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**Politics, Gender & Sustainability
in the 2014 Election**



Indonesian Feminist *Journal*

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ADDRESS:

Yayasan Jurnal Perempuan,
Jl. Lontar 12, Menteng Atas, Setiabudi,
Jakarta Selatan 12960
Phone: 62-21-8370 2005
Facsimile: 62-21-8370 6747
E-mail: yjp@jurnalperempuan.com
E-mail: redaksi@jurnalperempuan.com
www.jurnalperempuan.org

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The Indonesian Feminist Journal (IFJ) is an annual publication in English derived from Jurnal Perempuan, which is published quarterly in Bahasa Indonesia. Both publications provide high quality, peer reviewed articles based on original research. All submitted manuscripts are subject to an initial appraisal by the Editor. If found to be suitable for further consideration, submitted articles are peer reviewed by independent, anonymous referees who are selected based on the subject matter of the articles being reviewed. IFJ is an interdisciplinary publication setting new agendas for feminism in Indonesia. IFJ invites critical reflection on the theory and practice of feminism in the social, political, and economic context of contemporary Indonesian society. We are committed to exploring gender in its multiple forms and interrelationships. In addition to academic articles, we publish experimental pieces, visual and textual media, and political writings including interviews, short stories, poems, and photographic essays.

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Preface

The *Indonesian Feminist Journal* (IFJ) is the English summary edition of *Jurnal Perempuan* (JP), Indonesia's first feminist journal, which began publication in 1996. In this second edition, IFJ presents a wide sampling of the work of several of Indonesia's feminist thinkers on national governance. National governance is the sum of the informal and formal values, norms, procedures, and institutions, that help stakeholders to identify, understand, and address national problems. This issue will address the degree of order, stability and predictability of the reformation era under SBY presidency: how is Indonesia governed in the absence of gender perspectives? How does this system engage with our existential problems such as climate change, natural & human-made disasters, economic gaps & dispossessions? IFJ seeks to answer such questions entailing the Indonesia general election in April and presidential election in July 2014. Gender gaps always lie on the heart of national governance viewed from the following dimensions; knowledge gaps, normative gaps, policy gaps, and institutional gaps. So-called 'gap' helps us as conceptual devices that allows analysis as well as criticism of the current order, stability and predictability in the national governance so that failures can be identified.

Beyond engaging with the debate about national governance, this issue addresses further and situates: What the political future in Indonesia from the eyes of feminist political scientists? How do these prediction define the contour of women's engagement in the political arena? What sorts of political dispossessions of women lead to another multiple dispossessions: such as women's dis-owning of land and the absence of substantial ecological support for their livelihoods. The issue will investigate such questions in a series of discussions where facts of women puppetry in politics and the embeddedness of gender in the discourse of climate change. (GA & DC).

Female Politicians in Political Parties of 2014 Election:

Descriptive Representation vs. Substantive Representation

Nuri Soeseno

Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Science
and Politics, University of Indonesia

nsoeseno@yahoo.com

Abstract

Women's representation in parties and legislative institutions is closely related to Indonesian party typology as office seekers. It charted a descriptive mandate to fulfill 30% quote of women's representation in the General Election in 2014—not necessarily, representing women's critical agenda. The phenomena of female legislators who were celebrities, actresses, singers, or coming from political dynasties is the consequence of office seekers' parties. Women's representation in legislative does not then guarantee the promotion, empowerment, and protection of women's critical issues in societies, as the female legislators do not represent women substantively. It is now more important to support critical actors who understand women's issues to succeed a feminist agenda.

Keywords: female politician, political party, election, descriptive and substantive representation, critical actors.

Introduction

Entering the third Election (2014) after the affirmative policy was ratified; the notion of women representation whether women would be able to become politicians, whether female legislative candidate was needed, or whether there was enough women who could be recruited as legislative candidates were no longer debated. The discussion of women representation in 2014 Election was filled with the rumors of female politicians' behavior who were in formal political organizations and women who were nominated by political parties to sit in the legislative council for the next five years. Discussion, talks, and information about women's political representation were filled with corrupted female politician phenomena, celebrities who were nominated as legislative candidates, or family members of political party elitists as the legislative candidate and the ones who were in the political party consulate. How was the reality of female politicians in Indonesia? How was woman's position in political party? How was their representation, their political manner, their position in political party? Were they 'self-made' or celebrities or from a dynasty (family, father, husband) of a certain political party or the ruling regime? The questions would remain: how was the actual representation of women and female politicians' behavior in formal political institutions such as parliaments and political parties.

In this paper the author would argue that the political party system emerged after the fall of the New Order (*Order Baru*) regime—which was not based on ideology and division in society—defined women's recruitment in political parties and as legislative candidates, the forms of representation, and political behavior of female politicians. An opinion says that the political party system was a reflection of the political situation and social condition in society. If the society was divided into groups, the political party system would also follow the dividing line of social, economical, cultural, religious, ideological and territorial groups as presented in the society. Political parties would represent or fight for the groups created through the existing division in society, like farmers, workers, merchants/businessmen, religious groups, socialists, liberalists, communists and so on. The following political parties would recruit trustworthy members and would be

able to represent the interest, values and norms, ideology or identity of the groups they represented. Likewise, the ideology, values, norms, political party identity or interest the party fought for would be the magnet for the society to become a member or voters to vote in the Election. Social, economic and political changes that occurred in society would bring a change in the political party system and, therefore, would influence the change which happened in member recruitment or party supporters¹.

The overgrowing tendency in the implementation of the 30% quota of women representation worried many parties, including women activists, expert on politics, and the society at large. The lack of political party cadres forced them to recruit women from outside the party just to fill the quota. This mode of recruitment of the non-party members as legislative candidates was feared to have an impact on the quality of female politicians, particularly in the political arena and on democracy in general. The discussion on the quality of female politicians was related to the issue of political representation (whether the politicians and female legislative candidates voiced and represented the voters or constitution they represented or they were only a symbol of democracy) and the action of female politicians in the public position they had (the accountability issue: towards the constituent or towards the chairman of the political party who recruited them). Because of the lack of female cadres in political parties and the recruitment pattern of legislative candidates in the 2014 Election, it was feared that Drude Dahledurp's (1988) statement that "representation of marginal group shifts from token representation to influential representation when this critical mass has been achieved" (Shireen Hassim in Shapiro et al., 2009: 211) would not happen in the Indonesian political context.

Party as Office-Seekers & Non-Ideological: New Order Era

The political party system decides how the candidates or legislative candidates are chosen and prepared for their political role. According to Alan Ware, the political party system underwent a change after the ideology-based parties (communists, socialists, Christian democrats, liberalist, etc.) had degraded². According to Ware political scientists are still looking for an answer to the question what would happen to the

next political party system. Ware offered three types of political party categorization. They are: (1) Political parties change from representing conflicting groups in society into teams of politicians competing to acquire power for themselves and they mobilize the voters to obtain it. He called this party type a party of office-seekers. (2) New political parties and different structures with their own interests are formed as a response to the development of new divisions in society (new cleavages and new parties). (3) The existing division would decrease but it would not completely disappear, and most probably a new division line would appear. The existing parties would survive and the leaders would try to develop new divisions to defend their power. According to Ware, the difference between the third and the first type is that the third type has to operate in the context of interest and identity cleavages existing in society. The difference between the third and the second type is that political leaders in the third type have to be able to adapt in order to mobilize new identities³.

Political party system emerged after the fall of New Order regime seemed to be closely similar to the first typology: party as office-seekers. New Order's policy to deideologize politics and political party, which was held for more than three decades, was able to repress the difference and conflict based on the ideology and religion among the parties that strongly rooted from political party system since this country was established. And, the *depolitization* policy carried out by the New Order regime created a floating mass in political space; voters were no longer divided according to social-cultural, religion, or political ideologies during the New Order era. The power was centralized in the political party leaders or elitists, loyalty and support of the members of voters was directed toward the leaders, instead of the party or party's ideology. Democratization opened up possibilities for myriads of new political actors to easily enter the political arena. In the elitist and ideology-sterilized political space, the new political actors were able to easily jump from one political party to other more-beneficial parties. Through election, politicians competed for power seats for themselves, their family, or groups and the floating mass was easier to be mobilized and became supporters for the parties competing in the election. In the 'office seekers' party system political party tends

to grow to become, as quoted from Otto Kirchheimer (1966), 'catch all' party. Such development trend in political party was described as follow:

Parties were no longer connected to loyal electorates through appeals based on ideology made primarily through organizations associated with the party. Instead, parties were now utilizing different methods of reaching voters and were considerably widening their target. They were now looking to attract voters by whatever means they could and from whatever social groups they could; this is the sense in which they were 'catch all'.⁴

Ideology-based politics was replaced by issue-based politics (especially politics related to identity). In the past, ideology determined the election strategy appointed by the party. The recruitment of party members and mobilization of voters were done on purpose. The political cadre system of the political leaders and legislative candidates was one of the most important party tasks⁵. The regeneration of leadership and the selection of office holders in political party are done institutionally and the party cadres were the only source of this recruitment of leaders and office holders. However, this system belongs to the past.

The increasing role of 'catch all parties' could be caused by two things. First, rapid political issue changes from time to time as the consequence of socio-economy-politic changes in the society was triggered by globalization and democratization. Parties had to be able to make a proper and fast response to the rapidly growing issue. Therefore, political parties had to be able to present 'a fresh image' to attract more potential groups, which were able to give support or recruit them as members. Party programs were designed to give solutions to urgent (or concerning) problems or issues that existed in society. If the party failed to do so, political activists would send criticisms toward the party leader, leave the party, or criticize them and leave⁶. Second, since the voters were no longer ideologically divided, political parties had to attenuate their ideology in order to attract as many voters with different background as possible⁷. In this kind of politics, according to Ware, the power would be held by the party or

the party leader who was able to exploit the development of modern communication and information technology and other relevant media to attract more supporters or new party members⁸. 'Catch all' party model was the most appropriate model for position/power-oriented political party system due to simple reason: political party elitists who run for position needed to catch as many votes as possible to win the election and get their position (power).

Who were Female Legislative Candidates in 2014 Election: Businesswomen, Celebrities, Activists?

In the first election (1999) after the fall of New Order regime, female representation in DPR only reached 9%, while it was more than 10% in the New Order regime⁹. Organizational intervention should be done through affirmative action policy to raise the number and role of women formally in DPR. This opportunity was used by female activists amongst the civilians and political parties to build a movement, which insisted on the insertion of a 30% quota of female representation in the being-designed Law on General Election for the 2004 Election. The affirmative action policy of a 30% quota was included in Law No. 31 of 2002 on political parties and in Law No. 12 of 2003 on Election and it was immediately applied in the 2004 Election. The result was not significant, female representation in the People's Representative Council (DPR) increased 2%, from 9% (in the 1999 election) to 11% -- 61 out of 550 DPR members.

Affirmative policy became an important mechanism to fight for equal representation for women. Since the 2004 Election, the Law on elections and political parties had undergone two changes. In two revisions affirmative policy became firmer and the enforcement became stricter. Approaching the 2009 election, the government issued Law No. 2 of 2008 on political parties and Law No. 10 of 2008 on elections. In both laws, it was clearly stated that political parties had to include a minimum 30% quota of female candidates in organizational structures. Election Law No. 10 of 2008 Article 55 even stated that a modified zipper model was adopted in the candidate list; it means there had to be one female legislative candidate for every three candidates¹⁰. Affirmative policy refinement showed its result. In the 2009 election,

female representation in Central DPR rose about 7% when compared to the 2004 Election, becoming 18.04% (about 100 out of 560 DPR members were women).

Welcoming the 2014 Election, there was another revision of Law No. 8 of 2012 on general elections and Law No. 2 of 2011 on political parties. The requirement of a 30% quota in political party organizational structures was included in Article 15(d), and a 30% quota of female legislative candidates for DPR/D in Article 55. The requirement of the zipper model, which ensured the existence of female legislative candidate every three candidates, was emphasized in Article 56, section 2. This affirmative policy was later accentuated in its practice by the issue of Rule No. 7 of 2013 Article 27, Section 2(b) by General Election Commission (KPU), which employed penalties for political parties that failed to fulfill the requirement of a 30% quota of female legislative candidates. According to KPU's rule, if the quota was not met, the political party would lose its rights to compete in the related electoral constituency. Accordingly the affirmative policy through a 30% quota was expected to bring a better result in the 2014 Election.

Political parties' readiness to employ affirmative policy of 30% varied. Big political parties claimed that they were ready and had no problem of fulfilling the requirement of 30% female members both in organizational structures and among legislative candidates. Suryadharma Ali, the chairman of PPP, stated that his party had fulfilled the quota both in the central and regional level, and he thought that some regions had reached 48%. Other political parties also expressed their willingness to fulfill the requirement; they were Demokrat, PDIP, and Golkar. The General Chairman of Partai Demokrat, who at that time was Anad Urbaningrum, ensured that his party had achieved the female representation quota in order to join 2014 Election. Puan Maharani, daughter of the Chairman of PDIP Megawati Sukarno Putri, PDIP, stated that she would have to recheck her party's readiness and would try to fulfill the requirement on the regional and provincial level. Meanwhile, the Vice General Secretary of Golkar, Nurul Arifin, stated that for his party, the requirement was an easy to meet and fulfill. For some small political parties and the new ones that participated in this year's election, the requirement of the 30% quota could pose a problem

if it was employed consistently. The General Secretary of Hanura, Saleh Husin said that *"Berat kalau di semua tingkatan, nggak gampang di kabupaten. [Karena] di daerah kebanyakan ibu rumah tangga dan mereka tidak mau. Kalau itu dipaksakan tentunya partai akan menaruh istri, adik dan keluarganya untuk syarat di daerah"* – it is difficult if we have to apply this rule in all levels of administration, it is difficult in the Kabupaten. [Because] there are only housewives [there] and they are not interested. If the rule is enforced parties will have to recruit candidates from among family members such as wives or sisters at the district level¹¹.

If the politics, which was dominated by "catch all" or "office seekers" political parties, would be intervened with the affirmative policy of a 30% quota for women, it was predicted that women who would be recruited by the parties would be party members or chosen as legislative candidates. Women who would enter the legislative candidate list, especially in the party, had the potency of becoming magnets for voters¹². Since cadres were no longer important for "catch all" and "office seekers" parties, then it was predicted that most of the women who would join a party or be chosen as legislative candidates were not from the political party cadre group. Women who were recruited to fulfill the quota could support or strengthen and would not threaten the position of the political party leaders (or elitists) who tried to earn their position (power) through elections. Women who were included in this category were the ones predicted to be considered by the party to be included in the legislative candidate pool in the 2014 Election.

The representation of the female legislative candidate was considered satisfying if it was calculated statistically from the permanent list of legislative candidates. In the *Daftar Calon Tetap (DCT)* or the permanent list of legislative candidates on the national level (DPR) the magical number of 30% was surpassed. Table 1 showed that the number of women in the candidate list reached 37.3% from the total. This percentage exceeded the quota required by the law. With this percentage, political parties succeeded on achieving the target. With this achievement it can be said that that descriptive female representation was acquired. However, if we study the female legislative candidates' background in DCT, we can see that the expectation of achieving a substantial female

representation was not met. The percentage of non-cadre candidates in the permanent list of legislative candidates is too high. Table 1 below shows this worrying numbers.

Table 1
Gender and Place of Origin of Legislative Candidates in 2014 Election

No		Cadre	Non-Cadre	Total
1	Male	-	-	4142 (62.7%)
2	Female	747 (30.3%)	1718 (69,7%)	2465 (37.3%)
	Total			6608 (100%)

Source: taken from various sources, including Formappi

Data collection done by Formappi¹³ showed that only 30.3% of female legislative candidates were political parties’ cadres. This meant, almost 70% of female candidates listed in the pool nominated by the parties were non-party members; they were not cadres. The thirty percent quota of female representation as required bt the Law of Election and Political Party had forced the parties to recruit mostly non-member female legislative candidates. This meant there were only 747 female cadres out of 2465 female legislative candidates; the rest (1718 persons) were non-cadre. They were recruited and nominated as legislative candidates just because they were women; this was the essence of identity politics. No wonder if there was a term attached to such legislative candidate such as *caleg cabutan* or *caleg tidur- unselected or sleeping candidates*¹⁴.

Who were actually the female legislative candidates recruited by the political parties in the 2014 Election? By describing the occupational background of the candidates, faint descriptions of female legislative candidates would appear. Out of the female candidates’ occupation listed in the legislative candidate list, the description of the 2014 female legislative candidates was as follows:

Table 2
Occupational Background of Female Legislative Candidates

No	Occupation Group ¹⁵	N	% ¹⁶
1	Businessman/Private	1032	41,9
2	Special Profession (Doctor, Advocate, Religionist, Academician, Celebrity)	512	20,8
3	Civil Servant Retirements (BUMN, DPR/DPD/DPRD Staffs, Ministry/Authorities/President Staff, Civil Servant, Retiree)	202	8,2
4	Politician (member/former member DPR/DPD/DPRD)	177	7,2
5	Activist (journalist, LSM, University Student)	81	3,3
6	Authorities (minister, chief area, former chief area/ minister)	9/10	0,4
7	Others (housewives, unpublished occupation, no explanation)	451	18,3
	Total	2465	100

Source: KPU documents on DCT for 2014 Election and were processed by Formappi

It is interesting to compare the data on the table with the discussion and debate on female legislative candidates in the mass media and social media. The heated discussion in the social and mass medias mostly concentrated on celebrity legislative candidates (movie actresses, models, singers, TV show actresses), who were statistically only a small portion of all female legislative candidates. The table above shows that there are 51 celebrities from the entertainment world who are registered in the permanent list of legislative candidates: 21 women (41%) and 30 men (59%). Actually this 21 celebrity female candidates was only 0.85% out of the total number of all female legislative candidates. This number was incomparable to the notion of celebrity legislative candidates, which seemed to be exaggerated. While the mass and social media were busy talking about these 21 celebrity female legislative candidates, 1032 women (41.9% of all female candidates) who had professional occupations as businesswoman and ran private enterprises were ignored from public scrutiny¹⁷.

Celebrity legislative candidates served as magnets to attract (invite) more voters or as vote getters for their political parties. Discussions

on celebrity legislative candidates have become popular in recent years of female representation. For small or new political parties, the presence of these celebrities as legislative candidates gave significant contributions in the competition of getting more exposure in mass media. This was admitted by one of 2014 Election participants, even though the news was negative. When he was asked about controversies over the background (like swimsuit models and second-class actresses and actors) of celebrity legislative candidates' nominated by PPP, the Chairman of the Campaign Division of PPP stated that this was beneficial for the party, as the party had struggled for media attention over the last two years. He explained that the recruitment of celebrity legislative candidates was a part of a strategy to attract public and media attention.

To launch celebrities as legislative candidates was not coincidental; it was a trend in contemporary politics. Some political scientists made an interesting point to explain this phenomenon. John Street, for example, saw the presence of celebrities as politicians as positive. However, he questioned the possibility of the celebrities to use their reputation to "*...reinvigorate politics with new ideas and an aggregated form of political agency.*" Because he thought, political studies needed to study how performance was constructed and character was articulated, since they built a transaction between the representing and the represented in democracy. Significant political relationships, according to Street—as cited by Mark Wheeler (2013)—constructed as a show/performance¹⁸. Meanwhile, the agency form of these celebrities was shown through their ability to interact with public, to be able to touch the public's sentiment¹⁹. Cited Thompson (1995) and Holmes (2005), Wheeler saw that celebrities from the entertainment world had the ability to build more intimate relationships with people who were remote from them through fans' networking. He considered this as a basic form of political representation²⁰.

That fact that most political parties competing in national elections had celebrity legislative candidates should be the main attention when discussing celebrity as legislative candidate. The data acquired from the permanent list of legislative candidates (DCT) showed that 9 of 12 (or 75%) of the political parties participated in the 2014 election on the

national level had celebrities²¹. That 75% of the election participants recruited celebrities as legislative candidates should be a phenomenon worthy of attention. Contagion theory could be used to explain this recruitment phenomenon by political parties²². Contagion theory was developed to explain the increasing number of female representation in political parties. The theory explained that the contagion began when a party worked as the catalyst, which promoted female legislative candidates. This party's actions forced other parties to do the same since they feared losing voters if they did not do so. The phenomenon of celebrity legislative candidates could be seen through a contagion theory perspective. In the earlier elections after the fall of the New Order regime, the presence of celebrity legislative candidates was very limited. Golkar had a few; they were usually employed during election campaign. PDIP as an opposition party to the New Order regime was also supported by and had some celebrity politicians among their party cadre members. In the 2014 Election, 9 out of 12 (75%) election participants promoted celebrities as legislative candidates.

How were female legislative candidates recruited? According to R. Matland and K. Montgomery, there were three phases (and obstacles) that should be passed by women before they were selected as legislative members: first: they had to choose themselves; second, they had to go through the selection process done by the political party to become legislative candidates; third, they were chosen by the constituents to become legislative members. In the recruitment process, a legislative candidate should understand the factors of the recruitment structures (norms and party's rules) as well as the recruitment environment (economic development level, culture, and selection system), and it would be significant. Political parties played a role as gatekeepers which chose some qualified women who could be nominated as legislative candidates. The phase where the party chose legislative candidates was the most crucial phase for women to earn political status²³.

Political party's role as a gatekeeper was significant as women nominated by the parties as legislative candidates should have adequate political capacity and capability. The party was responsible to recruit and prepare them to do their job and their political role in representative council or government. Becoming political party

administrators was one of the most important training goals for the candidates before they could hold political positions in legislative institution or in bureaucracy. Party administrators were challenged to be able to articulate and aggregate constituents' interest, to arrange political party agendas, to be involved in debates and discussions or to make cooperation with factions in the party or with other parties, to make decisions and implement a taken decision or policy. These abilities were part of four logical phase of collective and democratic decision making²⁴.

