processed in 2023-2024 because the forms have expired and new forms have not yet been received. We will urge the government to reimplement Gubernatorial Regulation No. 16 of 2024 to ensure that taxpayers with property tax under Rp 2 billion are exempt from property tax.

South Sumatera: Regional Regulation No. 4 of 2024 concerning taxes derived from non-metals, one of which is the coal mining tax. Coal mining not only causes environmental damage but also eliminates local agricultural knowledge. By polluting water, air, and soil, it reduces the quality of life of farmers and reduces agricultural yields. Therefore, policy advocacy is needed to encourage the government to review coal mining policies and ensure that they take environmental and social impacts into account.

Aceh; Cement company taxes include mining taxes. Regional Regulation No. 6 states that the tax imposed on cement companies is 25%. However, despite increased cement production, tax revenues do not match the increase. Furthermore, cement companies have changed their Taxpayer Identification Numbers (NPWPs), resulting in taxes being remitted to the central government instead of to Aceh. Therefore, we urge local governments to ensure that Revenue Sharing Funds for the mining sector contribute to increased regional revenue and environmental restoration.

Maluku: Governor Regulation No. 16 of 2000 concerning benchmark prices for fish and fishery production. When the waves are calm, fish prices are low because the catch is plentiful; however, when the waves are high, fish prices are high because the catch is low. Levies are levied regardless of the catch, impacting the community, especially when fish prices are low. The strategy will include efforts to adjust the levy on fish catches from small-scale fishermen to their current situation.

Southeast Sulawesi: Tax revenue in Southeast Sulawesi reached IDR 2.29 trillion as of October 2024. Extractive companies account for a significant portion of this revenue. The development of extractive companies has led to a reduction in agricultural land, forcing women to lose their livelihoods and work for these companies. While working for these companies, women experience poor health. Therefore, we will monitor extractive companies to ensure they comply with occupational health and safety standards and respect women's rights.

West Nusa Tenggara: Urban and rural land and building tax (PBB) related to the increasingly massive construction of high-voltage transmission lines (Sutet) in Sumbawa. The construction of high-voltage transmission lines (Sutet) in the middle of residential areas has caused damage to electronic equipment and impacted agricultural land. Therefore, we will monitor the construction of high-voltage transmission lines (Sutet) to ensure they are not built in the middle of residential areas. Furthermore, the tax on already-built high-voltage transmission lines (Sutet) will be used for environmental restoration and the safety of affected communities.

Bengkulu: Bengkulu City Regional Regulation No. 1 of 2024 concerning regional taxes and regional levies regarding fixed revenue receipts, where an allocation of 10% is used for environmental and natural resource management and restoration in four aspects: (a) environmental rehabilitation, (b) natural resource conservation, (c) pollution control, and (d) sustainable environmental development. The strategy to be developed is to monitor whether the funds are used for the four aspects stated in the regulation.

National: The state budget deficit highlights six issues: new debt, deindustrialization, tax reform under Law No. 2 of 2020, the tax amnesty under Law No. 11 of 2016, increased tax subsidies under Government Regulation No. 55 of 2022, and investment violations under Presidential Regulation No. 44 of 2016 and the Job Creation Law. The most pressing issue is fair taxation, specifically under Law No. 7 of 2021.

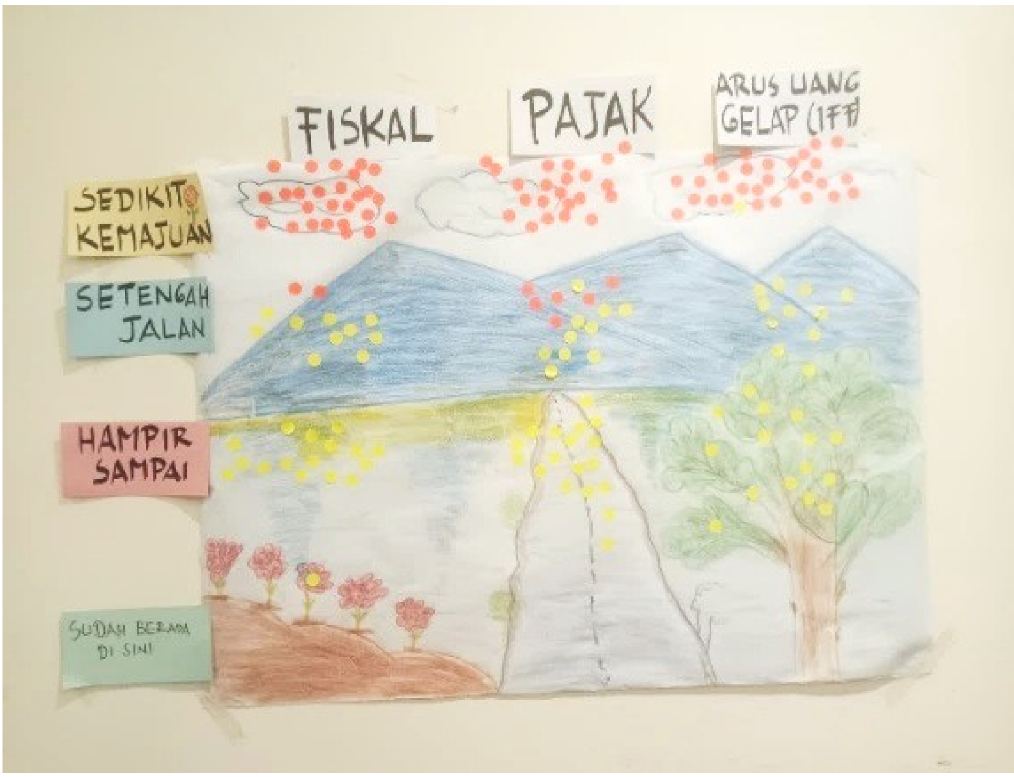
We will monitor the tax system and promote fair taxation.

Evaluation

In general, participants experienced increased capacity regarding the materials presented during the training/workshop, particularly regarding the history, types and schemes, and the influence and impact of taxes on economic injustice and gender inequality. However, participants needed a deeper understanding of fiscal and tax policies, particularly those under the Prabowo-Gibran administration, particularly those that could impact regional budgets.

Participants recommended a joint follow-up plan, particularly to promote fair taxation and further capacity building regarding taxes that impact women's impoverishment.

Evaluation of Participant Understanding and Knowledge
First day (red circle) and last day (yellow circle)



Conclusion

The 28 female participants from 16 provinces who participated in this training/workshop understood the link between taxes and gender inequality, which contributes to women's impoverishment. The shared conclusion was that taxes, which should be used to improve the welfare of all citizens, are not distributed evenly and provide benefits to improve the welfare of society, especially women, and particularly do not reach women and other marginalized groups.

Participants felt it was important to follow up on this training workshop by analyzing and monitoring violations and injustices resulting from the impact of taxation on life in their respective regions and developing resistance strategies to promote tax and gender justice. Various activities can be undertaken, including raising tax awareness among women in their regions and encouraging a fair tax movement, as well as monitoring regional revenues and taxes imposed in their respective regions and tax benefits for women.

Aksi!

for gender, social and ecological justice

Aksi! for gender, social, and ecological justice was founded on December 10, 2012 with vision to influence discourse and debate on development, environment and climate change to ensure the protection of the rights of women and their communities, and to support grassroots women's efforts in fighting for their rights. Aksi! believes that strengthening women's movements for development, economic and climate justice will advance women's rights comprehensively. Three strategies were developed, namely building capacity to empower women, campaigning to strengthen and gain support for women's voices, and advocacy for policy change.

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