Female Politician from Political Dynasty

Celebrity legislative candidates were not the only phenomenon of legislative candidate recruitment that voters were concerned about. Another phenomenon, which received much criticism, related to the recruitment of legislative candidates who had familial relationship with political party leaders or elitists (both on the central and regional levels). In an "office seeker"-oriented party system, centralization of power on party leaders or elitist and patron culture was strong, thus, the practice of family member recruitment was considered easy to do and uncontrollable. The presence of 15 legislative candidates (5 women) who were the family members of S. B. Yudhoyono – the party leader of Demokrat until 2010 and right now was the Chairman of Supervisory Board of the party – was one concrete example of dynasty politics practice. The data regarding this practice (dynasty politics) could be found in the news, which showed that 16 out of 44 legislative candidates (36%)²⁵ who had familial relationships with party leaders of elitists were women. Further studies on this phenomenon would be able to reveal how the percentage was for women recruited to be legislative candidates based on their familial relationship with the leaders or elitists. The percentage of the dynasty politics phenomenon was very influential in the Parliament of India. About 28.6% (or three out of ten) of the parliament members owed their seats to familial relationships and 69.5% of female parliament members entered the parliament for their family²⁶. Besides the negative impact it triggered such as corruption or hindering fair competition in elections, the practice of dynasty politics damaged the trust of the selected women as legislative members and

discredited the policy of affirmative policy for women. Dynasty politics should not be allowed to grow.

In public discussions regarding female legislative candidates, moral issues received more attention compared to women's agency. News or discussions on politicians or legislative candidates were filled with moral issues, while the political ability of the candidates in formal political organizations were often ignored and not included in public discussions. News and public debates on women politicians were dominated by corruption cases and controversies concerning female celebrities as legislative candidates. Negative behavior of the female politicians (such as corruption or wearing branded things) as public authorities and female legislative candidates (as male magazine models or second-class actress) became the main topic of public discussions.

Public discussions on female politicians' negative behavior in mass media and social media were parallel to the findings done by Prapanca Research Center. According to the report, women became the main discussion topic in politics when they were scandal objects. In the observation of discussions in the social media, which was done over a period of six months (1/27-6/27, 2013), there was no mention of women who had a strong image. Male politicians who were observed through social media such as Twitter, for example Jokowi, Jusuf Kalla, or Mahfud MD, were remembered by the public as figures who had a strong character, who had the opportunity of bringing a change, and they were idealized as Indonesia's leaders. These characters qualities were invisible in female figures. Meanwhile, the discussion on Megawati, the leader of PDIP since New Order and the woman who became the fifth President of Indonesia, was full of jokes about her, while the good qualities of her leadership were never mentioned.²⁷

Indeed, there were female politicians who had their own opinion, had the capacity to act, and were able to make intelligent choices and good decisions/policy in formal political organizations. One of the most popular as a figure for her capacity was Sri Mulyani Indrawati, who formerly worked as the Minister of Finance during S.B. Yudhoyono's governance. Unfortunately, female politicians' ability in politics was not much of a topic in mass media. Actions and achievements of female politicians were not discussed in the public space, unlike male

politicians'. A study which compared media coverage given to the able male and female politicians, agreed to this point. The report written about the findings of this study stated that media coverage on female politicians (Megawati, Rieke D. Pitaloka, Puan Maharani, Yenny Wahid, and Nurul Arifin) in social media was incomparable to one male politician (Dahlan Iskan); the total number of media coverage received by all female politicians mentioned above was only 532000 discussion, and the number of media coverage for Dahlan Iskan reached 592000²⁸.

The lack of women who have the capacity in politics remains the main reason for the difficulty in legislative candidate recruitment by political parties. A journalistic report that appeared in *Indosiar.com* entitled *Kuota 30 Persen Perempuan dalam Politik* was a reflection of the thought. As explained in the report "... hingga sekarang banyak partai politik yang masih kesulitan menjaring calon legislatif (caleg) perempuan, terutama yang memiliki kapabilitas yang memadai" – there were still some political parties which had difficulties in recruiting female legislative candidates, especially those with adequate capability²⁹. Many strategies were designed and various programs were employed as a response to the conclusion of the 2004 Election. Female activists and politics observers looked for a breakthrough to solve this problem. Programs of political education for women were planned and carried out and a pool of quality women who could be nominated as candidates was listed. Political Studies Center, FISIP of Indonesia University, made a list of women who could be recruited by political parties to join a party or become legislative candidates. Programs of political education for female legislative candidates, which should be carried out by political parties, were held by various Civil Society Organization or Research Centers³⁰.

Obstacles Faced by Women in Political Party Organizational Structures

How was women's active agency interpreted in the recruitment process of female legislative candidates for the 2014 Election? Women's active agency in the 2014 legislative candidates seemed to be defined through their educational level. Legislative candidate lists issued by KPU showed that 75.8% or more than two-third of female legislative

candidates were university educated (either undergraduates, graduates and postgraduates). The data showed that most female legislative candidates in the 2014 Election were highly educated. The tendency of high education could also be seen among the 2009-2014 DPR RI members. Statistically issued by KPU Media Center, 46.8% members were Bachelor's Degree graduates, 34.61% held Master's Degree, and 8.01% held Doctoral Degree. Moreover, some of them also held Diploma 3 Degree, thus making 91.61% of 2009-2014 DPR RI members held high education. They were only 5.46% of legislative members in that period who were high school graduates³¹. Education factor seemed to be one of the most important factors to join politics. It was possible that, statistically, the number of highly-educated legislative members were greater than the ones who had experience in politics as political party cadre? Did education become a ticket to enter formal political organization? Could formal education replace practice experience as a cadre or political party member? Even though education was important for people, including legislative members, the author thought that education could not replace the practice of political education—through involvement and direct participation in political activities and organizations—and political cadre for legislative candidates and politicians who would devote their life for politics.

Political agency could be acquired and trained through direct involvement and participation in political activities and organizations. Cadres and prospective members for political party could acquire experience through following the activities, involved in and participated in *underbow* organizations, youth party organizations, or other organizations that supported or held the same ideology to political parties. For legislative candidates who were party cadres, getting involved in organizational structures gave them invaluable experience in political praxis. Unfortunately such an experience was not acquired by female legislative candidates in the 2014 Election. If seen through organizational structures of 73 parties in KPU's preliminary list for the 2014 Election, there was a minimum opportunity for women to fill important positions in the organization (chairman, general secretary, and treasurer) among the 73 parties in KPU's preliminary list for the 2014 Election.

Table 3
Organizational Structure based on Gender

	Position	Male		Female	
		(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
1	Chairman	63(86.3%)	11 (91.7%)	10 (13.7%)	1(8,3%)
2	Treasurer	47(64.4%)	10 (83.3%)	26 (35.6%)	2(16,7%)
3	General Secretary	70 (96%)	12 (100%)	3 (4%)	0 (0%)
	Total	180 (82%)	33 (88.9%)	39 (18%)	3 (11,1%)

Source: taken from data accessible from KPU media center and mass media in 2014.

Notes: (1) political parties listed in KPU; (2) political parties passed verification 11.

The data above shows that there still was a lack of women who held positions in political parties’ organizational structures. There were only 18% women who did. And from the top three most important positions in the parties, most women posed as general treasurer (35%). The position as general secretary was not held often by women (4%). On the other hand, 13.7% of the political parties listed in KPU were led by women. Unfortunately, only one (out of 12) party passed the KPU verification test to join the 2014 Election. Only one out of the 12 parties that passed the verification test was led by woman. As seen through the organizational structure above, there were only three women (1 chair and 2 treasurers) out of 36 persons who were in the three top positions in the 12 parties which contested in the 2014 Election.

The 30% quota requirement of women in political parties’ organizational structure for the 2014 Election was creatively handled by the parties. Important positions in the party’s management were still held by men. Women were usually placed as vice chairs or members (under the general secretary or treasurer). For example, in the Hanura party there were 10 Vice General Secretaries (seven men, three women) and 10 treasurers (four men, six women); the PPP had one woman out of 2 Vice Treasurers. The PDIP was a different case. Megawati’s presence as the party leader was an exception³². In fact, the political party tradition in Indonesia was not ready for the presence

of women leaders. PDIP was not different from other political parties. Under Megawati's leadership, the general secretary and its vice secretaries, treasurer and its vice treasurers were all men; in the PDIP organizational structure, there were approximately 19 divisions that were led by three women and 16 men.

Besides chairman, general secretary, and general treasurer, there are other important positions in organizational structure of a political party. These positions are included in various councils within a party such as honorary council, advisory council, board of experts, supervisory council, *tanfidz* or *syuro* council. There is a saying that besides the General Chairman, the real authority of a political party lies with the chairman or the members of the above mentioned councils. Even though there are women in the councils, they are still dominated by men.

Where are the women in the organizational structure of a political party? In order to achieve the 30% quota, some women are placed in divisions, departments which people seldom heard about. Political party structures could expand due to the existence of these divisions/departments/fields and these were where women were allowed to participate. This is the way women are included in organizational structures. Unfortunately there are no positions where they could improve their political ability or participate in making the political agenda of a party.

Based on a study on women leadership in Asia, Mary Katzenstein explains that there are two main factors that hinder the recruitment of women leadership: the social condition and the political organization. The social conditions that she observed among others are the class structure and the religious and cultural life. Factors on political organization that she observed among others are succession procedures and the party's stance towards women leadership. If both factors are analysed, it could be said that the political organization factor plays an important role in the presence of woman leadership in today's formal organizations. Social conditions are no longer the main hindrance. This could be seen through, for example, people's opinion on women's representation in politics and in political organizations. According to a survey conducted by the UNDP, 75% of the respondents accepted the

gender quota in politics and government, and 55% of the respondents stated that they would accept more women to be included in policy-making departments in the government³³. Reading through the study done by the UNDP, we could say that people accepted women's political participation. Unfortunately, the political parties listed for the 2014 Election did not seem to share the voters' thoughts/ideas. Political parties did not yet seem to be ready to open a bigger chance for women to have important and decision making positions in organizational structures of a political party.

Political representation has been studied and researched by political scientists. Michael Saward is one of them. According Saward representation is constructed. The consequence of such an idea is there are political actors who make this construction –who create representation. One of the actors is political party³⁴. These representatives represented the constituency, a group, themselves, an interest, a geographic area, and so on. In practice, these representatives could be the delegation or a trustee. As delegations, representatives followed the wish of the ones they represented, not according to what they wanted. As delegations, representatives only posed as the wish/interest bringer of the ones they represented. The power in this concept of representation as a delegation is in the hands of the constituents, the representatives will act according to the instructions they receive. As trustees, representatives would act according to what they thought best for the ones they represented. Representatives who were trustees could use their own thought, logic, and opinion to decide on the best action for their constituents, even though their decisions were not according to their constituents' wishes³⁵. Based on both concepts, we could see the role played by political representatives when they do their tasks in political organization. Or, by observing the representatives' acts in organizations –political organizations –we could evaluate whether a representative acts as a delegation or as a trustee. How representatives play their role and who give the authority to play that role is an important matter that should be brought up in political discussions or debates.

Women Representation: Descriptive versus Substantive

Representation could be defined in many ways. Hanna Pitkin, a political theorist, offers four different concepts of representation: formal, symbolic, descriptive, and substantive. Formal representation is representation formed as a result of institutional rules. Two important dimensions in formal representation are authorization and accountability. Symbolic representation is a concept on how the representative 'stands for' the represented. A person becomes the symbol representing or presenting something which is actually non-existent (not present), for example the flag or the king who represents the Nation. Descriptive representation is a form of representation based on similarity or resemblance between the representative and the ones he acts for (constituents/voters). In this form, the representative resembles those being represented. The representatives and the represented look alike or they share common interests or experiences. In substantive representation acts taken by the representatives are on behalf of or in the interest of the represented³⁶.

How is female representation in politics if it is seen through the 30% of women representation in political parties and in legislative candidate lists for the 2014 Election? We could estimate the type of women's representation that will come out as a result of the affirmative action policy of the 30% quota in the 2014 Election by employing data processed³⁷ from legislative candidate lists and data on political parties collected by the KPU and other sources. First, women representation is descriptive as a consequence of the quota system, how female legislative candidates were recruited, and women position in the party organizational structure. Second, if the affirmative action policy has positive results and the 30% quota of female representation in the parliament is achieved, there is a hope that descriptive representation could bring substantive female representation in politics. Substantive representation means that legislative members will be able to voice and include more women-related issues: issues related to children, health, education, social/society welfare, and environment. Furthermore, a significant number of women in legislative institutions could raise the possibility of the ratification for more laws regarding women issues³⁸.

Many female activists, feminists, and political theorists were

concerned that substantive representation could be realized through descriptive representation. Some studies show that descriptive representation (standing for) cannot guarantee the realization of substantive representation (acting for)³⁹. The existing political party system and the ways female legislative candidates are recruited results in the forming of descriptive representation. The substantive representation will therefore not be achieved. This means (if the 30% quota is fulfilled) the presence of the 168 female legislative members of the 2014 Election in DPR does not warrant that the women's voice will be heard and their interests will be represented in the DPR. If descriptive representation merely has arisen from affirmative action policy, Richard Matland states that the quota "... has become a ceiling rather than a floor for further growth of women's political power"⁴⁰.

The emergence of descriptive representation, which was not followed with substantial representation by applying affirmative action policy through quota system, has been studied by some political scholars. Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook in their paper entitled *Analyzing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors* look at some studies on the influence of women's representation on women. According to Childs and Krook most of the literature on women representation tried to answer two main questions: "does women's presence in politics bring a change?" and "do women act for women?" The conclusion is indecisive. Some studies suggested that women's presence brought a change in discussions, debates, proposals, rules, regulations or policies. However, there were some studies that did not see any change in style and manner of female and male politicians. In order to bring a change, some women in legislative organizations were needed. It was assumed that more women in the organizations meant they would be able to build strategic coalition to promote laws or policies on women issue. Thirty percent of the total number of members was considered as "critical mass"⁴¹.

After studying the relation between women's descriptive and substantive representation in legislative institution, Childs and Krook thought that the critical mass approach should not be used. They suggested to change the focus of the approach in studying women's representation. They suggested: (1) not to focus on "if/when" women brought a change, but on "how" women's substantive representative

could be achieved; and (2) not to focus on what “women” did, but what some “critical actors”, the term commonly used by Childs and Krook, did. The first focus explained the issue of “acting for,” rather than merely “standing for.” The second focus raised the issue of “critical actors,” i.e. people who acted both individually and collectively to produce women-friendly policy⁴². These critical actors would also be the ones who drove the change of women representation from descriptive to substantive. However, according to Childs and Krook, even though “critical actors” tended to be women, it was also possible for men to be “critical actors”⁴³.

It was important to identify these critical actors in order to explain the emergence of substantive female representation in policy-making institutions. According to Childs and Krook, the main characteristics of these critical actors were “... their relatively low threshold for political action: they may hold attitudes similar to those of other representatives, but they are much more motivated than others to initiate women-friendly policy reforms”⁴⁴.

Even though Childs and Krook suggested a shift in approach on critical actors, they still admitted that the concept of critical mass was needed in order to study female legislative members’ actions. Critical actors carried important roles for mobilizing legislative members who were categorized as a “critical mass” in order to support women-friendly policy reforms⁴⁵. In other words, substantive female representation could develop among groups representing descriptive representation due to the active role of the critical actors. Therefore, when studying female representation it is important to see how this substantive representation could happen. This means we have to pay more attention to what the critical actors do rather than of what the female legislative members do.

Conclusions

Women representation in political institutions is expected to influence leadership and policymaking style. Beth Reingold studied different norms and approaches in decision making and leadership style between men and women. In the literature that Reingold used it was shown that the dominant approaches to policymaking and

leadership were often described in masculine terms i.g. formal, hierarchical and authoritative relationships; zero sum and win-lose competitions and conflicts; interpersonal dynamics such as coercion, control, dominance, and manipulation. Women's approaches to policymaking and leadership are different. According to Reingold women emphasized empowering, egalitarian, mutually beneficial and reciprocal relationships; compromise, consensus-building, and cooperation; and interpersonal skills such as honesty, openness, mutual respect and personal/moral integrity. Various research strengthen these findings, and women, according to Reingold, "... act on a broader, more inclusive, community oriented basis"⁴⁶.

Many speculations could be made on female representation as the result of the 2014 Election. The discourse on female politicians and legislative candidates in the 2014 Election was filled with anxiety and pessimism: the 2014 Election would merely produce descriptive representation. If descriptive representation is a reality in politics, whether it is in political parties or in legislative institutions, there is little hope that women friendly policies and discourses on women's issues/ interests will be brought up in parliament. However, if there were some critical actors among critical mass of politicians and legislative members elected in 2014 Election, there were still hopes for a change. The identification and empowerment of individuals and groups of critical actors both in political party and legislative institutions, therefore, become strategic after the 2014 Election.

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Endnotes

- 1 Read Alan War (1999). *Political Parties and Party Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2 The end of the Cold War, the emergence of globalization, the spread of democracy, and the development of communication and information technology were some factors that attenuated ideology in politics and in political party system.
- 3 Alan Ware. *Op.cit.*, pp.225-226
- 4 *Ibid.*, pp.226-227
- 5 In democratic society, political party was a political institution bridging the government and its citizens. One of many roles and functions, which should be employed and became the center of attention of the electorates was nominating and representing the candidates in the election. Ideally, out of the recruited and trained cadres, the political party would select and choose the legislative candidates for the Election.
- 6 *Ibid.*, pp.76-77.
- 7 *Ibid.*, pp.227.
- 8 *Ibid.* According to Julie Ballington and Ricahard Matland in their article entitled *Political Parties and Special Measures: Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Process* (2004) in post-conflict election where there were no organized political party system, elitists domination, patron-client legislative candidate recruitment, hierarchical and political party leader or faction domination, patriarchal climate, ethnic... regional, religious, racial or language-based bond and loyalty would emerged. Political party was the reflection of the society where it existed. This phenomenon was emphasized by both authors on a quote: "The party system is clearly a reflection of the society from which it has come; in it the politicians reproduce the styles and conduct of society."
- 9 Percentage of women in legislative institutions (People's Representative Council or DPR) in elections in New Order regime was as follow: 13.0% (1987), 12.5% (1992), and 10.8% (1997). Through more democratic election in 1999, female representation only reached 9%. The awareness of lack of female representation in democratic election result encouraged the activists and female politicians to fight for the policy of 30% quota for women in Election Law of 2004.
- 10 *Kebijakan Peningkatan Keterwakilan Perempuan Pemilu 2004 dan 2009*, from an article published by Puskapol in www.puskapol.ui.ac.id/artikel/kebijakan-peningkatan-keterwakilan-perempuan-pemilu-2004-dan-2009.html, accessed on 16 March 2014.
- 11 The complaints from several small political parties drove KPU of making some changes in their policy by allowing parties, which were unable to fulfill the quota in Provincial and Regional level, by attaching a letter of explanation to the public containing the reason why they could not fulfill 30% quota of female representation. www.indopos.co.id/2012/09/keterwakilan-perempuan-di-politik-jangan-basa-basi.html. (accessed on 16 March 2014).
- 12 Term commonly used by legislative candidate who functioned to attract as many voters as possible to choose the political party that nominated the candidate was vote getter (or *pendulang suara*, in Indonesia).

- 13 Formappi, *forum masyarakat peduli parlemen Indonesia* is a CSO (Civil Society Organization or *Lembaga Swadaya Masyarakat*), which highlighted the parliamentary performance in Indonesia. This organization was established in 2001 by some activists from reformation 1998 movement. This paper used some data on legislative candidate in 2014 Election done by this organization.
- 14 Some newspaper often posted photos of sleeping DPR members on on-going meeting. The photos of honorary parliament members gave bad image upon the legislative members. The same image was used to the recruited legislative candidate only to fulfill the determined quota.
- 15 Seven occupation categories were grouped by Formappi from 36 types of occupations listed in *Daftar Calon Legislatif* (DCT) based on the legal document in General Election Commission (KPU).
- 16 The percentage of occupational categorization was obtained from the calculation done by Formappi, made based on the legal document on fixed legislative candidate issued by KPU.
- 17 Forty-one percent of female legislative candidate in 2014 Election who came from business world or private enterprises was considered a great number if compared to the total members of Lok Sabha (parliament) in India, which only had 6.4% from business group. The data was taken from *The India Site*, Sunday, 19 May 2013.
- 18 John Street (2003), *The Celebrity Politician: Political Style and Popular Culture*, in J Corner and J Pels (eds) *The Media and the Restyling of Politics*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publication, in Mark Wheeler (2013), *Celebrity Politics*, Polity Press, p.13.
- 19 John Street (2004), *Celebrity Politicians: Popular Culture and Political Representation*. *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 6(4); 447, in Wheeler, *ibid*.
- 20 Wheeler, *ibid*.
- 21 Nine political parties, which had celebrity legislative candidates, were: PAN and Gerindra, each had nine persons; PKB had seven persons; Nasdem had six; Partai Demokrat and PDIP, each had five; PPP had three; Golkar and Hanura each had three. Three political parties, which had no celebrity legislative candidates, were PKS, PBB, and PKPI.
- 22 *Contagion* theory was developed by Richard Matland and Studlar. According to them, female representation would be more effective in PR system. They explained that as big political parties increased, there would be a bigger chance for one of the parties to promote female candidate. From the studies they did in Scandinavian countries, they found that commonly, small ideology-oriented political parties began to do so. This theory was commonly used to explain the increasing number of female representation and it also received many criticisms and revision. Read Mona Krook et.al *The Impact of Gender Quota: A Research Agenda*, this paper is presented in The First European Conference on Politics and Gender, in Queen's University, Belfast, Northern Island, January 21-23, 2009; Read also Meryl Kenny & Tania Verge, *Contagion Theory Revisited: When do political parties compete on women's representation?*, this paper will be presented in Congreso AECPA, in Sevilla GT 2.8 Genero y politica en tiempos de cambio, 18-20 September 2013.

- 23 In the first phase, a person decided to enter the election for political position. Besides ambition, resources and opportunities was decisive for the decision. The second phase was where the political party did candidate selection for another crucial step. In bureaucratic election system, the rules on election would decision the result. In patronage-oriented political party, the rules for election were blurry, although the existed rules sometimes were ignored because the party chairman would decide everything. The last phase was election by the constitutions. Various election system determined the percentage of women's opportunity of becoming legislative members. Proportional system with closed list gave higher possibility for women to be chosen. Richard Marland and K. Montgomery (2003) 'Recruiting Women to National Lagislature', p.21. in Julie Ballington & Richard Matland (2004) *Political Parties and Special Measures: Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes*, p.3
- 24 J.L. Hylland (1995), *Democratic Theory*, Manchester University Press, p. 95. In Michael Saward (1998) , *The Terms of Democracy*, Polity Press, hal.57-58; baca juga Alan ware. Op.cit., pp. 111-112.
- 25 Ms. Terius, 'Daftar "Dinasti Keluarga" dalam Partai Peserta Pemilu', Ciri Cara.com., 05/08/2013. The data included in the news could be a small excerpt of legislative candidate from dynasty/family phenomena. Further data collection was needed regarding this phenomenon to acquire more actual and accurate data. And those who were included in the data were still going through the election process to become legislative members.
- 26 See the data released by *The India Site*, Sunday, 19 May 2013.
- 27 Cindy Herlin Mara, Research Institution of Prapanca Research analysis in the news entitled "Citra Politisi Perempuan Indonesia Cenderung Buruk" in *Tribunenews.com*, 28 July 2013 (17.10 WIB).
- 28 *Ibid.*
- 29 www.indosiar.com/ragam/kuota-30-persen-perempuan-dalam-politik_75-18.html. Accessed 28 February 2014 on 22.10.
- 30 Read Leya Cattleya, Review: The Asia's Foundation's "Increasing Women's Political Participation and Strengthening Good Governance in Indonesia" Program Funded by the Royal Norwegian Embassy, Jakarta. Final Report. 2010. TAF's Program of Increasing Women Political Participation.
- 31 2009-2014 DPR Member Statistics, Election Result based on Educational Level. Accessed from mediacenter.kpu.go.id/images/mediacenter/DATA_OLAHAN/juli/statistik_dpr_09-14-tingkat_pendidikan.pdf
- 32 Andrea Fleschenberg, who studied the raise of Asian female politicians in their highest position, explained that many of them raised in the highest top of politics was when the country was in turmoil, transition opened an opportunity for them and they were deemed as changing agent in political agenda to change the existed political regime. They were clasified as 'transformational leader' in the start of their career. When they finally reached formal positions as Prime Minister of President, most of them changed into 'transactional leader.' See Andrea Fleschenberg, "Asia's Women Politicians at the Top: Roaring Tigresses or Time Kittens?" in Iwanaga, chapter 2, p. 12; accessed from Iwanaga-2_extract.pdf

- 33 See UNDP Report (2010) on women's participation in politics and governance. Accessed from [partpol_womenparticipationpoliticsgovernmentindonesia_undp_may2010.pdf](#)
- 34 Michael Saward (2010), *Remainders and Opportunities: recent theories of political representation* in *The Representative Claim*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. pp.15-16 in Nuri Soeseno, *Representasi Politik: Perkembangan dari Ajektive ke Teori*. pp.36.
- 35 Nuri Soeseno, *ibid.* pp.33-35.
- 36 *Ibid.* pp.36-38.
- 37 Among them were the data on: educational level where 75% were university graduates, 58% lived outside their election area, 69.7% were not political party cadres, and were not in important position in their political party organizational structure.
- 38 Beth Reingold (2006) "*Women as Office Holder: Linking Descriptive and Substantive Representation*" paper prepared for presentation at the conference on "Political Women and American Democracy" at University of Notre Dame, May 25-27, 2006. Hlm. 5-10.
- 39 Read Karen Celis and Sarah Childs's study on "Introduction: The Descriptive and Substantive Representation of Women: New Direction" in *Parliamentary Affairs* Vol.61, Issue 3, pp.419-425.
- 40 Richard Matland considered female representation in political institutions was symbolic. Quota system was meaningless because women did not really acquire the opportunity to give political advices. Richard Matland, *Women, Quota and Politics*. pp. 278-282.
- 41 Sarah Childs and Mona Lena Krook. (2009) "Analysing Women's Substantive Representation: From Critical Mass to Critical Actors" in *Government and Opposition*, Vol.44, No.2, hlm.125-145, 2009. pp 126-128. [mlkrook.org/pdf/childs_krook_2009.pdf](#) (diakses 29/03/2014).
- 42 *Ibid.* pp.126-127.
- 43 *Ibid.*, pp.127; In the concept of "critical actors," Childs and Krook emphasized the role of each individual, as someone who had the skill and capacity to make a decision and changing agent, both by himself or with others in a group.
- 44 *Ibid.*, pp.138.
- 45 *Ibid.*, pp.144-145.
- 46 Beth Reingold, *Loc.cit.*, hlm. 10-13

The Islamic-Political Genealogy of Fatayat in Soekarno and Soehato Era: A Feminist Perspective on the History of Organization

Nihayatul Wafiroh

Indonesian Consortium for Religious Studies (ICRS),
Yogyakarta

ninikwafiroh@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper examines the Islamic-political genealogy of Fatayat. In the early era, Fatayat was vacuum since the government controlled all organizations. Fatayat then decided to collaborate with government to implement government's programs. In the late era, Fatayat started the existence in term of promoting women empowerment in Indonesia. With support from many national and international organizations, Fatayat began promoting women issues particularly in political sphere. In many cases, Fatayat depended on NU as Fatayat's patron organization. Although there are many opposite opinions between NU and Fatayat, Fatayat never gives up to negotiate and finding the right solution. In term of politics, Fatayat still depends on NU, even though Fatayat is the autonomous organization. Moreover, the successful Fatayat in term of political movement in the present era is also the contribution from Soekarno's government.

Keywords: genealogy, Fatayat, Soekarno, feminism,

Introduction

Politics actually had long become an important agenda of Indonesian women's organizations since the colonial period. *Badan Kongres Perempuan* (Women's Congress Organization) in 1938 drafted a law that provided women the right to vote in elections. In 1941 only Dutch women had voting rights, but Indonesian women had not. Eventually, only in the last years of Dutch colonialism Indonesian women could achieve their right to vote (Bessel, 2005, p. 9). However, until after few decades of independence, Indonesian women's condition in politics still did not see any significant improvement. Because of this, affirmative action, according to Gadis Arivia (2005), should be done (p. xxx). One of the reasons why this affirmation action is needed can be seen in the political arena, where the representation of women in legislative institutions is still very low, and that a fair, equal quota of women in those institutions seems to be a non-negotiable necessity (Arivia, 2005, p. xxx).

In 2004, when for the first time Indonesians gave their vote to directly elect the president and members of parliament, Indonesian women had stepped ahead in the arena of politics. They struggled and made great efforts to have their voices heard and drew vast attention throughout political channels. The Indonesian election law of 2003, number 12, stated a regulation encouraging every political party to place women as at least 30% of its entire listed candidates of parliament. However, it does not mean that the number of women in parliament increases automatically. In fact, in Indonesian parliament of 2004-2009, according to CETRO (Centre for Electoral Reform), there are only 12% women out of 550 members of parliament. It may also be seen as the result of the fact that women's participation to vote in election is lesser than men's. Thus, in this case, political mobilization of women is highly significant in order to encourage them to be more active in politics.

There is at least one important point we can figure out from the election law of 2003, which has been amended and consummated with the election law of 2008. In article 10 of the law, what is known as a zipper system is mentioned. In this system, it is stated that there should be at least one woman listed among the three top ranks in the list of parliament candidates in every election district. Still, 30 % of board

members of each political party should be filled by women. Indeed, it opens more opportunities for women to be active in politics. This all would be one step ahead that Indonesian women may go through in the next general election of Indonesia of 2009. With this newly amended election law of 2008, women would have more chance to be elected. Compared to the last election of 2004, women were often put in the last rank in the list, so it was hard for them to get elected.

However, in terms of the rules concerning the election of parliament members, many parties are not able to fulfill the 30% of women to be listed as their listed parliament candidates (Antaranews, 2008). For example, the United Development Party (PPP) has only 27 % women of its 452 parliamentary candidates. However, there is no forceful, decisive punishment in terms of the failure to apply the framework of the election law. With regard to the role of women in politics, it is crucial to explore an important question: Why are there so few women interested in being more active in the political arena? It is safe to say that one possible answer to that question concerns the strategies and practices of political mobilization and how they have been implemented in women's organizations. As the majority of the Indonesian population is Muslim, the role of Islamic women's organizations is inevitably instrumental to promoting the political mobilization of women. Therefore, this would be among such strategic ways for them to take more benefits as to reach gender equality and women's empowerment. Another matter that is central to take into account, is that Islamic women's organizations play important roles among women at the grassroots level since they have strong social legitimacy (Soetjipto, 2005, p. 202).

Historically, in fact, Indonesian Muslim women also had long been inseparable from political activities since the colonial period of the country. During that time, although they did not work formally under certain Islamic women's organizations, they made real contributions to the women's political movement in Indonesia since they formed women's branches of existing political parties. With regard to the issue of political mobilization of women, this paper would be focusing on Indonesia Islamic organization which is Fatayat. This organization is the female branch of the largest Islamic organizations in Indonesia: Nahdlatul Ulama. History proves an evident the contribution of this

organization in Women movement in Indonesia. In West Sumatra province, there was an Islamic school for women (*Diniyyah Putri*) founded by Rahmah El-Yunusiah in 1923 (Baidlowi, 1991, p. 83). This institution spread out to some provinces in Java and, consequently, drove women's attention to the importance of education for girls. As a result, many Islamic boarding schools, which were mostly located in Java and run under the management of Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), began to receive female students. For example, Denanyar Islamic boarding school, in the 1930s, marked its first admission of female students. Meanwhile, the establishment of Islamic schools for females in NU actually has its roots in the contribution of women's wing organizations in NU like Muslimat and Fatayat.

Fatayat, as the wing women organization of NU, has its roots in traditional values of women. It is quite interesting to analyze the political movement in this organization. Although Fatayat is considered autonomous wing organizations, it is in fact not completely independent from Fatayat's parent organization, especially in politics. To illustrate, in the election 2004, NU informally associated with National Awakening Party (PKB). But, in reality, Fatayat also followed what Fatayat's parent organizations supported in terms of political competition. Finally, the result of this research hopefully will offer a wider perspective of Muslim women's role in politics, since indeed Fatayat has huge number of branches ranging from province to district and village levels.

Right now, Fatayat is one of the important women organizations in Indonesia. Fatayat promotes health reproduction, trafficking eradication, and women empowerment. In term of political sphere, Fatayat was the only religious women organization which involved in the advocacy of the election law since 2003 (Fithriati, 2008, p. 14). Indeed, many Fatayat members become the women legislative members. It can be said that Fatayat succeeds in term of the political movement. However, the position of Fatayat in the political sphere right now could not be separated from the long history of Fatayat since Soekarno's and Soeharto's eras. The ways of Fatayat to promote women empowerment are not always running well. I do believe that what Fatayat achieves is the result of Fatayat's history in the past. Thus, studying the history of

Fatayat after colonial period until Soeharto's regime will be essential. With analyzing it, I hope that I will be able to know the history of the successful Fatayat in present era in term of political movement.

According to the book, *Menapak Jejak Fatayat NU: Sejarah Gerakan, Pengalaman dan Pemikiran* (2005) which is published by the central board of Fatayat NU, there many periods of the Fatayat's development. First is the period when Fatayat was just established which was in 1950-1953. It is called pioneering period. Second, this period, actually, is still considered a pioneering period, but Fatayat in this period (1953-1969) already developed, so this period is named a developing period. Third is a resurrection period (1979-1995). It is called resurrection since during twelve years as other religious organizations, Fatayat stopped all activities. New order regime controlled organizations in Indonesia, so Fatayat was banned to do activities. Last period is Fatayat in democratic era which was in 1995-2005. However for this paper, I will use simple organization which is based on the periodization of political eras in Indonesia. I am going to break down into two periods: Soekarno's era and new order era. In my opinion, this categorization can help to understand the political movement in Fatayat NU. Before I turn to discussion about Fatayat, I would like to address the condition of women's organization during colonial era particularly in political sphere. I propose this part to give general background about the position of women's organization when Fatayat was established.

Women's Organization and Politics in Colonial Era

Some sources divulge that Raden Ajeng Kartini has been an outstanding, lasting figure of inspiration for women to encourage and unite themselves in social engagements and movements such as organizations particularly in the field of education (Suryochondro, 1984; Vreede-De Stuers, 1960; Blackburn, 2004; Martyn, 2005). Through her letters to her Dutch friend, Stella Zeehandelaar, during 1899-1903, Kartini dismantled women's outmoded traditions of that time. According to Suryochondro (1984), there were two main supporting factors why Indonesian women's organizations could develop. The first is communication, by which the media helped the spread of the concepts of women's empowerment around the country. So that,

women became aware about the significance of organization to proclaim women's rights. The second is the spirit of community group work (*gotong royong*), one of Indonesian cultures which inspired women to help their female fellows organized in groups (p. 86).

However, Suryochondro seems not taking into account of the influence of colonialism to be another factor inspiring the establishment of women's organizations in Indonesia. Indeed, Blackburn (2004) mentions that the colonial gender ideology considerably shaped the ideas of women's organizations in Indonesia, particularly in terms of its role in encouraging the issues of education for girls (p. 18). This argument can be accepted when tracing the history of Kartini. During her period of study and afterward, being closest to and contiguous with Dutch people, Kartini was more and less influenced by the ideas of education for girls she ever shared with her Dutch school fellows. Not least, the first wave of feminism was so widespread in western countries of that time that the spirit of changes blew to Indonesia too. Thus, the colonialist era also brought about the spirit of progress for Indonesian women. Taufik Abdullah (1991), however, discloses that women's organizations in Indonesia in fact played little pioneering role in the creation of "new" issues. They were just like interpreters and defenders of certain existing issues, which were actually already proclaimed by other groups (p. 74). If they developed a new thing, it was only about the specific of women's issues but was not about the wider social issues (*Ibid*), for example, when women thought that if their male fellows can do something new, important, thus women must be able to do it too.

On the other word, Abdullah said that women's organizations in Indonesia did not introduce the creative agendas. But, Abdullah probably pays little attention to the fact that women's rights during colonial were untouchable. What is more, as well, the patriarchal culture closed women's access to much of public spheres. However, no one doubts that women's organizations had successfully broken somewhat of the ways for women to achieve their rights, for instance, in the basic human rights of education. Assuming Indonesian women's organizations as the mere followers of their male fellows only discards the reality that they have opened chances for women to accomplish

their goals. During colonial era, actually there were some important agendas of women's organization which were marriage, education and politic. Much less than what have been reached in education and marriage issues, in the politics women's organizations are even until now still away from achieving their goals. The considerable attempts in the politics actually had been made in 1915 when *Poeteri Mardika* sent a motion to the general governor in order to exhort the equal rights before the law between men and women (Suryochondro, 1984, p. 88). Before that, there was no record about the political activities by women's organizations.

A step ahead in the politics was gained by women's organizations when *Badan Kongres Perempuan* (women's congress organization) in 1938 set a draft of law that provides women the right to vote in election. Vreede-De Stuers (1960) said, "This was a reaction against the steps taken by the government to accord Indonesian women the right of eligibility to certain elective offices but refusing them the right to vote," (p. 94-95). However, in 1941 only Dutch women had voting right but not Indonesian women. Eventually, only during the last years of Dutch colonialism Indonesian women could achieve their right to vote (Bessel, 2005, p. 9). Blackburn (2008) argues that some political parties had the wing women's organizations in the late 1920s such as *Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia* (Indonesian Islamic organization-PSII) (p. 85). At the time, women began to give the speech publicly. It was great achievement. This organization, moreover, commenced to promote the importance for women to join in the independence movement (p. 89).

Muslim women also took an important role in the politics. Although they did not walk under Islamic women's organizations, they had real contribution in the women political movement in Indonesia since they joined the parties in the wing women's organizations. Blackburn (2008) asserts that in the colonial period, Muslim women activists chose to be involved in the radical Islamic organizations rather than moderates one. And after independence of Indonesia, this condition changed in line with change happening in political agendas before and after independence. However, even though not as strong as other secular women's organizations, the Islamic women's organizations wield significant influence in the Indonesian political sphere. Generally

speaking, the politics is a part of the central agendas where Indonesian women's organizations got involved in during the colonial period. Indeed, they had accomplished one of their political goals in terms of voting right for women. Although women are able to vote right now, it does not mean that women are already as equal as men in the field of politics. Women's organizations are currently struggling to achieve the agenda of fulfilling a minimum number of 30% women memberships in the house of parliament.

Fatayat in Soekarno's Era : Capacity of Political Empowerment

As one autonomous organization in Nahdlatul Ulama, the history of Fatayat NU could not be separated from NU. In the early XX, Islam spread out well in Indonesia. People began to mix the traditional cultures with Islamic tenets. For instance, the tradition of *selamatan* in Indonesia was inserted with some Islamic tenets such as *Tahlil*. Actually this combination was such a method in order to introduce Islam to Indonesian people. For instance, Sunan Kalijaga who was one of the *wali songo* (nine saints) in Java used *wayang* to spread Islam. Indeed, this approach was effective since Indonesian people felt that Islam did not stand oppositely with their cultures. However, groups who declared themselves as reformers of Islam promoted the reformist movement. In their opinion, all activities, which combined between Islam culture and traditional culture, should be left since Islam had to purify the activities from outside Islam tenet. The reformers argued that Islamic scholars did not have the authority to interpret Quran and Hadits. They suggested for Indonesian Islamic people to return to the original resources – Quran and Hadits (Feillard, 1999, p. 5-7).

This movement influenced many *Kyai* in Java particularly. Those *kyai* who considered themselves as Islamic traditional *kyai* attempted to resist from the reformist movement. Unfortunately, at the time, those *kyai* were not organized, but their relationship had already built. One way to resist from the reformist movement was with launching *madrasah* such as *Kyai Wahab* with his *madrasah* 'Nahdlatul Wathan.' This *madrasah* became the embryo of the Islamic traditionalists. From it, Islamic traditionalists gathered and on January 31, 1926 they made an organization which was named *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) and with

using new Indonesian language standard the name of this organization became *Nahdlatul Ulama* (NU) (Feillard, 1999, p. 12). From it, NU develops. Indeed, when we discuss about Islam in Indonesia, for sure we could not avoid to study NU. In fact, the involvement of NU in Indonesia is not only in the religious activities, but also in politic. In the colonial era, NU was active in politics and involved in the Indonesian freedom preparation. NU also contributed to bring Soekarno to be the first president of Indonesia. In another side, NU also extended the internal organization. During Dutch colonials in 1935, NU had 65 branches and about 67.000 members. Three years later, NU became 99 branches and the branches spread out not only in Java but also South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, and South Sumatra (Haidar, 1991, p. 141). One the important thing from the NU development was that NU established female branches which are Muslimat and Fatayat.

According to Machrusah (2005), women were not able to be a part of NU not only because the discussion about domestic sphere but also in the late of colonialism, Dutch repressed organizations in Indonesia. Indeed, it would risk for women to gather (p. 22-23). In the late 1940s, there was awareness among NU members, including the young women in NU. They realized that women in NU were not organized yet not only for the young women but also for the older women. The existence of women in NU was only followers. Kathryn Robinson (2009) notes that the oppression from Dutch and the internal of NU never stopped women to participate in NU. For illustration, at the NU congress in Banten in 1939, there were about 8.000 women attending (p. 53). Latter, NU gathered women in the level of Nyai which are Kyai's wives. From it, Muslimat was built. However, this organization did not touch the young generation. The absence of this organization leaded NU board to immediately forming the organization for young generation. KHDahlan who was the chairman of NU at the time, created the organization, and he named it with 'Fatayat'. Actually, there was still debate among NU board and Kyai. In one side, some kyai refused women to be active in NU. In their opinion, women should stay in home. However, many progressive Kyai supported women to be a part of NU. Although the debate continued, Fatayat was formally received to be one of NU autonomous organization in 1952, in Mukhtar in Palembang (Fatayat

website, 2010).

The establishment of Fatayat could not be separated from three important women who are Aminah Mansur from Gresik, Khuzaimah Mansur from Gresik, and Mustasyirah from Surabaya. Those women is known with *Tiga Serangkai*. Because at the time the central of NU was in East Java, Fatayat was established and developed in East Java. Dahlan asked them to formulate Fatayat. Muslimat board also helped them in this process. Nihayah Bakri had been pointed to be the first Fatayat chair (Afifah, 2005. p. 10). NU Fatayat organization established process is not easy. Constraints and obstacles are many, both structural and cultural nature. According to Khuzaimah Mansur which is written by Umi Khusnul Khotimah (2005), there are some obstacles in realizing Fatayat NU: (1). Structurally many Kyai who were in *syuriah* (Advisory board) did not support Fatayat. As an illustration, KH Bisri Syamsuri strongly opposed the establishment of Fatayat. Syamsuri worried that women would go wild when they are too active in organizations outside the home. The support from the chairman of NU, Dahlan, was not able to guarantee if Fatayat would be received by *Syuriah* NU. (2_. Patriarchal culture was still strong in Indonesia. Indeed it was not profitable for Fatayat. Fatayat became very dependent on NU. In each of activities that was going to be held, Fatayat had to request permission to the NU board. Activities were often hampered just because of a permit from the NU board. NU was still dominated Kyai who trapped in the assumption that women's job is at home. (3). The less of human resources among young women of NU was another problem. At the time, Fatayat did not have many young women who had higher education. Education at the time remained a high price for women. These conditions made the development of Fatayat hampered because the board and the members of Fatayat did not have the ability to organize (Afifah, 2005, p. 11-12)

Since this period, Fatayat often made training for members. The trainings focused on many aspects such as in education. Fatayat taught the members how established educational institutions and how to teach. As a result, some of Fatayat's members started to create kindergarten institution (Taman Kanak-kanak). They also helped women in their communities to eradicate illiteracy. At the time, there was common condition that women only could read Arabic and they were illiterate

in Indonesian (Afifah, 2005. p. xvi). Organization was also a point in the training. To give the contribution on revolution, some Fatayat members joined in the military training such as how to use weapon etc (p. xvi), for instance Asnawiyah. In the political sphere during Soekarno's era, Fatayat and Muslimat took important roles. Aisyah Hamid Baidhowi who is one of pioneers in Fatayat gives the description about the condition politic and the position of NU women at the time:

In addition, it comes to education, when we also give attention to work together with elements of other youth. There used to be a forum for Muslim Youth Organizations. If there is a problem, we met at the forum before settled into a larger forum. Islamic youth forums is also becoming another embryo from KNPI. In 1954, when Moslem discuss under-age marriage and the eradication of illiteracy, Fatayat also intensively involved. There was a plenary where Fatayat-Muslimat join. The progress of thought appeared when it was the decision that the Muslimat had to be given the opportunity as a public leader in the real sense, not only in the internal Moslem, but in society at large. Therefore, the demand that has emerged among the Moslem woman was also entitled to be nominated a member of the legislature. In 1955, the existing Muslimat representatives who sit in Parliament, were Machmudah Mawardi and Asmah Syahrini. At NU Congress in 1957, it was decided formally NU women involved in politics, although in previous elections, in the year 1955, there have been legislative members of the NU women who obtained five seats from the fraction of NU. In the Constituent Assembly, as I recall, has increased to nine people, including Nihayah Bakry which later became known as Nihayah Maksum. In my opinion, for the situation of women are very advanced (Afifah, 2007).

It indicates that Soekarno opened the opportunity for women to involve in politic. The position of Muslimat NU was not only in legislature but also to be the executive in Religious department (Departement Agama) who was Machmudah Mawardi. Aisyah Dahlan at the time became the Secretary of Minister of religion. Another one is Abidah Maksum. She was the first-woman judge (Afifah, 2007).

Some Fatayat members became the member of DPRDS. Asnawiyah, for instance, in 1951-1956 was a member of DPRDS (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Sementara* – temporary regional representative council) in Gresik, East Java. According to Asnawiyah, at the time only three women in DPRDS which were Fatimah from Muslimat, Zulaikha from GPII and Asnawiyah that had been pointed out from Fatayat (Afifah, 2005, p. 40). Even though the debate about the existence of women's wing organization was still going, Syuriah NU began to receive women to be a NU board in 1956 which were Khairiyah Hasyim, Fatmah, and Mahmudah Mawardi (p. xix). It is a proof that NU women could exist in their internal organization. Generally, Soekarno's era was the important point for Fatayat since in this era Fatayat was established. The government also had a good understanding in the concept of gender equality. Fatayat which was the new women organization also had same opportunity in the parliament. As a result, Fatayat was able to take places in women movement in Indonesia. In the same time, Fatayat could also expand the internal organization. The position of NU which was one of the political party gave the chances for young generation who involved in Fatayat NU to learn how to be active in politics although the debate among NU board could be avoided in the existence of Fatayat. However, it did not stop the step of Fatayat to contribute in the women empowerment.

Fatayat in New Order : The Ideology of Ibuism

Actually, officially Soeharto was to be a president in 1967. However, his regime had de facto began shortly after the so-called 'coup' in October 1, 1965. In 1965, the Indonesian military attempted to killing the members of Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). In the tragedy which hundreds people were killed, Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) as a largest Islamic organization and one of political party contributed in this violence. According to Katharine McGregor (2008), in January 1966 the NU leadership affirmed that "PKI must be wiped out from the face of Indonesian and never given the chance to exist again," (p. 4). PKI was considered as a party which refused the existence of God. As a result not only NU supported to destroy PKI but also other religious organizations from Islam, Catholic, and Christianity. Fatayat,

in reality, as a part of NU organization, also followed what NU believed (McGregor, 2008, p. 5). I Gusti Agung Ayu Ratih (2009) argues that the involvement of women organization in the tragedy of human right in Indonesia contributed significantly in the hiding the story of women victim. Indeed, at the time not only PKI members became the object of swiping but also a women organization which was considered as PKI's supporter such as Gerwani. However the story of Gerwani had never been opened (p. 18-19).

After Soekarno felt, the New Order regime began. Indeed, this era became a new history for women's organization in Indonesia including Fatayat. Soeharto stood oppositely with the previous president in term of women's position. If Soekarno opened the chances for women to develop, in contrast, Soeharto wanted to bring back women in their line which was in domestic sphere. In the concept of Ibuism, according Djajaningrat-Nieuwenhuis (1987) that socially and politically, *Ibu* (Mother) and *Bapak* (Father) are the center, so that the responsibility for all matters relating to the family or group are on the shoulders of *Ibu* and *Bapak*. However, there is a fundamental difference between the position of *Ibu* and *Bapak*. The Power and privilege are in the hands of *Bapak*, while the mother should not expect any reply from the responsibilities entrusted except the reply given via her husband. Susan Blackburn (2004) and Julia Suryakusuma (1987) states that the Ibuism was the New Order gender ideology (p. 25). New Order regime was well aware of how the functions of *Ibu* which is to maintain the stability of the State. They mobilized *Ibu* to support the development of the country, to contribute the economy of family, but on the one hand it was done voluntarily, without any reward. Even state was deliberately banging women with the private sphere concepts, so that women are perfectly positioned as supporters for families, groups, and even countries.

The implication of this ideology was that women *kodrat* (inherent nature) is to give birth, and to be housewives and mothers. In every occasion, the government widened this idea. The government also created women organization which was as ambassador in the spreading the ideology. For instance, Dharma Wanita (Women's Service) was arranged for wives of civil servants, and the main agenda

of this organization sponsored PKK (Pembinaan Keluarga Berencana – family Guidance Movement) (p. 25). The implication of the ideology from government was that all activities of women organizations should be under government's control. Actually this condition occurred not only for Fatayat or other women organization but also for NU. The board and members of NU were afraid since they could not attend the organization's activities. If they still kept continuing with activities of organization, the consequence was that they would be fired from their job. Therefore, during twelve years in 1967-1979, Fatayat did not have any meaningful activities. It could be said that Fatayat was a dead faint. Aisyah Hamid Baidhowi assess that during this period many Fatayat board in Fatayat branches refused to be visited since they worried that they would receive the intimidation from government. She says:

There was a story, when Asmah H. Syahrani and H.S.A. Wahid Hasyim went to the Muslimat branched. They were often sent a letter of refusal to come to the house of committee Muslimat. For example, the former chair of Muslimat in Ponorogo rejected because her son was the village head. Rather than endanger of her son, she sent a letter: "I still love Muslimat, but please do not come to my house" (Afifah, 2005, p. xx).

It is a picture of the situation at the time. People lived under the intimidation of government. Although Fatayat still had board which the leader at the time was Malichah Agus, the activity stopped. During the period of twelve years in a vacuum, Fatayat started the activity with holding the congress in Semarang in 1979. Mahfudhoh Ubaid Ali was chosen to be general leader of Fatayat. Fatayat consolidation with branches all over Indonesia were carried out again. Fatayat activities at the beginning of the revival of this were done secretly. The risk of intimidation from the government made the board Fatayat using this way. However, when Fatayat joined with several activities planned by the government, Fatayat activity no longer carried out secretly. Fatayat supported government programs such as family planning. Joining the government has finally been chosen by Fatayat in order to avoid the ban from government (Afifah, 2005, p. xx).

Fatayat board's policies to collaborate with government programs such as Posyandu, dispensaries life, and *Dasa Wisma* had opposed by NU. NU as the parent organization of Fatayat had announced to return to *Khittah* 1926 in the *muktamar* 1984 in Situbondo. This meant that NU is no longer involved in practical politics. The another reason of the lack of freedom for Fatayat to active was because of the relationship between Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur), chairman of the NU at the time, and Suharto. In the first term of Wahid, the NU and government relations was going well, even Gus Dur became one of the driving ideology of Pancasila. However, Gus Dur still kept critical to the government, especially regarding cases Kedung Ombo which received funding from the World Bank. In the second term, which began in 1989 Wahid and Suharto's relationship were more pointed, until Suharto blocked NU birthday celebration 66th in Jakarta. Then, when Wahid would run for the third time to be the chairman of NU, Suharto used his hands to block Wahid, but it did not succeed and Wahid leaded NU again. This situation would also greatly affect for Fatayat. Cooperation with the New Order Fatayat feared would bring NU back to the political arena. At that time NU maintain impartiality in politics. But as an organization, Fatayat will not stand only because of pressure from the new order. Fatayat tried to keep doing the activities, Neng Dara Afifah explains, " At the time, Fatayat made compromises to keep doing activities. The first step, Fatayat withdraw from politics, as was done by the parent organization, NU. The second step, Fatayat modernized the organization and its activities as in the workings and also the type of activities (Fatayat been actively involved in the distribution of Vitamin A in urban areas). With this two steps, Fatayat could still run events without the pressure from new order. " Wahid, as the leader of NU, pushed Fatayat to continue their activities. From it, Fatayat made networking with national and international organizations that focus on women's issues, and from this networking, Fatayat could create training for members. Basically, in this period, as other women organization, Fatayat began establishing the discussion about gender equality and gender empowerment. Although during New Order, Fatayat did not have more chances in the political sphere, it focused on the consolidation to spread out the ideas of the awareness on

women rights and empowerment. Nia Sjarifudin (2009) states that the women movement in this era to cadre. It exactly happened in Fatayat, so when this regime fell, Fatayat already had many good cadres and networking. In the political sphere, in New Order era, Fatayat had two important periods. First was the vacuum period. In this time, Fatayat did not have any activities. The internal and external factors were the causes. Second was the resurrection period. The collaboration to support government's programs on women and family became the entry point for Fatayat to exist again. In the last of this regime, Fatayat received the opportunity to establish the linking with national and international funding organizations. I can say that the last ten years in this period was the basic root of Fatayat in the promotion of women empowerment.

Conclusion

From the explanation above, I conclude some points. Firstly, Fatayat was established because of some reasons. At the time, women in Nahdlatul Ulama were not organized yet. In another hand, the willing of NU women, particularly the young organization, to involve in organization needed to be appreciated, so Dahlan, the leader of NU at the time, asked some women to establish Fatayat. Muslimat helped to realize this idea. Another reason was that Nahdlatul Ulama basically supported women to be active in public sphere. Secondly, Fatayat could develop because of the internal and external factors. One of the internal aspects was the full support from the progressive NU board. The potential members of Fatayat also became the essential cause of Fatayat's development. The external factor came from the government. During Soekarno's era, women had opportunities to be active in political sphere. Many women had been legislative members, and some of NU women had important jobs in government. The involvement of NU in political practice was also a chance for Fatayat to engage in politics. Thirdly, in New Order era, Fatayat turned into two conditions. In the early era, Fatayat was vacuum since the government controlled all organizations. Finally, Fatayat decided to collaborate with government to implement government's programs. It was the way for Fatayat to exist. In the late era, Fatayat started the existence in term of promoting

women empowerment in Indonesia. With support from many national and international organizations, Fatayat began promoting women issues particularly in political sphere. From these points, I can figure out that in the past the existence of Fatayat could not be separated from NU. In many cases, Fatayat depended on NU as Fatayat's patron organization. Although there are many opposite opinions between NU and Fatayat, Fatayat never gives up to negotiate and finding the right solution. In term of politics, Fatayat still depends on NU, eventhough Fatayat is the autonomous organization. Moreover, the successful Fatayat in term of political movement in the present era is also the contribution from Soekarno's government.

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Filmic Technology in TV News and the Construction of *Monstrous Feminine*

Ratna Noviani

Media & Cultural Studies, Graduate School Gadjah Mada
University

ratna.noviani@gmail.com

Abstract

TV news of high profile corruption scandals in Indonesia often involves women as witnesses and the media tends to put focus on women's sexuality, making it as core of narrative, while the male corruptors are put aside into the margin of narrative. Politics of feminization and sexualization of corruption issues can be found in the news and most of them tend to denigrate and objectify women. By employing television's filmic technology, they reproduce women's rivalry and sexuality into *monstrous feminine* (bad female), which are considered as dangerous and threaten male superiority and the phallogentric-order of society.

Keywords: women, TV news, narrative, monstrous feminine, sexuality.

Introduction

The dramatic proliferation of media technology and mode of communication causes a largely mediated social life. In a mediated

world, the reach and the exploration of communication as well as human interaction become limitless; its reach stretches beyond time and space. The expansion of interaction as the result of media technology goes hand in hand with Marshall McLuhan's (1964, 2001) view that "media are extensions of man." In the field of Media Studies, the word "man" in McLuhan's view has triggered another question. "Man" referred to "man" in *mankind* (human being or humans) or *male-sex* (male). The studies on the relationship of media and gender tended to show the latter definition, that *media as extensions of man (as male sex)*. Media, in this case, become the tool or instrument of male domination of women (Loon 2008: 80). Feminists' critique towards gender-biased media products became the real example of how media were inclined to be the instruments that allowed the practices of gender inequality. The studies conducted under Film Studies showed in detail how filmic or cinematic technology also played a significant role in mediating reality, including gender reality. Jean Louis Baudry (1970), one of pioneers in Film Studies, stated that filmic technology such as camera movement, editing, sound effect, and so on, was done in certain ideology to construct the positions of the subject, not only the subjects in the film (characters) but also the spectators (in Hayward, 2013: 22). Under gender context, media technical apparatuses and its usage contributed in organizing and mobilizing the ideas of gender. This filmic technology was not only used and utilized in film; advertisements and television also used such a technology. This study particularly examines how filmic technology plays an ideological role in constructing women's image in television news.

In recent years, Indonesian television has been about the news of Komisi Pemberantasan Korupsi (KPK)'s achievements in revealing corruption cases in Indonesia. Some cases even seized the attention of television and had pretty high showing time. This tendency rised since the beginning of 2013, when some private television stations competed on broadcasting corruption cases involving women. These private television stations even completed the case with investigation report and 'exclusive'-labelled program about the involving of some women in the criminal case. The corruption case on SIM (Driving License) simulator involving Irjen Djoko Susilo and imported beef quota

involving Ahmad Fathanah and the president of PKS, Luthfi Hasan Ishaq, were two corruption cases that drew the media attention. The television stations took turns on airing the women involved in both corruption cases. In doing so, those stations raised various theme, title, visualization, and tagline on the news. For example, MetroTV in *Metro Hari Ini* (May 8, 2013) took the theme of "Woman and Fathanah's Scandal". TVOne in *Kabar Malam* (May 9, 2013) presented the tagline of "Woman behind Imported Beef", SCTV in *Liputan 6 Pagi* took the title of "Morning Coffee: Corruption and Beautiful Women" (May 11, 2013). In the end of January 2013 when Ahmad Fathanah, one suspect of imported beef corruption case, was caught by KPK when he was with a woman, some television stations immediately brought the report on this. For example, *Liputan 6 Siang* aired news footage with tagline "Sex Gratification behind PKS Bribery Case?" They repeatedly showed footage of a woman who was with Ahmad Fathanah in an expensive hotel in Jakarta. The woman's identity became a mystery they have to solved and scrutinized in public. The media televised her name, face, age, where she went to school, and her private life.

This also happened in the corruption case and alleged money laundry done by an authority in police agencies, Irjen Djoko Susilo. The report intensifies as the media revealed Djoko Susilo's polygamy. The media revealed women, who were assumed as Djoko Susilo's wives and allegedly received some monetary value he acquired from corruption practice. It became the main topic of most television news. For example, TransTV in *Reportase* (March 23, 2013) brought tagline "Djoko Susilo's wives" (*Istri-istri Djoko Susilo*) when they aired the investigation on Djoko's polygamy. On the other hand, RCTI in *Seputar Indonesia* (February 9, 2013) focused on one woman, whom the host called as Djoko's "young wife" (*istri muda*). While SCTV in *Liputan 6 Siang* (February 15, 2013) brought tagline "the Love Story of Irjen Djoko and Putri Solo" (*Kisah Cinta Irjen Djoko dan Putri Solo*). The media also aired women's face identified as Djoko Susilo's wives in the footage. Some photos of Djoko's wives were aired and they took close-up shot repeatedly, complemented with the narrator's explanation about those women and their relationships with Irjen Djoko. Even though they were supposed to be the witnesses of the corruption cases, some

women who were exposed in the news became the center attention, replacing the corruptor as the main suspect. How the media conveyed their news was deeply concerning. Not only through verbal news, had television employed filmic apparatuses that worked in certain ideology to construct women as the subjects, which actually brought demise to them. The camera movement and point of view, *mise-en-scene* (the way they put the incident), focalization (perspective through which a narrative is presented), and plot were the example of news narrative elements, which played a great role in constructing women's position.

Women in News Narrative

The issues on how women were portrayed in the news were not novel. The previous critical studies on women's images in media also included news, even though it was still only a few of them. The Western feminists' works published more than 40 years ago such as Betty Friedan (*The Feminine Mystique*, 1963), Germain Greer (*The Female Eunuch*, 1970), and Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and James Benet (*Heart and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*, 1978) focused on the media representation in entertainment programs such as soap opera, drama series, movie, or advertisements. These studies showed that the mass media tended to present the stereotypical woman images as passive, submissive, weak, emotional, male's sexual objects, and the domestic sphere was the most proper place for women (in Byerly & Ross 2006: 17). Different from entertainment programs, news was considered as a media text, which is closest to the reality, factual and not a fantasy. According to Schaap, news was "the factual information that its viewers need in order to be able to participate in their society" (2009: 1). As a fact-based information form, news program was indirectly obliged to present authentic information and possessed high credibility.

The first studies on media news tended to focus on how they acquired the factual information such as on how they wrote the news, news value and newsworthiness criteria, or how could they broadcast event A over event B. Gender issues on news studies were rarely examined until the end of 1970s (Gill 2007, 113). However, even though they rarely discussed gender issues, some studies on news text showed

that news was not simply presented *the real world*. If certain news brought up the principle of news value and newsworthiness, there was a party that constructed this principle and decided that a certain event was considered significant and had high news value, while the others were not. There was a selection process, a meaning production process on what so-called 'the important' and 'the unimportant'. Narrative news went through contextualization process. This was what we called as framing (Norris 1997; Entman 1989). The process included exclusion/inclusion, accentuation, erasing, and distorting some parts of reality. The structure of interpretation went in accordance to a certain ideology to construct an understanding about the displayed reality. Gitlin (1980) highlighted that the journalists conducted a framing process of their news according to the media institutions, working condition, journalistic practices, daily lives, and the news value, which was the product and the process of hegemonic structure (in Kara 2009: 341). Under the context of television news, Stuart Hall (1984) also stated that news value became a professional code used by television stations to conduct news selection, construction, and presentation (in Pearson & Simpson 2001: 436). News value basically referred to a line of cooperation policy that produced the news, which later provided a frame for the journalists to categorize whether an event had its news value or not. In other words, media conducted a selection process on a certain event they considered as valueable and worth to be brought to the public. Hence, news text was not neutral, which is only "showing the real world." Television news contained a constructed reality, which was done through editorial selection process and its audio-visual images selection. It meant, there was a certain narrative structure that could be used and utilized when they wanted to present what-so-called *good news*.

Furthermore, Rosalind Gill (2007: 114) emphasized that news was considered as a cultural product that represented the assumption of the dominant culture on what and who was significant, including the social position and relation they deemed 'normal.' News narrative on gender issues, according to Gill, also represented the acknowledged gender constellation and deemed as dominant in the society. News could be the entrance gate to see the dynamics of gender relation occurred in the

society on a daily basis. The dominant ideas of women's position, role, and lives could be seen through how the news narrated women (Byerly & Ross, 2006; Kara, 2009; Gill, 2007).

In 1995, the studies of Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) in 71 countries showed that the number of women who appeared in media news, both as the newsmaker and informant, only reached 19%. GMMP research also showed that in Asia there were only 14% of women who appeared in news narratives and they did not even appear in political, business, or government-related news. Women often appeared in the news about health or arts. This emphasized the notion that women remained positioned in different domain with men (Byerly & Ross 2006: 41). The appearance of women in such news was stereotypically as the victim, mother, or wife. The further research conducted by GMMP in 2000 showed that the percentage of women's appearance as the main news actor actually decreased 1%. Until 2005, women's appearance in political or economic news in 71 countries remained low and "woman-as-victim" stereotype still was the dominant theme in the news narrative (Gill 2007: 115). This meant there was a quantity and quality problem on the representation of women in media news; in newspaper, radio, or television.

The studies on woman in news narrative had also been conducted in Indonesia. There was the similar tendency with the research findings done by GMMP that the media tended to present the stereotype of women as the victim. The study done by Widaningsih (2011, 2012) on news in national newspapers (*Kompas* and *Jawa Pos*) found that there was women marginalization and objectification, which was constructed through wordplay. The studied news was about woman physical abuse cases, and the news sounded like reproduced the violence through the diction, labelling, and sentence structure. In 2012, a study conducted by the Alliance of Independent Journalists (Aliansi Jurnalis Independen/ AJI) showed that the quantity of news about women in printed media and television media were rather high (www.ajiindonesia.or.id). AJI conducted a research on seven newspapers published in Jakarta between March-Mei 2012; they are *Indo Pos* (*Jawa Pos Group*), *Kompas*, *Warta Kota*, *Republika*, *Suara Pembaruan*, *Koran Tempo*, and *Poskota*. The newspapers showed that there were 731 news about women. The recurrent news

category was about woman and law, especially corruption cases, there were 254 articles. This news category occupied the most aired program in six private television stations; they are RCTI, SCTV, Metro TV, TVOne, TransTV, and Trans 7. Out of 374 television news about woman for three months, 233 of it were the news about woman and law. Another remarkable thing from AJI's study was that out of hundreds of news about woman, the quality of woman representation in news narrative was still deeply concerning. The stereotype affirmation that "woman-as-victim" was still obvious and in the same time, the media reproduced the violence and victimized the female victims.

Feminization and Sexualization of the News

Based on the studies conducted by *Aliansi Jurnalis Independen* (AJI) Indonesia, the number of news about women dealing with the law, especially on corruption cases, has significantly high portion in Indonesian television programs. The corruption case of SIM simulator and imported beef quote bribery case were the real example. The media consciously positioned women as the central attention of the corruption case, even though they were supposed to be the witnesses. The media dragged and forced them to be as if the main suspect of these cases. The corruptors as the main actors, who were male, were set aside as the bystanders, while the witnesses (female) became the center of the narrative. It was clear that women suffered from scapegoating of some corruption cases in Indonesia, which were aired constantly in Indonesian television stations. These could be seen through the news titles or taglines they put as they aired the corruption news on the screen.

The choice of title and tagline such as "Women and Fathanah's Scandal," "The Women behind Imported Beef," or "Corruption and Beautiful Women" gave the assumed interpretation that corruption and woman had direct and causal relation. This relation was understood by *first*, beautiful women became the cause of corruption (which was done by man) or *second*, due to the corruption case, there was a sexual scandal between male and beautiful female. Both assumptions brought disadvantages to women and assumed women as the inciter of male's corrupted moral. Tom Douglas in his book *Scapegoats: Transferring*

Blames explained that the process of scaegoating occurred when there was a low unwillingness and good intention to reveal the real cause of the unfavorable problem. This caused the dominant and authority party chose a certain group of people to take the blame, usually the unusual ones or was considered different or *other* (1995: 39). In corruption news, instead of focusing on the corrupted moral of the Nation's officials and politicians and the ruined Indonesian bureaucracy that allowed the chance of corruption to happen, the television news preferred to focus on woman and sexuality.

Television news became infotainment-like and tried to reveal trivial and gossip-based information. Television tabloidization made television news, which were initially public need oriented (public as the citizen), became market-oriented and profit-accumulation commodity (public as the consumer). Television industry believed that news as a commodity should attract advertisement, and in order to do that, news program should be popular (read: favorable to the audience). The problem was, "favorable to the audience" was also ideological claim. What was the definition of "favorable"? Who defined it, the media or the audience? Which audience? The rating mechanism often became the answer the television industry depended on. But, the one who did the rating research and the methods s/he applied in the research were often amised and ignored. The point was, by making rating as the sole popularity measure of a program was subjective and biased action for the political economy interest of television industry.

Commercial interest has transformed television news into an entertainment business, provocative, talked about trivial things and exploitative (Langer 1998: 1). Watching television news on corruption case was like watching drama or soap opera. The issues were dramatized and sensationalized, until it was hard to identify whether it was information or drama. The commercial interest established television industry practices to not only focus on giving information, but also entertaining. They had to please the public, therefore news format that were hard news, informative, and 'boring' had to be changed into soft news, entertaining, sensational, and pleasurable. Feminization and sexualization of the news became two strategies often done by the media (Holland 1998: 18), to soften the hard news. Feminization of

news was done by including 'feminine' topics in phallogentric logics, for example, by raising issues of women in the domestic sphere. On the other hand, sexualization of news was done by including material topics and sexual activities, from sex scandal to body parts exposition, especially woman body. Both strategies made things, which were initially considered as private, personal, and secret became the public display (read: on television). This also happened on the reportage of women in the corruption case in Indonesia.

For example in the corruption case of SIM simulator, at first television presented the factual news on who Irjen Djoko Susilo was. When KPK investigation on the corruption case and money laundry revealed some women involved, television acquired new main characters they could expose verbally and visually. Television news emphasized on the women, aired their pictures, and took close-up shots dramatically. They made comments on the physical appearance, age, even the color of clothes they wore; while they sometimes ignored Djoko Susilo as the main actor of the corruption. They repeatedly labeled the women as "the young wife," "second wife," "third wife," complemented with the comments on their beauty, composed manner, and their physical appearance. The same thing also happened with the reporting of corruption case that a woman became the corruptor, like news about Angelina Sondakh. As the main suspect of building of Wisma Atlet corruption case, the media emphasized Angelina's feminine sides as the center of attention. They talked about her clothes color, hair style, and her role in domestic sphere as a mother of young children, until her sadness overcoming the grief after her husband passed away; and it sometimes changed the emphasis of the news as the corruptor who stole the Nation's money.

In imported beef bribery case that involved the president of PKS, Luthfi Hassan Ishaq and his close friend, Ahmad Fathanah, the narrative of television news on the women who allegedly received the money was complemented with the discussion of body and sexuality. They also included the visualization of women's body parts, accompanied with narrator's description on "sexy celebrity," "sexy photo model," and "adult magazine model." There was also news footage about "a young woman they caught red-handed in a hotel

room.” Woman sexuality and activity as well as sexual relationship eventually became the main topics of the news. Women’s private areas were exposed and brought into the public space. Even in an interview with Ahmad Fathanah’s wife in one of private TV stations, the news anchor (who was a woman) explicitly asked, “... since when are you (Ahmad Fathanah’s wife) married to pak Fathanah? Because ‘public’ of course want to know about this.” This trivial information was covered in the politics of representation, as if the public really wanted to know their marriage date. What was the importance of knowing their marriage date for the public interest?

News feminization and sexualization actually showed the endless domination of patriarchal thoughts behind the media practice and logics. News narrative and television filmic technology positioned women as the object of voyeurism—the [sexual] pleasure acquired by secretly watching others—that in phallogentric culture was considered as male’s prerogative rights. Men were the active gazer; while women were the gaze objects (see Mulvey, 1974). As the media labeled “Djoko Susilo’s wives” or “Ahmad Fathanah’s women” in news narrative, it strengthened the assumption that television demeaned women and posed them as the object of [sexual] desire and became man’s property.

The Construction of *Monstrous Feminine*

By ignoring the presumption of innocence in Indonesian legal system, television news draw women, who were supposed to be the witness, into the case. On one side, television positions them as the victims, but at the same time, they were also the scapegoat. Thus, women became the victim as well as victimized in television narrative. The narrative on corruption cases did not only construct the women as the victim, they also dichotomized women—as the victim—and set them as rivals, as good victim versus bad victim.

Klapp (1964) states that good victim category would be able to raise sympathy amongst the spectators. The media often presented women’s powerlessness, inability to fight back, their physical or mental weakness to construct the image of good victim (in Langer 1998: 78-9). On the contrary, bad victim was the provocative party, unlikeable, and did not raise sympathy. In some corruption case narrative on Ahmad Fathanah,

the good victim image was Fathanah's wife who had a toddler. The media put Fathanah's wife as the victim of her husband's actions. She was represented based on patriarchal view and concept of ideal woman. On screen, she was constructed as dependent wife, willing to give up her career as *dangdut* (Indonesian music) singer to take care of her child and household, and had absolutely no idea of her husband's activity and work in the public. She was also portrayed as submissive woman and put her husband as her leader in the family according to her religious belief. Everytime she appeared in the media, Fathanah's wife did not look like powerless and weak woman. She looked fashionable with a Muslim wear. In every interview she attended, she was calm and content in dealing with her husband's case. She did not seem to be angry and blame her husband. Otherwise, she forgave her husband and positioned her husband as the 'victim' of other women's seduction. In some interview sessions, she also defined the women around her husband as vile women. She chose to concede to the fate, be patient, and to pray for her husband's problem. Fathanah also suggested her wife to do so. The news narrative tended to present Fathanah's wife as the victim, both by Fathanah's action and the women who allegedly had special relationship with Fathanah. The questions given by the host in some television stations were inclined to focus on the victim's emotional experience, who was betrayed by her husband.

Ahmad Fathanah's wife was represented as the protagonist against the women who allegedly had a special relationship with Fathanah. Different with when the media narrated Fathanah's wife, the media never placed these women as the victims, they positioned themselves and admitted that they were Fathanah's victims. The television news about the women focused more on the television's curiosity on Fathanah and the women's [sexual] relationship and how much money they received from Fathanah. When woman admitted that she was the victim, the television tended to portray her as *bad victim*, because of her own mistake, because she was thirsty for money, because she seduced a married man. These women were not portrayed as religious women like Fathanah's wife was; they were *other*, who were considered as immoral according to the society's normative view. Even though Fathanah's wife and the women who had special relationship with Fathanah were

similarly beautiful, they were portrayed as having different beauty. The negative stigma as “evil woman,” like seducer and snatcher of a married man, materialistic woman, materialistic widow, or a slut, was a common thing in the news narrative about these women.

This stigma became stronger as the television also showed the women’s background; a widow, a single mother, a sexy photo model, a *dangdut* singer, and a university student. All of them were seemingly hardworking and not uneducated. They stated that they tried to live by themselves to achieve career for her and her children. Were they actually the representation of *the new female individualism*¹ the media tried to promote in the 2000s? As the feminists’ critique upon media representation practices progressed, the images of woman in media shifted. There was an incorporation process of feminism agenda by the media and it took form of *the new female individualism* concept. Passive, submissive, and dependent woman was no longer popular in media. It was as if the media celebrated the success of feminism movement by introducing liberated, educated, and empowered women. In Indonesian media context, Krishna Sen (1998) noted that working woman images have replaced housewife images in the media (in Rony 2012: 160). Of course, the media concept of the new female needed to be criticized in some point as they distorted and simplified the woman empowerment agenda as promoted by feminism movement. The new female individualism emergence in Indonesian media was indicated by the appearance of some jargons in the 2000s such as “be yourself,” “playing with your beauty,” and “being an unbreakable woman.”

This was the ambiguity point of television media. Television filmic technology actively created new expression spaces for women to celebrate their individuality and freedom, but in these spaces too, the same technology also killed and murdered these women. In the corruption case of imported beef, the media represented the women who were close to Ahmad Fathanah as the new female images. They were educated, independent, and had their own job or career in public space as photo model, singer, or celebrity. But the news narrative tended to represent them negatively; they were matched against the old gender construction, passive, submissive, and dependent woman. The media matched up both women categories to construct the image

of 'good' and 'bad' woman. The discourse on women rivalry above was directed to the sensuality and sexual relationship of man and woman. Thus, the binary opposition between good victim and bad victim emerged in the narrative of television news. For example, if seen through their appearance, good victim was portrayed as religious and conceding, while bad victim was the opposite, revealing clothes, sexy, and impious. The other binary oppositions were seen from the discussion about the first wife vs. second/third wife, old wife vs. young wife, legal wife vs. illegal wife (*Wanita Idalaman Lain/WIL*), religious wife vs. a seducer. Woman became the core of the narration, while man who actually is the main actor sometimes is pushed aside or removed from the narration and placed merely as a spectator. The problem of man's sexual desire became woman's responsibility. The presentation of women rivalry in the television showed that the patriarchal culture refused to promote woman empowerment in public space. In television discourse, women are warned and forced to remain submissive under phallogentric social structure. The society rejected bad victim women and the media even constructed them as *monstrous*.

Barbara Creed in her work entitled *Monstrous Feminine: Film, Feminism and Psychoanalysis* stated that menacing women's image in Hollywood horror movies was the personification of misogynist fantasies (1993). Women's sexuality was something men desired but it was also a terrifying thing and brought the worrying issue of castration. The fantasy that women were the *castrating agent* frightened men that women would be able to weaken and robbed their masculinity, which also meant their pride and superiority. Phallogentric logics despised this. Therefore, *phallic* woman image was portrayed as *monstrous*, devious, and accused as the cause of men's corrupted moral. According to Creed, the personification of *monstrous feminine*, which was portrayed as cruel and destructive, constructed in Hollywood horror movies was the representation of men's giddiness on facing the undeniable fact on the power and superiority of resourceful women.

Conclusion

The phallogentric logic also establish the base of the narrative of television news on corruption cases involving women. The construction

of *monstrous feminine* in corruption news began from the shifting of the real corruption case to the sexual relation of man and woman. The feminization and sexualization of television news in the end positioned woman as the main reason of the [male] corruptor's corrupted moral. Narrative of woman's rivalry represented the dominant idea of patriarchal society to keep placing woman to be passive, submissive, and dependent as the good and ideal woman image. The woman's image as the personification of *the new female* concept, who was independent, had her own career, educated, and had her own power to choose, was constructed as *monstrous* and she had the potency to disrupt male's pride and to damage the ideal construction of family under patriarchal viewpoint. The narration on pliable rejection of resourceful women can also be found in the divorce news of women who were involved in politics. Among others, the charge of child negligence, inability to manage work and household, the wife earned more than the husband became the discourse often discussed in such news as the reason for their divorce. The media ignored or even completely overlooked the women's capacity, voice, and potency as politicians. Independent, successful, and able women were considered as *monstrous phallic women* and they needed to be overlooked by television news narration and filmic apparatuses. As the result, the news on women tended to be disproportional. As we kept ignoring this type of news reporting, the reproduction of objectified, victimized, and discrimination of women would remain in media. Public, especially the television society, needed to stand up and played an active role as the critics and the controller of misogynist practices in television media.

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Endnotes

- 1 The discourse of "new female" has been exposed by the media, including the television since 1990s. Andrea Stuart (1990) noted that since the beginning of 1990, mass media such as advertisement, magazine, television through soap opera and drama, offered a new concept of feminism called *the new popular feminism*, which was feminism

constructed through the consumption behavior, highlighting individuality and pleasure. Thus, feminism as a political movement and a collective idea was considered as old-fashioned. Stuart's term experienced a shift from *popular feminism* into *power feminism* and later changed into *post-feminism* (see Thomham 2007). Subjectified women as offered by the media also went an alteration. The keywords in women's ideal image in the 90s were *individualism*, *freedom*, and *choice*. Angela McRobbie (2004) called this woman image as *the new female individualism*. This image was presented by the media through female characters such as Ally McBeal and Carrie Bradshaw in *Sex and the City* as well as Bridget Jones and Buffy in *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* series. In this case, the media technology created a new space for women to define their individuality, to choose the pleasure they desired, and to enjoy their freedom. Indonesian media started to also introduce the similar women discourse. Women have more opportunities to study higher and the shift in Indonesian politics, culture, and economy also has the role to position women as the subject in media.

The Disaster of Development: How Women's "Empowerment" Projects are Damaging Indonesian Smallholder Farming, Rural Families, and the Environment

Laine Berman

Georgetown University

laine.raharjo@gmail.com

Abstract

Ecofeminism, or ecological feminism, is based on a belief that the social mentality that leads to the domination and oppression of women is directly connected to the social mentality that leads to the abuse of the natural environment¹. This paper, based on field assessments conducted from March–June 2013, will show that agricultural development models focused on income generation, as most of the women in agriculture projects are, are based on “gender strategies” that instrumentalize women to achieve productivity goals. These ideological hierarchies that instrumentalize women, also allow for the systematic domination of industry over smallholder farmers, and commodities over food security. In conclusion, these combined “strategies” are leading to the degradation of both rural, agricultural families and rural ecology in Indonesia.

Keywords: ecofeminism, disaster, environment, empowerment.

1 MacGregor, Sherilyn (2006). *Beyond mothering earth: ecological citizenship and the politics of care*. Vancouver: UBC Press. p. 286. ISBN 0-7748-1201-X; <http://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Ecofeminism.html>

Introduction: Women's "Empowerment" Projects

"The conclusions are clear: (i) gender equality is good for agriculture, food security and society; and (ii) governments, civil society, the private sector and individuals, working together, can support gender equality in agriculture and rural areas" (FAO, 2011:61).

Gender equality and empowerment are core development objectives, fundamental for the realization of human rights and key to effective and sustainable development outcomes. As a basic human right, a gender perspective and a strong commitment to women's rights must be central to any development framework. The objectives of these programs specifically in the agricultural sector are increased productivity of farm commodities, poverty reduction for women farmers and their dependents, and the empowerment of women as a marginalized social group. These are broadly accepted positions, presented in language that embraces the key terms sought by donors. These positions are based on approaches to gender analysis that rely on sex disaggregated data collection on work and resource allocations at the level of households, and focus on differences in workloads, access to and control over resources, income, and leadership by women and men².

Following a series of field-based assessments of 45 gender and agricultural projects and interviews with over 400 female farmers, it became clear that our findings were not as positive as those reported in FAO, WB and other donor agencies' reports. Throughout our analysis, we felt conflicted over several issues including basic 'key words': empowerment, equality, and sustainability, which we felt were not clear in these projects. Definitions seem to be tied to a rather disempowering³ mindset through approaches that endeavored to re-create a set number of relations and activities rather than strengthen existing knowledge or ideas. We saw no holistic approaches geared toward encouraging specific changes in power relations between government, farmers, genders and their environment. While project documents were clear

2 <http://www.ifpri.org/publication/womens-empowerment-agriculture-index>

3 <http://www.how-matters.org/2011/01/17/confessions-of-a-recovering-neocolonialist/>

in their gender strategies at theoretical levels, practical application in all but one of 45 projects analyzed was ultimately based on a belief that increased productivity and income is the key to all improvements (Berman et al 2013⁴). Quantitative measures of success meant simply increased production and, hence, increased income. Our fieldwork, however, looked beyond these narrow indicators at the impacts of these increases over time and in the family and found very little that we would call empowering.

The questions that we attempted to answer during our assessments were: Does increased income lead directly to increased power for women? Does more money lead to better health and education outcomes for her children? Does increased income require shift to a commodity-based approach? How is sustainability ensured for families, especially after the end of the project cycle? How does project design and implementation directly affect families and women in particular? Finally, we looked at the history of farming in Indonesia and how such a bleak past affects current situations.

Defining Empowerment

"Economic indicators and social well-being indicators do not correlate" (Bissio, 2012).

Empowerment is not a project goal in itself but a long, complicated process of behavior change through which power structures in society and how they interact can be altered so that more effective and equitable goals can be reached. In project design, empowerment should be a 'bottom-up' process of transforming power relations through individuals or groups developing awareness of their own subordination and building their own capacity to challenge it. A clear concept of what empowerment means and what steps individuals must pass through in this process of change is essential to program design. Yet, we found in our research that women or men, project staff or beneficiaries, had no clear idea of what empowerment was. None had a vision or concept of what this would be in practical terms beyond earning more money.

4 https://www.academia.edu/4564496/Womens_Empowerment_in_Agriculture_Assessment._Indonesia_2013

Of the 45 women in agriculture projects observed, only one actually collaborated with beneficiaries in designing the project. How can a project 'empower' people when the project itself positions them as passive receptors of some centrally designed project with a narrowly defined goal?

Further of concern, projects that list empowerment as a goal did not recognize the gendered roles that are socially constructed in daily life, the beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors that are learned and influenced by social class, ethnicity, age, sexuality, ability, disability, history, and culture in which beneficiaries live. Focusing only on her *productive* role, i.e., market production and home/subsistence production undertaken by women which generates an income, projects ignored her *reproductive* role, i.e., the child-bearing, child-rearing and care-taking responsibilities borne by women, which are essential to the reproduction and health of the workforce and her *community management* role, i.e. *adat* or religious activities undertaken by women to ensure the provision of resources at the community level, as an extension of their reproductive role. Since these all tend to be un or underpaid, they are not considered *work* by project implementers or beneficiaries themselves. For example, all our informants, from beneficiaries to project managers and facilitators, acknowledged that women make for better project outcomes because they are "more diligent", "more detail oriented", "more reliable", "more honest", "more hard working than men"⁵. Yet, we found women still *rightly* earned a lower wage, and remain largely absent from decision-making in the projects that focus on them, and in their own communities, if not in their households. Despite the widely published fact that more women work in agriculture than men, they work longer hours, and they earn less money, over 400 women farmers interviewed for this study referred to themselves as "*penganggur*", unemployed.

Women as main beneficiaries may be a common starting point in most projects, but by not recognizing her reproductive and community roles also, these projects are at risk of further increasing women's burden. No program we visited had a baseline assessment of women's multiple roles from which to monitor the actual benefits or burdens a

5 Field notes.

project is providing her. Without a good baseline understanding of her world, the only indicators of a project's success are those that measure income or production increases. We argue here that productivity is not an appropriate indicator of the success of a project, and most definitely not an indicator of empowerment. In fact, this is where we argue that government and donor/NGO projects instrumentalize women as cheap, reliable labor in order to achieve 'successful' outcomes without concern for improvements in other aspects of her life. These project interventions are based on gender-blind or gender-neutral policies that may be enforcing women's "traditional" roles and may be more of a threat to gender equity than a benefit. Empowerment in these agricultural development programs is misunderstood as income generation and involvement rather than as a critical step towards reshaping economic, political, and social conditions to allow for better opportunities and results for both women and men.

The Past Impacts the Present

Economic growth "is only one of many different concerns that need attention. Growth rate is a very daft—and a deeply alienated—way of judging economic progress." (Sen quoted in Mishra 2013)⁶

Reports⁷ show that agriculture remains one of the highest sources of employment for Indonesians. While the majority of rural women still work in agriculture (61%), less than 40% of active farmers are women⁸. Despite agriculture being the largest employer, in the last 10 years, technical and agricultural schools at all levels are closing because of a lack of student enrollments. In 2011, merely 4.1% of the state budget

6 In Mishra, P. "Which India Matters?" *New York Times Review of Books*. Nov 21, 2013

7 The World Bank, <http://data.worldbank.org>; Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, <http://faostat.fao.org>; Department of Agriculture, <http://deptan.go.id>

8 It must be questioned if the term 'active' under-represents women. None of the sites clarifies what active means or how it is determined. For example, they do not show what percentage of male farmers have migrated to urban areas and overseas in search of a more livable wage than they could get as a farmer, leaving women to take on activities which were traditionally dominated by men.

went to agriculture. In 2013, that number was reduced to 3.5%⁹.

How can a so-called agrarian nation neglect its farmers? It is important to recognize Indonesia's long history of marginalization of smallholder farmers. Land reform, farmers' insurance and social supports were major issues starting in the 1920s, taken up primarily by the Indonesian left in the 1950s and early 1960s, but never fully implemented. The Basic Agrarian Law (BAL) of 1960 was the centerpiece of Sukarno's efforts to fuse nationalist, socialist, and populist political commitments. It asserted the "social function" of land and other resources, reiterated the state's responsibility for managing those resources in the interests of "the people" (Lucas & Warren 2013:2¹⁰).

However, the populist-socialist construction of the BAL, designed specifically to prevent the uncontrolled transformation of land into a commodity, became just that under Suharto's regime. Since 1968, state policies allowed for the confiscation of customary lands for the mining, timber, and plantation concessions liberally dispensed to Indonesian conglomerates and foreign investors (*ibid.*).

Land reform, social safety nets, and the issues of women farmers in particular were a central part of the Indonesian Communist Party political program¹¹. As a result, in the New Order era (1966-1998), any mention of these issues risked political suspicion, effectively shutting down meaningful discussion of farmers' reforms and gender issues in agriculture. The same issues that spurred large-scale peasant unrest fifty years ago remain today: access to land that can be taken away at any time¹², lack of infrastructure, lack of any security measures or

9 <http://www.anggaran.depkeu.go.id/dja/acontent/NK%20dan%20APBN%202013.pdf>

10 Lucas, A. & C. Warren. Land for the People: the State and Agrarian Conflict in Indonesia. Ohio University Research in International Studies Southeast Asia Series No. 126 Ohio University Press Athens. 2013.

11 Seminar Nasional Wanita Tani. 1961. Proceedings. Yogyakarta 17-20 January.; Wieringa, S. 1995. The politicization of gender relations in Indonesia: The Indonesian women's movement and Gerwani until the New Order state, Amsterdam: Universiteitsbibliotheek (PhD thesis).

12 See <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/features/identity-and-resistance-in-yogyakarta-chili-farmers/>; <http://kulonprogotolaktambangbesi.wordpress.com/2009/10/21/ribuan-petani-kulon-progo-melawan-kejahatan-korporasi-hingga-bertempur-terhadap-polisi/>; <http://kulonprogotolaktambangbesi.wordpress.com/page/2/>; [Indonesian Feminist *Journal* 71](http://politik.</p></div><div data-bbox=)

safety nets, lack of farmers' organizations able to negotiate fair pricing, plus social and structural gender discrimination. As of this writing, residents of the so-called protected forests in Jambi are being violently evicted by P T Asiatic Persada personnel with the support of Brimob and TNI¹³ so that more land is made available for palm oil plantations.

These agricultural policies, which favor commercial producers and do not further any goal of increasing the standard of living for farmers, date back to the Green Revolution policy of 1968¹⁴. As Cullather (2010¹⁵) writes, the result is a "narrowing of [domestic agriculture's] genetic base, supplanting indigenous, sustainable practices; displacing small and communal farming with commercial agribusiness; and pushing millions of peasants into urban slums or across borders." These Green Revolution program structure still exists today and continues to shape agricultural projects that cause the same problems in terms of disempowerment of farmers, dependency on outside/government inputs, cropping regimes that strain soil fertility, over application of chemical inputs, disrupted environment due to pesticides and subsequent pest and production problems (Hidayat, 2000¹⁶). The Green Revolution-inspired approach to agricultural extension services was and remains based on a top-down model of technology transfer that largely focused on male farmers with few measures to address women's

kompasiana.com/2013/01/08/nasib-petani-di-kulonprogo-dipertaruhkan-517695.html for a current conflict over a foreign mining firm leasing kraton land that has been farmed collectively for generations.

13 <http://www.berdikarionline.com/kabar-rakyat/20131217/ratusan-warga-sad-masih-bertahan-di-pendopo-kantor-gubernur-jambi.html>; <http://www.berdikarionline.com/kabar-rakyat/20131213/warga-suku-anak-dalam-kami-diancam-dibunuh-bila-tidak-tinggalkan-kampung.html>

14 See <http://eclectic.ss.uci.edu/~drwhite/Anthro129/balinesewatertemples>. Jonathan Sepe, [htm](#) for a paper on how this policy destroyed social, cultural, environmental, and irrigation systems by placing economic gain above all else.

15 Cullather, N. *The Hungry World: America's Cold War Battle Against Poverty in Asia*. Harvard University Press. 2010.

16 See also <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2009/06/30/forty-years-after-green-revolution039.html> for a discussion on the chaotic and inappropriate development of agricultural extension.

technology needs or social conditions¹⁷. Women have shifted to a more central position now given the necessity of meeting gender quotas in all extension activities¹⁸. These quotas are met through the use of existing women's social groups (such as the Family Welfare Program, or PKK), which officially maintains a hierarchical structure (the village head's wife is the leader), while reinforcing a version of womanhood that promotes women's secondary status and domestically oriented skills such as cooking, sewing and childcare. Our question, then, is: are these projects empowering women, as they claim to be, or are they reinforcing traditional roles?

Our fieldwork revealed that farmers as beneficiaries of donor and government extension projects accept the instructions given to them, despite concerns and disagreements, boredom and irrelevance. When we asked why they do not organize and make demands, the answer was always the same, "takut" (afraid). Farmers remember what happened to their parents and grandparents following the so-called communist purge in 1965-6.

Our most shocking findings from our field assessment revealed that a whopping 96% of our respondents realized that they did not have the vision, choice, power or funds to change their own lives. The only viable option they saw was to invest in their children's education as an investment in their own futures – and insurance that their children do *not* become farmers. The lure of quick cash to provide the education their children need (with no guarantees of a better future) too often translates into migration¹⁹ in search of better wages or selling land to palm oil or other conglomerates²⁰. It also warns of several potential

17 Pingali, P. 2012. <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3411969/>

18 Presidential Instruction No.9/2000 instructs and provides guidelines to the executive branch of the government (including ministers, governors, regents and mayors) to promote the implementation of gender parity in formulating and implementing development programs in national and regional levels.

19 As reported by Economics Minister HattaRajassa, smallholder farmers' numbers have dropped by 4 million in the past year. <http://www.indonesiarayanews.com/news/nasional/02-10-2013-22-10/ini-tekat-pemerintah-kurang-jumlah-buruh-tani-di-indonesia>;

20 <http://www.fao.org/docrep/010/a1411e/A1411E04.htm>; <http://www.thejakartaglobe.com/news/green-activists-sound-warning-on-foreign-investments-in-oil-palm-estates-2/>

crises. We saw that where a project succeeded in raising women's status and income, men often left her in charge and went in search of migrant work to support income. Where success was unclear, women were taking up the burden of migrant labor with over 78% of the force being female²¹. In both cases, families were broken up in the search for income. Additionally, a food security crisis looms, caused by a single staple-food policy, poor agricultural policies, productive land conversion, poor infrastructure, a pro-import attitude, and a belief that all can be solved through quick-fix solutions²². With the smallholder-farming sector under threat, the risks for women continue to mount²³.

Commodities or Food Security?

It is a mistake to think of agriculture as simply about productivity. Agriculture provides employment and livelihoods, it underpins food quality, food safety and nutrition, and it allows food choices and cultural diversity. It is also necessary for water quality, broader ecosystem health, and even carbon sequestration. Agriculture, concluded the IAASTD, should never be reduced merely to a question of production. It must necessarily be integrated with the many needs of humans and ecosystems (IAASTD, 2007²⁴).

Food security is not simply a problem of food supply, isolated from broader political issues. It also involves the social inequalities that marginalize rural and poorer communities from basic services including education, information, nutrition, and secure property ownership, as well as the policies that favor cash crops over food, or urban over rural development and needs (Cullather, 2010). Focusing on productivity and income generation ignores all these other facets of rural life.

21 <http://www.paulhastings.com/genderparity/countries/indonesia.html>

22 <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/08/12/indonesia-crossroads-addressing-food-security.html>; <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2013/10/17/lack-farmland-hampers-government-self-sufficiency-program.html>

23 See also <http://www.fao.org/sd/wpdirect/wpan0027.htm>

24 <http://www.unep.org/dewa/Assessments/Ecosystems/IAASTD/tabid/105853/Default.aspx/> and <http://www.greenmedinfo.com/blog/how-agriculture-can-provide-food-security-without-destroying-biodiversity>

In most projects assessed, focus on a single commodity did result in a boost in income but this was not sustained. Water shortages, diminishing land for agriculture, soil depletion, overuse of expensive chemical pesticides and fertilizers, disease, inefficiency and low prices for produce result in millions of farmers living at or below the poverty line. Further, the assessment found that 'coordinating' farmers benefited project managers and buyers, but not necessarily farmers, whose lack of a collective voice meant they were subjected to the whims of these more powerful others²⁵.

In all locations visited, income from farming alone was never enough to cover basic household needs. Both men and women needed to find day wage labor work in fields or in construction and women very often also sold goods they processed, grew or were given on consignment at market. These issues are all contributing to several problems for women and farming families, none of which were identified in project reports: the overwhelming desire for smallholder farmers to move out of farming, increased burden on families to meet financial needs, the shame associated with farming, the lure of migrant labor, and the time-saving use of instant foods and the resulting under-nutrition in children.

The dilemma over project design involves the conflict over the issue of high-value agriculture, which does increase income and allows a family access to a better lifestyle. But at what cost? When these national and international projects influence farmers' decisions, local people appear very responsive to such economic opportunities. They readily change their 'traditional' livelihood system from intercropping the new cash crop with upland rice and food crops that maintain food security to more monoculture plantations if it can increase their income²⁶. The lure of a promised high income resulted in many farmers shifting away from a variety of crops to monoculture so that they could reap as much financial benefit as possible. But this also places farmers in exceptionally high risk positions that are beyond their capacity to

25 See also Cullather, 2010 and <http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic48666.files/Hungry%20World%20roundtable.pdf>

26 Personal communication from farmers and project managers. See also Feintrenie, et al. 2010.

manage-if problems arise. Without direct links to markets themselves and without infrastructure and capacity to move their harvests, smallholder farmers are dependent on local buyers who control prices and project managers who control connections.

None of the projects visited offered any type of safety nets or insurance for farmers. The ecological and social devastation wrought by over reliance on cash crops, irrigation, and agrichemicals did not create the abundance it promised. Yields increased, but prices dropped. Today, as Cullather devastatingly notes, "the green revolution epicenters—Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Mexico, the Philippines, and Indonesia—are all among the most undernourished nations, each with higher rates of adult and childhood malnutrition and deficiency diseases ... than most Sub-Saharan countries."

Field Narratives - Cocoa: From around 1999, men in North Sumatra, Central and South Sulawesi decided to clear any other crops from their fields and focus on the current cocoa boom²⁷. Women described to us how extra cash was translated into 'luxury' items such as TVs, scooters on credit, fancy hand phones, rice cookers²⁸. But poor techniques had left trees vulnerable to disease that has seriously damaged the crop. Prices to farmers have dropped to \$1.60/kg, which all but wipes out any profit²⁹.

Oranges: Following the fly infestation that destroyed over 50% of the orange crop in North Sumatra³⁰, men were told by agricultural 'experts' to destroy their trees. The fly was impossible to kill³¹.

It was women who filled the income gaps following crop failures

27 Personal communications, cocoa farmers in N. Sumatra, S and C Sulawesi.

28 Field notes, FGD with women farmers in N. Sumatra, S & C Sulawesi.

29 Personal communication, FGD, and <http://www.bisnis-jatim.com/index.php/2013/03/11/petani-kian-tergencet-indonesia-importir-kakao-pada-2014/>; <http://yansulaeman.com/index.php/sample-sites-2/85-mengapa-petani-kakao-sultra-tidak-sejahtera>

30 http://www.medanbisnisdaily.com/news/read/2013/02/14/12604/rp_4triliun_habis_untuk_impор_jeruk/#.Ub7tqutWpz8

31 <http://kliniktaniorganik.com/?p=13616>; and personal communication, Karo farmers.

by quickly growing vegetables for both personal consumption and market. In Central Sulawesi, community women formed a horticulture cooperative to maintain the family's income, albeit much smaller than the cocoa crop had provided. When such threats to a family's security hit, men look for migrant or more wage labor work, sometimes beyond Indonesia's borders. Women are the ones left to find solutions that maintain her family's survival.

There are three main pitfalls that explain why so little real empowerment has reached women smallholder farmers:

1. Adherence to traditional women's roles as secondary support to men;
2. Ignoring women's unpaid work in the home and community;
3. Instrumentalizing women – exclusively or primarily focusing on women as a means to deliver broader economic gains rather than for reasons of gender equality or women's empowerment in their own right.

These three pitfalls result in women smallholder farmers facing a series of distinct challenges, the most significant being the burden she takes on in terms of unequal distribution of tasks, the absolute lack of free time, and the unquestioned triple burden.

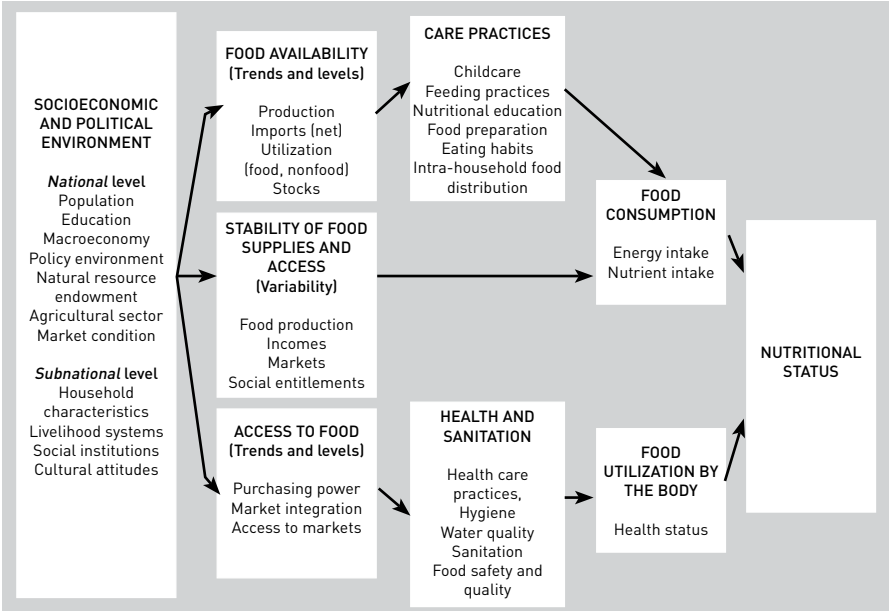
Gender differences in access, control and use of assets have a profound effect on household welfare and agricultural development. But while focusing on gender issues, it is important to recognize that this does not mean just women's disadvantages. We would be neglecting the very real contextual issues of disadvantages felt by rural poor farmers (small landholders and wage laborers) in general. Treating gender simply as economic and social difference is problematic here because it focuses attention on the separate characteristics of women and men rather than on the way a family and a community work together to create and maintain advantage and disadvantage.

Women, Time, and Family Nutrition

"Don't be like us, a slave to others", advice from a female farmer to her children, North Sumatra, 6 May 2013.

A recent USAID study³² showed that less than 10% of Indonesian children were fed properly. Most babies between 4–5 months are fed instant baby food that often contains high amounts of sugar, little or no fat, and little or no protein, thus putting a child at risk for deficiency if other foods are not added. Older children fill up on ready-to-eat, non-nutritious snacks bought from street vendors (costs \$.05 – 2.00/day). Mothers often complained that their children will not eat more complete, nutritious meals and instead demand more snacks – which they are given.

Figure 1:
Elements of Food Security



Food insecurity and under-nutrition are persistent challenges, and the country’s stunting levels are alarmingly high at over 30% in most districts³³. Provinces such as NTT and Papua have been classified as

32 Dickey, V., Sri Boedihardjo & T. Bardosono. 2010. USAID/Indonesia Nutrition Assessment for 2010: New Project Design. USAID: Washington DC.

33 <http://www.wfp.org/countries/indonesia/overview>

chronically food insecure by the Indonesian government³⁴. As Figure 1³⁵ shows, food security involves a great deal more than income generation. Discussions with women and men revealed little understanding of child nutritional needs and feeding practices. How the trend toward monoculture high value commodities impacts smallholder farmers and farm laborers needs to be more intensely analyzed to ensure it is not causing more harm than good in the longer term given too the extensive impact of under-nutrition on all development indicators.

While it is clear in the literature and in our own fieldwork that women's groups are the main targets for all kinds of interventions, we did not see educational or general improvement activities to coincide with any of these income-generation activities. Large numbers of studies have linked women's income and greater bargaining power within the family to improved child nutritional status, which in turn influences health outcomes and educational attainment (FAO, 2012:45). We saw no such evidence. Women had no understanding of nutritional needs, dietary requirements. They only knew that instant porridge and snacks (*jajan*) are what everyone uses and most importantly, they save time.

Women reported that they rarely breast-fed for more than a few months and introduced instant porridges within weeks of birth. Time is clearly a huge issue where women chose time-saving methods that may have highly negative impacts on the health and safety of their children – choices that in turn impact her again, as she must be the care-giver for the ill and infirmed. The power to change such gender relations does not lie in individuals but rather in the community as a whole. There is strength in numbers and men and women need to openly support one another in order for economic growth to be sustained and advantageous to other facets of life.

Given the rapidity with which traditional diets and lifestyles are changing, it is not surprising that food insecurity and under-nutrition

34 See World Food Program. 2009. A Food Security and Vulnerability Atlas of Indonesia; <http://www.foodsecurityatlas.org/idn/country/fsva-2009/executive-summary>; websites for WHO.or.id; UNICEF.or.id

35 Source: World Bank. 2009. Gender in Agriculture Sourcebook. The World Bank. P. 12.

persist³⁶. The root cause of malnutrition is not just poverty. It is ignorance and the absolute lack of time in which to prepare nutritious foods. Marketing and modernization have convinced many that anything modern, quick and easy is good. Eliminating these causes requires political and social action of which nutritional programs can be only one aspect. Sufficient, safe and varied food supplies not only prevent malnutrition but also reduce the risk of chronic diseases.

Time is a valuable resource and one our assessment found overwhelmingly was not one women could control. Daily division of activity profiles between women and men exposed major discrepancies that women themselves had never considered. On average, women wake up far earlier than men, have far less time during the day to rest, and go to bed later than their husbands. While men do take over women's tasks when she is ill or unable, this is limited strictly to specific times. Overall, it is essential that projects ask: (1) Did the project increase the time spent by women in production-related activities? Is this fair to women? How can the project, or her husband/family, help by compensating for some of this time? (2) Did participation in the project take time away from her other income generating activities and negatively impact family income? (3) What technologies could be added to the project to help save women's time and make their labor more productive?

Time is important, as are changing relationships in what men and women, girls and boys do and can be expected to do on a daily basis. Projects must consider time as another resource that has value. But as we found in our FGDs, women were unaware of a value for her time. When she did have some to spare, it was used to watch TV or attend to community activities. Ways of self-improvement or personal expansion, study or accessing new knowledge or technology were simply not options – ones she either could never access or could not

36 According to UNICEF, Indonesia has the fifth highest number of stunted children in the world— more than 7.6 million. The number of wasted children is 2.8 million, and 3.8 million more are underweight. Further, there is a growing percentage of children who are overweight (12.2% nationally). The immediate causes of maternal and child under-nutrition are poor dietary intake (Dickey et al, 2010). Our own discussions with women from Sumatra to Papua confirmed such practices were widespread.

even imagine were available. This lack of choice or vision is one of the biggest obstacles we found to changing women's situations.

Conclusions

Women farmers in all areas of our assessment saw their daily burdens as *normal* with no opportunities for 'self-improvement' since 1) she had no time, and 2) she had no concept of a different life. If women have no idea of what empowerment would be, or look like, or feel like, or how it will improve her and her family's life, then it is not going to happen. It is a myth that a project can 'empower' anyone. Women can only empower themselves if the knowledge, awareness and the decisions are hers to take and supported within the context of her family and community life. In short, women's empowerment can only occur if the context allows it and if it is part of a broader social, economic and political change in the region. This will require major changes in the way projects are implemented. Projects must be designed to empower from the start and not as a final goal. They require further and continuous education and training through long-term, multi-level initiatives that recognize the holistic nature of women's roles within the contexts of the social, economic and political worlds she inhabits and not simply target one facet of it.

Projects must also recognize the absolute need for a gender strategy that does not instrumentalize women to achieve productivity goals, but that strategically and intentionally opens spaces for women to gain the knowledge, access, voice, and respect that helps them to achieve more power at productive, reproductive, and community levels. Women should have enough information to, at the least, form a clear vision of the future they want, the society they need to build, and the environment that provides them with a sustainable livelihood. They must also have a connection with those who lead, buy their goods, make decisions, and teach their children, and be able to mobilize these energies to create communities where members can be content, creative, safe, and happy.

Protecting Women's Domestic Area & Environment: Study on Eco-friendly Batik

Arianti Ina Restiani Hunga

(Faculty of Social Science and Center of Research and
Gender Studies, Satya Wacana Christian University)

(inahunga@gmail.com)

Introduction

Batik has been determined as one of 76 important cultural heritages by UNESCO. This emphasizes that batik is a part of people's lives, an identity for Indonesia, and is widely accepted in the global market. These events encourage government policies—both national and local—to require batik as one of formal attires on weekdays. The implication of this policy is obviously to encourage the development of batik industry and to boost the production of batik, both in domestic and export market. The Report of Indonesian Ministry of Trade (2012) showed the increase of batik production to 3.9 billion in 2011, if compared to 2.9 billion in 2010. The number of export demand of batik production keeps increasing. From 2008 to 2012, the average export of batik grew 33.83%. In the last three years, the increasing value of total export of all batik and derived-batik products showed US\$22.3 million in 2010, US\$69 million in 2011, and US\$278 million in 2012 (<http://kemenperin.go.id>). This development prompted the

government to decide Batik as main commodity that could be included in one of creative industry product (Media Industri, 2010; Kementrian Perdagangan RI, 2012, 2013). However, this positive market acceptance somehow created paradoxical condition, as seen from four main issues: batik as commodity, the relations of production involving actors and batik production space that happens in domestic area, the environment, and the preservation of batik (Mahatma and Hunga, 2009; Hunga, 2013).

At the level of commodity, batik undergoes a degrading process into a mere economic commodity. Original batik is against textile batik (full-printed batik), which is produced by machine, mass-production oriented, cheaper price, it also emphasizes the image of batik as a commodity, and involves more male workers. Whereas, the original batik uses wax and give more room of exploration by women batik artisans. The presence of textile batik of course jeopardized the unique characteristic of Indonesian batik that has socio-cultural values (Susanto, 1973; Tirta, 1996; Doellah, 2003; Tirta, 2001). The production technique of textile batik (full-printed batik) requires investment on large equipment, which can possibly be done by medium-large scale industry. Surely, only the medium-large scale industry will have the benefit from this, and this can 'shut down' the micro scale and self-employment industry (Hunga, 2004). Furthermore, the original domestic batik cannot compete against the imported textile batik. According to industry news, the Ministry of Industry stated that in 2012, Indonesia imported batik cloth and finished Batik products from China as much as US\$30 million or Rp. 285 billion. This is an irony and become a heavy blow as batik is the original product and as the identity of Indonesia (<http://www.kemenperin.go.id/artikel/5715/2012>).

At the level of the relations of production and batik production space, informal relations of production occurs that use women and women's domestic sphere as the main space of batik production to reach the highest efficiency with lowest worker wage. The relations of production are brought into homes, use and transform a residence it into a factory. Academically speaking, this method is commonly called "putting-out" system (POS). By applying POS, such industry does not need to provide a certain place; working equipments; facility and

its supports such as water, electricity, batik equipment, etc.; provide insurance costs for workers such as food, transport, health, accident, etc. Homes as domestic arena, women, and their womanhood (gender) become the reason of their low wage; even some family members are not paid. They are paid through per unit payment system (per unit, sheets, etc.) and through these systems, the hard work and humans' creativity, especially women's are degraded into a mere product lower than men just because they become the breadwinner and work outside their domestic sphere. As this manipulation and destruction of domestic production keeps happening, it also damages the environment and its surrounding due to production waste. Homes turned into factories; they become slums, dirty, and polluted by production waste. As a result, families no longer have place to relax after work, where they acquire and share affections, explore socio-family relationships, obtain education on characters, etc., instead these are replaced by relations of production that is measured by monetary value (Hunga, 2013).

At the level of the environmental influence, both process of making batik and stamped batik cannot be separated from the use of dyes. Commonly-used dyes contain chemical-induced colors which give negative impact both on the nature/environment and humans (producer, worker, and consumer). Batik image faces the fact that the production is no longer environmentally friendly as it produces dangerous waste to the nature and human. Every year, batik industry produces the highest CO₂ emissions among other SME sectors, which commonly the result of how they depend on fossil fuel (kerosene) and the high use of electricity. A large number of small-medium batik industries still uses wax, dyes, and excessive ratios of bleach, which indeed has negative influence towards the nature and society (Hunga, 2004; Clean Batik Initiative, The German-Indonesian Chamber of Industry and Commerce-EKONID, 2011). This fact becomes urgent matter since most of batik production process happens not only in factories but also in the workers' home, on micro-scaled and self-employment batik industry. Production waste becomes the responsibility of the entire family, especially women and children who are much more active inside a house. At the level of batik preservation, the development of batik product does not go hand-in-hand with the

regeneration of batik. This becomes a question as to how Indonesia can maintain and preserve it. On a UNESCO meeting with several clusters of batik, mostly batik workers are middle-aged women and the growing lack of interest of young people to become one (<http://bisniskeuangan.kompas.com/read/2012>).

The points above shows a paradox between batik as a commodity and the image attached to it (its meaning and symbol) at public level; the actors (especially for the middle-upper entrepreneurs) who reap the positive benefits and the workers, especially women who are marginalized in micro level; and rapid/wide array market acceptance subsequent to the pollution as the result of production waste (chemical-induced colors, kerosene burning pollution, and wax waste) which can threaten the environment, family's health where batik production occurs, and the preservation of batik. Amid these problems, eco-friendly batik can be a solution in solving the problems arising from commodity, actor/worker (especially female workers), and environmental aspect. However, eco-friendly program as suggested by the government and some parties has not reached the workers (especially female workers) who produce batik in their house for industrial purpose¹ (www.cleanbatik.com). They (HW batik) always escape from public attention as the approach used still employ formal industry indicators that are factory-based production. POS and HW, especially women are still "hidden". Women oppression within this system is seen as the cooperation result of capitalist and patriarchy, which is supported by the government (Hartmann, 1977; Allen and Wolkowitz, 1987; Dangler, 1994, 1997; Prungh, 1999). If seen through the perspective of ecofeminism, the manipulation of domestic sphere, the fact that female home workers are marginalized within POS, and the environmental crisis are the manifestation of double oppression, which are patriarchy and capitalism, towards women and environment (Shiva and Meis, 1993; Shiva and Vandana, 2005). This paper describes women implementing eco-friendly batik and interprets this as a strategy to protect their domestic sphere and the surrounding environment. The

1 Check Program Report of Clean Batik Initiative conducted by The German-Indonesian Chamber of Industry and Commerce-EKONID 2011 and 2012.

data used to explain this fact include primary data, which are obtained by conducting qualitative research applying case study method and literature study, and the other secondary data obtained from various sources.

Studying Women and Environment through Ecofeminism Perspective

Advances in science also contributed on the approach and way of exploring the nature to meet the human needs (primary, secondary, and tertiary), which somehow would result in ecology crisis and poverty. In the midst of an ecological crisis, it was time for all parties to question their decision to study, appreciate, and justify human's success in exploiting the nature in the name of development, education, and even religious interpretations. This is important to be reflected as to how can the nature and earth utilization created poverty to some human entities (women, children, and other marginalized groups) also towards the nature. It is an essential part so that humans can explain the dialectic of the God's grace through His creation for the welfare of all mankind regardless their background; as well as maintaining the continuity of nature as the expression of glorifying God the Almighty.

Critical attitude towards ecological crisis which gave negative impact towards women had been started by Francoise d'Eaubonne in her book *Le Feminisme ou la Mort* (Feminism or Death) which was published in 1974. This was the start of ecofeminism terminologies, although the term was officially introduced in the 1980s. Ecofeminism became popular during protests emerged against environmental destruction and ecological disasters (Shiva and Mies, 1993). Francoise d'Eaubonne (1974) revealed the close link between the oppression of women and nature, which could be studied through its culture, economy, social, and politic. King, Ynestra (1983) emphasized the dialectic between the oppression of women and nature done by men. This oppression took root from the patriarchal culture, and in this system, women and the nature occupy the same position (construction) as the object, not the subject. Karen J. Warren (1993) developed ecofeminism within a conceptual, methodology, and practice framework, which rooted from the women's perspective towards ecological crisis that focused

on studying, criticizing, and finding a solution in the interconnection of women, nature, and human for gender equality and environmental sustainability. Shiva and Mies (1993) on their book *Ecofeminism* argued that ecofeminism movement and thought was the critique towards the development approach that did not consider ecological sustainability and marginalized a certain entity, women. Therefore, ecofeminism was brought to solve both humans' and nature problems based on women's experience and made it as a source of learning to manage and conserve the nature. This also meant providing more fair and equal space (and access) for women alongside with men in the management and conservation of nature.

Feminism issue and ecology are interrelated and historical (casual historic). Women are always associated with nature; therefore, women are conceptually, symbolically, and linguistically identified with nature. Karen J. Warren (in Arivia, 2002) stated that this association was strongly linked with the society construction, which was shaped by values, beliefs, education, and patriarchal-based behavior, where the justification of domination, subordination, and oppression of women by men existed. Due to the fact that women were equated with nature, there was a crucial link between domination towards women and nature. The current ecological destruction was due to the views and practices of andocentric and anthropocentric. Ecofeminism philosophers believed that the basic concept of double domination towards nature and women was the duality and hierarchy of values. Therefore, the role of feminism and environmental ethics was to expose and dismantle this dualism and reconstitute the underlying philosophical ideas. Thus, feminism and ecology movement would have mutually-reinforcing purpose; both wanted to build a view on the world, which was not based on patriarchal models and dominations (Darmawati, 2002).

Ecofeminists also revealed that the gender roles given to women gave them more 'sensitivity' and 'closeness' towards nature. In a society that use nature and earth as the source of life, people created a relationship, which was not only based on material but also earth and society, the earth and its habitants was an intimate interconnection (Shiva, 2005). By the name of construction, the approach used focusing

only on economic growth; it dispersed the intimate relationship between human and nature, transforming it into material relationship. In the midst of ecological and inter-human (gender) crisis, it is urgent to create a critical education to 'completely change' values/concepts which build the mindset, redefine and revise (giving new interpretation), explore the positive local values, and transform them into a real action that give gender equality in order to manage and conserve the environment. Therefore, shared commitment is needed to make a 'socio-cultural' participatory move based on women's and marginalized groups' experience in order to manage and conserve this 'forgotten' and deliberately 'marginalized' nature. Ecofeminism is a 'social movement' as a response towards ecological crisis, as well as a critique towards a construction approach that neglects ecological sustainability and marginalize a certain human entity, women. Ecofeminism is a dialectic that moves within a concept (theory) and practices in order to solve relation crisis among humans and the relation crisis between human and nature. In this case, this is done by achieving system change and changing society structure, which positions men and women, as well as nature into one integral-holistic unity. Therefore, there is a link between economy and social justice, gender equality, and the environment, and it is essential for peace to prevail (Darmawati, 2002).

Whose Factory My Home is? Manipulation and Destruction of Women's Domestic Sphere

The restructuring of global economy forced a change in industrial institutional to become more flexible and informal, which allowed industry to achieve efficiency and compete in the market. Therefore, industry is no longer a factory with big building, formally employed and organized labors, controlled working system in a factory area. Home or domestic area becomes a favorable option, then factory moved to domestic area, dominating this arena, and become 'hidden' in it. It means, capitalist method of production that previously occurred in factory, penetrates, overlaps, and manipulates domestic area, which is identical to women to ensure the production process in factory, as well as creating long-term problems to family members, especially women and children who are much more active at home (ILO, 2004; Doane,

2007; WIEGO, 2010; Hunga, 2011, 2013).

In academic world, industries, which most of its activities happen outside of the company such as at the workers' house or other places chosen by the workers, are known as *industrial homework* or worker's-home-based industry by applying *putting-out* production system (Dangler, 1985)². In the *Homework Convention* 1996, ILO (1996) defined *Putting-Out System* (POS) as a production system that most of its production process happen outside the company or in a house or place chosen by the workers, and without or with very little supervision from the employers. This production system employs labors that are commonly known as *home based work* or *home-worker*³ (HW). These workers do not have formal ties with the employer; therefore, their employment truce is informal and exploitative. As HW integration in production network gets more intensive, it encourages HW as an important part of global production chain. It also raises a variety of HW type, they are: (a) home-workers (HW) or *Pekerja Rumahan* who take a job, carry it, and work on it within or around his/her house and acquire certain wage based on the unit they produce; (b) unpaid HW who work on a family business; and (c) self-employment (SE) workers who produce their own goods/service and sell their own products, this is also done in/around their house⁴. Based on the three types of home-based work mentioned above, most of them are home-workers (ILO, 2004).

In Indonesia, home-workers have not been widely known and among researchers and activists who pay attention to this phenomenon, home-worker is translated into *Tenaga Kerja Rumahan* or *Pekerja Rumahan*. However, the author avoid using the translated version since *Tenaga Kerja Rumahan* or *Pekerja Rumahan* sometimes are misinterpreted and

2 Commonly known as *out-worker*, and *home-workers* is a part of *out-worker* category.

3 Home-workers are also commonly called as home-based work. In Indonesia, home-workers mean *Pekerja Rumahan*. Based on the author's experience in scientific discussion, people sometimes misinterpret the term *Pekerja Rumahan* as home servant (*Pembantu Rumah Tangga*). Therefore, the author does not use *Pekerja Rumahan* to avoid the misinterpretation.

4 A value positions a certain gender (male) as superior from another gender (female). This value encourages inequality between both gender (Saptari and Holzner, 1997).

identified as home-servant or is commonly known as *Pembantu Rumah Tangga* (PRT). Although both workers work in domestic sphere, their works are different. HW produce commodities for industry while home-servant use their strength to finish some domestic works in a household (Hunga, 2013). POS is already applied to many commodities, one of the products manufactured using POS method is batik. Batik in our society is identical to women. This view is associated to: the work requires precision and patient, which are the stereotypes of women; the work area is in domestic area, and this is women's sphere, and most of the workers are women. Since years ago, women brought the cloth from their employers and made batik in their own homes (Tirtaamidjaja, Anderson, and Marzuki, 1966). There are some local terms used to refer to home workers; they are *mangklon*, *sanggan*, *tempahan*, *rengsi*, *buruh borongan*, *beto wangsul*, *buruh mancal*, *rengsi*, "*jrogan gaok*," *pengrajin*. These terms vary depending on the area or regions; and each term has different meaning related to female or male or each gender (Hunga, 2013). People understand the concept of public and domestic arena. Previously, both of these arenas were strictly separated in terms of physical/material and concept/value. Public space is the representation of working arena (factory), productive, produce money, and a place where men are the breadwinner. This space is capitalist area and where the capitalist production occurs. On the contrary, domestic space is not productive, does not produce money, a place for women and housewives, where they devote their lives for their husband and children as an expression of obedience towards patriarchal values, and where patriarchal production takes place.

However, within POS context when batik production activities take place at home or in domestic area, then there is a contradictory situation—batik production (for industry) and waste production that happen in the same arena. In the same time, domestic production also occurs, cooking, laundry, child care, and other reproduction activities done by women in a long time. In fact, batik production needs more time, and that they do part-time work is a mere myth as they work more than 12 hours per day. They work till midnight and wake up early in the morning but they do not get overtime pay. They are paid based on what they produce or per unit; this system is known as *borongan*. Sutini and

Sutiyem are senior batik artisan, and both of them have eight children. At first, they think they could work while taking care of their children. In the practice, batik production was more time-consuming than they thought. Their houses were full of cloth, still-being-processed batik, wax, wax residue, and color dye. It was all messy with unorganized things since there was not enough space in their house. When their children became toddler, their employers often got angry at them since they couldn't reach their target, they often changed their employers, even their children sometimes fell from stepping/bumping into materials stacked everywhere in the room. Both of them are *pembatik halus* and well-known to batik merchants and they had served on a fairly large batik industry for many years; however, their skills still could not provide them with economic improvement. They still receive low payment just because they are housewives and part-time worker. This manipulation is done by the industry so that the workers think they deserve low wage (Hunga, 2005, 2011, 2013).

The facts mentioned above showed that factory work brought into a household would cause an overlapping activities between batik production and household activities. However, the income obtained by both women remained low, and the justification was that home is associated to women and household reproduction activities. If production activities occur at home, the outcome is associated to whoever (women) did it and remains unequal to those, which are done in public space (factory) by men. Therefore, homes also remain save for production waste. They see the production process as 'part-time', discontinue, only a few numbers, and save. Almost all respondents in this study, both women and men, see homes as reproductive area. For female HW, making batik is a part-time job, whether it is done in or outside the house. On the contrary, male HW thinks that making batik is a full-time job, whether it is done in or outside the house, and they consider home as a work place and the symbol of their authority. They think by working at home, it gives them freedom and authorities (Hunga, 2011, 2013).

The manipulation of women's domestic sphere by the capitalist is strongly associated with the construction of women symbol and their

womanhood⁵ as cheap labor, and this has occurred for some time. In order to support the industry, women remained at home and on certain condition, these labors were brought into factory, and when economy restructuring occurred due to crisis, they were brought back into home. This strategy was a capitalism fact in order to get the highest advantage (Hartmann, 1976). POS becomes the perfect channel for businessman (batik merchant) since HW and home as the production place give the justification of gaining highest advantage from production efficiencies by: not providing certain place for the worker, not providing working equipment, not providing workplace maintenance cost, not providing production cost for electricity and water, not providing social security for workers, not providing waste processing cost, etc.

In batik POS, there is a transfer of some important types of work from batik production chain from factory to home workers' homes. This transfer goes hand in hand with the transfer of production cost, including the production damage and cost caused by production risks such as social, health, pollution or environmental damage. This production cost exists since the production process happened in or around the house and involving the family members, including children without any supervision from the employer. Therefore, HW is different to factory workers. In POS relations of production, HWs do not only rely on their skills, they also subsidize the industry. In batik industry, the employers do not provide the equipment such as supporting materials (wax and color), kerosene, stove, workplace, working tools, electricity, water, allowance for production risk, accidents in work, and even health risks from production waste. The home-workers also do not have a choice whenever they were recruited or fired. Although the working system remains informal, HWs are still bound in unwritten rules such as the prohibition of working under more than one employer, deadline for work, and the quality of work that is determined unilaterally. Home-workers, especially women, sometimes work more than 12 hours per day to reach the deadline determined by the employer. Undoubtedly,

5 A term commonly used by feminist researchers to show gender construction of women which rooted from gender 'ideology'. This value exists not only on domestic sphere, but also in working area. This value is the legitimacy on how woman become a mere object (Brigitte and Saptari, 1997).

the working hour becomes longer as she has to finish other household chores such as taking care of their children (Hunga, 2013).

Costs that are indirectly-related to production are social costs such as diseases caused by pollution or production waste. Some prominent diseases in batik production and convection are respiratory disorders due to fine threads from the cutting and sewing process; respiratory disorders due to kerosene air pollution; skin diseases caused by chemical dyes waste production; and kidney problems caused by the mixture of chemical dyes and the well water as the source of water for drinking, cooking, laundry, and showering. Pain in lumbar area caused by prolonged sitting position and the batik artisan seating position (*dingklik*) which is too short. Other diseases caused by consuming energy drink to increase stamina to reach the target (*setoran*), for example: kuku bima, extra joss, etc. Other toll is the loss of family comfort because some home-workers do not have their own workshop, thus making their domestic area into a workplace. They tend to use their housing area as the working area, and this place is unorganized and messy. Children lose their place to play and study. Furthermore, the noise, unpleasant odor, and dust can not only affect the home-workers and their family members' health but also the environment. The industry never considers this comfort loss and becomes the burden of the HW and their families.

They should also consider the surrounding ecological damage, which is very important. People are disposing batik production waste containing chemical dyes and other chemical substances into the surrounding area of home-workers' housings. Some waste flow through the sewer to irrigate the rice field, some seep into the wells and contaminate water for household needs. According to the information obtained from the farmers who lived around the HW's home and micro entrepreneurs, their paddy were contaminated by the waste; and although their paddy look healthy, there is no rice seed inside it (Javanese: *gapuk*). The government who should be dealing with environmental matters seems to be ignoring this, since they think batik production waste is not dangerous due to its insignificant volume. Sometimes this matter remains "hidden" for the reason that batik production in HW housings is small scale business. This notion is not

a proper thing to do. Based on a study conducted by Hunga (2004), a unit of batik production in HW housing produces an average of 3 m³ production waste containing chemical dyes and substances, which contaminated the natural water, rice field, river, and well water. Moreover, there are a large number of batik production units that become this type of unit. Statistically, this automatically cumulates the number of production waste and that the number becomes a threat to family's health and ecological damage. Other social costs that should be considered are the child labor involved in the production process and other unpaid family member labors. Child labor issue in batik industry needs to be studied properly. It is a usual sight for 9-to-12-years-old children (usually female) to help their parents in making batik. They work for their own mothers, families, or neighbors who work as batik artisan. They are paid poorly, Rp 500 to Rp 1,250 for half a day. Batik artisans and their parents do not see this as a problem as they consider employing children as a part of learning process for batik production. We can also see the same situation in batik convection. Children usually help cutting the thread remains, buttoning, and other supporting parts.

Strategies to Protect Women's Domestic Sphere

The State Minister for the Environment has identified batik industry in micro-small-medium scale (*Industri Mikro-Kecil-Menengah* or IMKM) as one of the worst cause of river pollution in Indonesia. Lack of environmental awareness among batik buyers became one of the reasons why batik producers did not want to employ eco-friendly production method. ECONID (2011) found an important fact that there was a low appreciation towards female batik artisans who devoted their patience and creativity to make batik. An international conference in Geneva on 20th-23rd of June 1995 on *Ecolabelling and Environment* became an important moment to encourage government pushing the businessmen to stop using certain types of artificial dyes or dyes containing azo group that is carcinogenic. Since April 1, 1996, trade of products containing those dyes is prohibited, especially in Germany and the Netherlands (Balai Besar Kerajinan dan Batik Yogyakarta, 2007). This warning is a good start to use natural dyes and reduce/stop the use of artificial color, if Indonesia wants to put their products into

the international market.

Historically, batik was originally produced by using natural materials from plants (word, root, leaves, and stems) and women played a great role in it. Batik was associated to women since making batik required patience, precision, and peace of mind. Nature was also associated to women. Thus, it was not strange that the symbolization of batik and woman was also linked to nature color used in batik production. The process of acquiring color from nature such as leaves, roots, stems, sap, flower, etc. requires patience, persistence, and precision. The motif in batik was also inspired from the nature because they think nature was the integral part of human's consciousness to its dependence on nature. Pujianto (2003) and Hidayat (2004) explained that natural elements motif could be found in *Semen* motif that could be interpreted as growing or creeping shoots, meaning fertility; *Sawat* (Garuda) motif in the form of two open wings, symbolizing courage or violence; and *Alas-alasan* (forest) described forest nuance reflecting the nature of life, obstacles and tranquility. The coloring process from natural dyes was considered a lot more complex, and took more time, resulting in more expensive product. The increasing market demand force people to look for quicker, more efficient, and cheaper way of production. They changed natural materials with the artificial ones. They replaced *canting*, the tool to draw batik, with stamp and print. The use of artificial color slowly shifted the natural dyes (Susanto, 1973). This process continued and as the result, they disposed the dangerous production waste and endangered the environment and its ecosystem. Batik production waste, which contaminated the HW housings, also threatened health, especially children and women. Since batik production mostly occurred in HW housings, the negative impact of the solid and liquid production waste went through the HWs in a whole batik production center (Hunga, 2013).

Focusing on batik produced in HM housing, then the manipulation of women's domestic sphere, low appreciation towards women's creativity on producing batik, HW housings pollution, and environmental damage in HW housings surrounding area were the result of androcentric and anthropocentric views and practices. As Karen J Warren (in Arivia, 2002) stated that there was an important link between the domination

of woman and of nature. This happened because woman was associated to nature, and conceptually, symbolically, and linguistically, women and nature became the victim of this oppression. This link was strongly associated to society's construction, which was formed by patriarchal values, belief, education, and behavior, where the justification for women domination and subordination existed. The construction of female subjectivity consciousness underwent a long process. This could be found as batik making activities and unconsciously forming a habit in batik making (Bourdieu, 1977). The following is the interview with Ibu Ginem done by the author:

Bagi saya membatik seperti merawat anak dengan penuh kasih. Saya merasakan seperti ada suatu keterikatan *bathin* dengan batik yang terus terbangun sejak hari-hari awal memulai pekerjaan membuat batik. Keseharian selalu diisi aktifitas mulai dari membuat pola, mempersiapkan *mori*, memindahkan pola (*kopi*) ke atas *mori*, melukis atau menggores lilin di atas pola sebagai contoh yang nantinya dibagikan ke pekerja, mengoreksi pekerjaan pembatik, mengawasi proses pewarnaan, dan seterusnya, sehingga pada suatu waktu, tukang warna yang disebut juga tukang *kelir* salah dalam memberikan warna bahkan ada yang rusak, saya sangat bersedih. saya menatap sampai *deleg-deleg* atau ekspresi bigung bercampur sedih *pada* tumpukan lembaran batik. Saya duduk memegang lembaran-lembaran batik dan berpikir keras mencari akal dan teknik untuk memperbaikinya. Saya membayangkan berhari-hari, waktu, pikiran, tenaga, perasaan telah ditumpahkan, dan doa-doa dipanjatkan untuk lembaran-lembaran batik. Untuk menyelesaikan satu lembar batik tulis tradisional yang dikerjakan dengan baik, khususnya yang menggunakan warna alam, membutuhkan waktu 3 – 5 bulan. Membatik seperti halnya petani yang berhari-hari memelihara tanaman atau seorang ibu hamil telah berhari-hari merawat kandungannya. Tentunya sangat bersedih bila tanamannya rusak atau kandungannya terjadi *sesuatu* dan mengalami keguguran. Saya sering tidur sampai larut malam setiap hari, menghabiskan waktu memeriksa satu-persatu helaian batik yang masih dalam proses, meletakkan dengan rapi agar tidak rusak, dan selanjutnya sampai batik selesai dan diambil oleh

pemberi kerja atau juragan. Saya sangat bahagia bila batik selesai dengan baik sesuai dengan kualitas yang diinginkan. Ia sadar bahwa mereka hanya bisa memandang dan mengelus lembaran-lembaran batik. Batik tersebut akhirnya diambil oleh juragan. Sebagai pembatik, saya tidak memiliki batik tulis yang bagus karena biayanya relatif mahal. Rasanya tidak percaya, pembatik tetapi tidak memiliki batik tulis yang bagus⁶.

Batik production could take place in private housings, showed how women faced 'forces' of the employer and the household authority owner (husband) determining (no option) whether to accept the work done in their house. The consequences were the transforming housing condition, messy, contaminated by production waste, and received lower payment as previously described. However, women were not always the losing party and not intended to always lose in order to protect their domestic sphere. The choice where batik production would take place and where they would put the working equipment were women's strategy. They chose a certain area inside, next to, or attached to the main house or somewhere near the house but remained separated and usually near to other batik artisans' house. *Wajan* (pan) was placed in *anglo* (brazier) or a small stove placed in the middle of the room and next to the stove, she placed *canting* container. She placed 4-8 seats or stools around the brazier and the pan in circular formation, and *gawangan* – to place the cloth for batik making – was placed in the outermost position. All other equipment circled the pan and brazier, which were in the middle.

The place selection and tools placement indeed needed a lot of consideration. The place selection facilitate their work while watching their children or finishing other household chores. While circular the tools placement was from their habit while working. Usually they finished their work while talking, gossiping on their daily lives and the talk about their works such as how they got the job, a raise, allowance bonus (THR), and strategies on how dealing with the employer or

6 The author knows Ibu Ginem since 1999 and still in contact with her to the present.

*tempahan*⁷ (vice employer) or HW coordinator. According to them, the position would ease them of sharing experience, learn from each other when there was a complicated or new motif (in Javanese *nyontohi*: giving example), or help each other (*bonceng*) drawing one batik cloth together to finish it quicker. *Bonceng* was one strategy to reach the deadline target from the employer, or to avoid the employer's anger if they could not reach the deadline, or when they had some urgent needs. *Bonceng*—as illustrated by people riding a bike, one person pedaled on the bike while the other hitchhiked in the bike to reach the same destination. They could sit there for hours, and there was no water around them, and they took a rest when they realized that their feet ached, or in Javanese, *keju-keju*. They knew the stools they used were too short, but they never changed them into the taller one, because they thought the stools and other equipment were one package, as they said, “sudah *sa'k setel* sudah *thuk'e*”.

From the explanation above, it showed that—unconsciously through a recurring process—the process of the place selection and tools placement in order to support batik production as individuals or as a group had been according to logical thinking and became a habit. This setting did not only make it easier, especially for the female home-workers to conjoin batik making process, household chores, and nurturing children, but also to finish the job quickly and how to get a steady (*ajek*) job, and a chance to improve their position in production chain and organization. These small actions by batik artisan as mentioned above showed their strategy to survive and protect their domestic sphere. This showed that they had the ability and resources to negotiate with those who dominated the POS. Their knowledge and skill in batik making became the resources for them in POS relations of production to face the challenges of market change and environmental issues. One of actions done by woman—individually or in group—was by switching to eco-friendly batik (Hunga, 2011, 2013). Although only some industries applied eco-friendly batik and it was still done individually by women, this could be seen through women's responses

7 From Javanese, “*tempohke*” which means the representation; could also mean the vice employer.

in protecting their domestic sphere and gave positive influence towards not only in the house but also to the environment.

Based on the literature reviews and secondary data collected from various sources, the author found that most of the pioneers in eco-friendly batik are women. However, industry that employed eco-friendly batik was still very limited—even though the exact number was not found. Even, the eco-friendly pioneers did not come from the popular batik centers such as Surakarta, Pekalongan, and Yogyakarta (www.cleanbatik.com). There are some women who keep struggling and fight and promote the production of eco-friendly batik; they are Sancaya Rini with Creative Kanawida batik and Lulut Sri Yuliani who invented mangrove batik. Both of them proved their consistency on fighting for the economy development of the less-have, preserving batik as Indonesian culture, and at the same time protecting the environment. Their results paid their hard work, as their business grow, more people and networking promoting eco-friendly batik, and they received award from the government and association concerned to environmental crisis. There are other women and woman communities continued to fight for this, they are: members of the batik community Handarbeni Desa Giriloyo, Wukirsari, Imogiri Bantul; Candra Diana, Yogyakarta; Shinta Pertiwi, Yogyakarta; Kelompok Usaha Perempuan Batik, Desa Pancur, Rembang; Siti Maimona di kota Bangkalan – Madura; Hajjah Zulfa, Tanjungbumi – Madura; Sri Lestari, Dusun Jodag, Sleman, Yogyakarta; Yuke Yuliantaries, Bondowoso; Ririn Asih Pindari, Ds. Jatipelem, Diwek Kabupaten Jombang.

Women mentioned above struggle in their own way (femininely) and they fought through the gender role assigned to them, starting from their homes, domestic role, and their reproductive responsibilities but they were still able to transform themselves and their efforts to change the condition of women and environment. Ibu Sancaya started her business to fill her spare time at home with creative activities, because as her children grew up, they went to school outside their hometown. Instead of only not to feel bored, Ibu Sancaya also spent her spare time by doing creative activities. Acquiring skill to make batik was one of her way spending her spare time, but she actually already had knowledge in batik since her grandmother was batik artisan. She grew

enthusiastic as she saw unemployed young people around her, since she always tried to fight not only for herself but also for people around her (the unemployed youths). Her awareness towards environment grew later as she realized that her surrounding area became more and more uncomfortable, contaminated by chemical dyes, and dirty. Her knowledge on the danger of chemical dyes for her surrounding area and environment drove Ibu Sancaya to change her chemical dye to natural dye. Ibu Lulut started her batik business as a part of her concern towards her surrounding area, especially everything related to mangrove. Her awareness towards mangrove was a part of her daily lives as she lived in this region. Her woman instinct emerged and it provided her with everything she needed for she cared about the environment and the welfare of her surrounding communities.

Based on the women's stories above, the exploration of color from nature was not an easy thing to do, and it needed patience, persistence, precision, and willingness to continue on looking for more natural resources as coloring agent. Eco-friendly batik production process needed longer timeframe since the coloring process requires more time. However, this is not a tough job for women since their surrounding had transformed them through their gender role to be patient, diligent, meticulous, and persevering to face a life which starts from themselves, family, and society. Reproductive activities in domestic sphere had taught women to be tough through womanly struggle, which was being patient, diligent, and meticulous. Women's intelligence employed their feminine ways had proven of creating tough women in fighting manipulation inside their domestic sphere. Therefore, eco-friendly batik is a potential way of women's struggle to protect their domestic sphere and the environment. This process is equal to the values and philosophies of batik as an economy, social, cultural, and environmental product. Based on this appreciation, eco-friendly batik attains higher values.

Eco-friendly batik movement gains its opportunity when the global awareness, especially among the international society who are concerned on the consumers' safety and the environment, emerged. This becomes the chance for the batik producer who uses natural color for their batik to meet the consumers' needs both in domestic and

overseas market. Indonesia is famous its natural resources such as the vast area of forest that has wide variety of plants in each province, which can provide natural color dyes for batik production (Farida, 2009). However, some problems may arise from employing natural colors as there is a limit to available colors, the coloring process needs longer timeframe, the color retrieval technique from the nature and the stability of the color acquired (Fitriana, 2007). Furthermore, the study showed that the batik artisan faced some difficulty in maintaining color consistency for certain numbers of production. These are the obstacles faced in the market, especially in the international market. Despite the fact that natural color trend begins to increase, the number is still far below those using chemical-induced colors (Soejipta and Hunga, 2009).

Conclusions

Restructuring of the global economy led to a more flexible and informal institutional change. Production method by applying putting-out system, which moved the production process from factory to workers' homes, became a highly beneficial option for industry. Therefore, the rapid flow of the factory production mode to home-based production (home-workers) was unavoidable. In POS, home and women became the main target of this activity, making them as cheap labors. Batik and batik industry was one of commodity produced through POS. Batik has become a cultural heritage and the identity of Indonesians. The World's recognition as stated by UNESCO becomes the momentum of the development of batik industry in Indonesia. However, this development is also a paradox, since batik underwent a commodification process and changed into a mere object. Textile batik, especially imported and with chemical-induced color ones, made batik industry as the contributor of ecological crisis due to its production waste. This crisis became increasingly urgent as the production method used by batik industry was POS that occurred in home-workers' domestic area, and the numbers were relatively high in clusters of one unit of production.

The manipulation of domestic sphere as a production area corrupted the space and reproductive activities in a house since house was supposed to be a sphere where family shared affection, built social-

family relationship, etc. This condition worsened as the impact of batik production was not only economic but also environmental; this took form on the waste that contaminated the surrounding area, diseases due to water and air pollution, as well as other diseases inflicted the workers who consumed stamina drink to reach their deadline and production target. The displacement of production method not only creates economic burden associated with the procurement of production equipment, materials, and supporting material (water, electricity, place, etc.) but also the social and health costs as described above. This burden increased as the given wage was also very small since it was given per unit, piece, or as a bulk and without any warranty. The emergence of environmental crisis, global awareness upon the danger of production waste, and the awareness of eco-friendly goods was a positive opportunity for the implementation of eco-friendly batik. Promoting eco-friendly batik in the middle of environmentally unsustainable and profit-oriented batik posed a challenge. The State Minister for the Environment and the Ministry of Industry had reported that batik industry was the main contributor of the ecological crisis due to its production waste and there was only small number of merchants who moved to eco-friendly batik. Women who supported eco-friendly batik appeared in the middle of this issue. Eco-friendly batik became a strategy to protect women's domestic sphere as well as the environment. These women fought in their own way (feminine) and transformed it into a power to fight the environmentally-unsustainable batik which brought negative effects towards family, household, and environment.

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Women's Resistance in Cotton Industry: Study on Environmental Degradation in East Sumba

Rambu Luba Kata Respati Nugrohowardhani

STIE KRISWINA Sumba, Nusa Tenggara Timur
nugrohowardhani@gmail.com

Abstract

National Cotton Acceleration Program (Program Akselerasi Kapas Nasional, PAKN) being incepted in East Sumba since 2008 has created three forms of resistance among female farmers in Tanamanang Village. The first form of resistance includes referring to the PAKN cotton as "project's cotton," which represents a negative inference, and can be categorized into a form of symbolic resistance. The second resistance is an open resistance since the actions can be observed in the female farmers' daily routines. This form of resistance is done by defying the PAKN rules, such as the farming method and the sales agreement. The third form of resistance can be regarded as assertion resistance, which is done by rejecting the cotton demonstration plot being implemented in their front and back yard.

Keywords: women, cotton, resistance, ecofeminism.

Introduction

East Sumba, which is located in East Nusa Tenggara, is one of the 4 regencies situated in eastern Sumba Island. With the area covering 7,000.5 km², East Sumba consists of 22 districts comprising 156 villages (East Sumba Central Agency on Statistics, 2013). East Sumba lies in a hilly terrain, distributing 43% of its villages over the hillside and 29% throughout the coastal area. According to the 2011 statistics, the poor population amounts to 72,000, reaching 30.63% from the total population. Since the early 20th century, Waingapu, the capital of East Sumba, has been the urban region having richer dynamic than any other cities in the whole island. More than one-fourth of East Sumba population occupies Waingapu that provides easier access to education, health, and commercial activities. Sumba's airport and seaport located in Waingapu makes the capital city an important gate for business transaction and people from outside and inside Sumba.

In 2012, the number of East Sumba inhabitants reaches 237,956 comprising 115,471 females and 122,485 males. From the statistics, the sex ratio is 106, which means in the region consisting of 100 females, there are 106 males. Furthermore, the people who are illiterate constitute 12.14% of the total inhabitants: Illiterate female inhabitants outnumber the male counterparts, with 13.84% over 10.54%. Meanwhile, the percentage of people who do not go to school amounts to 10.07%, with 12.35% of female inhabitants and 7.88% of male inhabitants. This uneven distribution of literacy between men and women is related to the gender inequality issue that exists within the Sumba culture. Just like in the other patriarchal culture, Sumba families prefer to send their sons to school rather than their daughters. Besides, Sumba people traditionally classify the social status into three classes: aristocrats (*maramba*), freemen (*kabihu*), and slaves (*ata*). This hierarchical social class system, even though has nearly disappeared in the other 3 districts, still evidently exists in East Sumba. Within this social system, Sumba culture does not only give bigger opportunities to men over women, but also differentiates people based on the social class and age. Consequently, East Sumba society perceives that women's social status is lower than men's; slaves are lower than aristocrats and freemen; and, children and unmarried young people are lower than adults.

Related to the gender issue, Sumba women are commonly in charge of housekeeping, weaving (if able to), and raising small livestock, such as chickens and pigs; meanwhile, men serve as decision makers within a household and society. Furthermore, people who have lower social status are traditionally in charge of more laborious chores, such as farming, fetching water, gathering firewood, and shepherding big livestock, such as horses, buffalos, and cattle.

Sixty point twenty seven percent of the working people in East Sumba primarily work in agricultural enterprises (East Sumba Central Agency of Statistics, 2013). However, the agricultural population in East Sumba possesses different characteristics compared to those in the other regions in Indonesia. Commonly, East Sumba farmers can be categorized as dryland farmers¹ since they live in a semi-arid region² (Benu, 2011). In such an area, rainfall becomes the key factor within the farming system (Campbell *et al.*, 2002 as cited in Njurumana, 2008). The variability and changing mean annual precipitation in semi-arid regions familiarize the farmers to adapting with unpredictable and ever-changing climate (Fox, 2001). As a survival strategy, the farming population in this area commonly employs a dryland mixed farming system with various husbandry activities (semi-pastoral or called *polipalen* farmers in Indonesia), such as cultivating land, raising livestock, fishing, fish farming, and other profitable activities (Njurumana, 2008)³.

These farmers usually utilize polyculture farming, which is to grow multiple crops in the same space simultaneously with a particular pattern. Compared to monoculture farming, polyculture is considered as one of the right methods for dryland area, on which the local people

1 Even though the definition of dryland farming is still being debated, Benu (2012) argues that in the macro context, all agricultural methods in semi-arid and arid regions are categorized as dryland farming.

2 According to Mudita (2010), the word *arid* in terms of climate refers to a particular condition of mean annual precipitation ratio (involving rainfall, moisture, and snow) to annual potential evapotranspiration (involving evaporation from open water and organisms).

3 In Anthropology, a group possessing those characteristics is called agro-pastoralist, commonly found in Africa.

can rely for agriculture subsistence as well as for balance of nature (Fox, 2001).

Ecological Threats of National Cotton Acceleration Program

National Cotton Acceleration Program (Program Akselerasi Kapas Nasional, PAKN) is an Indonesian government program launched in 2007, aiming to develop the local cotton production (Indonesian Sweetener and Fiber Crops Research Institute, ISFCRI, 2009). The initiation of PAKN is triggered by the rising cotton price on the world market after the World Trade Organization (WTO) ruled against the cotton subsidies in 2006 (Sudaryanto and Hadi, 2009). Being the fifth biggest cotton producing country, Indonesia's textile industry was massively affected, because 99.5% of cotton fiber as the main textile material is still imported (ISFCRI, 2009). This situation urged Indonesian textile enterprises to shift to the domestic cotton (Basuki *et al.*, 2009). Unfortunately, the volume of domestic cotton production from small farmers only contributes to 1,000–2,500 thousand tons or less than 0.5% of the national demand (ISFCRI, 2009). This condition pushed Indonesian government to give a particular attention to the national cotton farming by specifying cotton as one of the prioritized commodities in the plantation revitalization program (*ibid*). In doing so, the government in 2006 conducted a workshop in Surabaya about the effect of cotton subsidies removal on the subsistence of national textile and textile industries. The workshop aims to plan a strategy to increase the domestic cotton production, including the organization of cotton production development; technological support; and resources, such as lands, workers, and infrastructure (*ibid*). In the following year, this workshop was manifested by the launching of PAKN.

During the implementation of PAKN in 2007, the central government was preparing East Nusa Tenggara as “The Cotton Belt of Indonesia” (Directorate General of Estate Crops, Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture, 2012). Among the islands in this province, Sumba had been chosen to initiate PAKN. The government believed that cotton farming development would be successfully implemented by the Sumba people,

considering their weaving custom for women⁴, in addition to the vast availability of lands and supporting climate.⁵ This program was also expected to eradicate the poverty in many districts through the provision of an alternative source of household income⁶. Besides, the existence of a commercial cotton company (PT Ade Agro Industri, AAI) operating in East Sumba in 2006 was also considered as a supporting factor of PAKN implementation in Sumba. This commercial company is appointed by the central government to be in charge of providing the cotton seed and managing the cotton production in Sumba⁷. However, after five years, the implementation of PAKN in East Sumba did not meet the expected results.

The Indonesian government highly expects the participation of female farmers in the innovation and implementation of agriculture development programs, because they are the ones who usually serve a significant role in rural agriculture sector. However, in the countries whose agriculture based on technology modernization and global capitalism, all programs carrying the word "development" are considered as a threat for women and environment⁸ (Salman, 2007). For example, the studies by Mies (1986) and Shiva (1989) describe how Indian women are exploited and faced with various health problems because of the commercial agriculture, deforestation, and mining that have changed their traditional way of life. As a result, instead of supporting, women frequently disapprove of various development programs that are seen as a threat to their subsistence and harming the balance of nature. It is unfortunate that various forms of women's

4 <http://202.146.4.119/read/artikel/29867>

5 FloresNews.com; BNI Securities

6 <http://kupang.tribunnews.com/read/artikel/30059/pemprop-ntt-dukung-pengembangan-kapas-di-sumba>

7 FloresNews.com; BNI Securities

8 The environmental issues faced by women in developing countries and those in developed countries are different. In nonindustrial societies, the environmental issues commonly encountered is access to clean water and other resources, in addition to poverty and health issues. Meanwhile, in industrial societies/developed countries, the environmental issues/degradation may not be plainly observable (Salman, 2007).

resistance, which include fighting for their and environmental sustainability, are often “hidden” within the world’s history (Salman, 2007).

The emergence of ecofeminism approach is primarily triggered by the awareness of the central and significant role of women in environmental management. Ecofeminism is derived from two ideologies; “ecology” and “feminism” that share the same objective, which is to “free” the world from any forms of domination (Wulan, 2007). This approach deals with the problems concerning women, natural resources, and environmental sustainability in a deeper and complex means. Ecofeminism, which emerged between the end of 1970s and the early 1980s, is a critic against sciences and modern technologies developing under patriarchal culture, which are considered as a threat to human and nature sustainability (Shiva, 1989). Besides ideology, ecofeminism resistance also appears in the forms of protests and social movements against the recurring degradation of nature, which causes never-ending ecological disasters (Wulan, 2007). However, people—even the women themselves—often do not realize that the actions of women aimed to criticize gender inequality and environmental destruction are forms of “ecofeminism”.

This study, which highlights the implementation of PAKN and the accompanying women’s resistance, is significant, because: Firstly, female farmers are often left out in the introduction and dissemination to various innovation efforts within the agriculture sector, in which they actually hold highly significant role, especially in rural areas. Hence, to determine the success of a particular agriculture program, the women’s opinions on agricultural product development is that of an importance to be considered. Secondly, Indonesia lacks of studies on the resistance of women who come from dryland agriculture population toward a particular development program; whereas, the Indonesian dryland area covers 52.5 million ha, including dryland area with tropical dry climate that is commonly found in eastern Indonesia, and that with tropical wet climate that is commonly found in western Indonesia (Benu, 2011).

Even though there have been enough studies worldwide on women’s resistance (Abu-Lughod, 1990; Kornelsen & Grzybowski,

2006, Ghosh, 2008; Anagol, 2008, Paterson, 2009), there is only a few in Indonesia. Among the few, two studies have been conducted in Bali by Sukeni (2006) and Widiastiti (2002). In her study, Sukeni analyzes a phenomenon of women's resistance in Tejakula District, Buleleng Regency, toward the Keluarga Berencana (KB) program (a government program to control the birthrate in Indonesia) in Bali. Sukeni uses Gramsci, Feminism, and Resistance theories. Another study on women's resistance in Bali was also conducted by Widiastiti (2012), which addresses Balinese women's resistance in Pasekbali, Dawan District, Klungkung Regency toward the creative industry sector. Widiastiti's study uses cultural studies as the main approach. Even though the studies about women's resistance employing ecofeminism approach are still limited, the studies written by Wulan (2007) and Astuti (2012) really helped the researcher in understanding ecofeminism approach. Wulan (2007) highlights the transformative ecofeminism approach in deconstructing a relation between women and the environment. In her study, Wulan analyzes the link between ecology and feminism; rooting the chronology of ecofeminism movements and reviewing various ecofeminism typologies. In particular, Wulan describes how to use transformative ecofeminism approach in achieving gender equality and sustainable environment. Meanwhile, Astuti (2012) emphasizes the women's role in maintaining ecosystem using ecofeminism perspective. The article also elaborates the instances of women's role in sustaining and protecting the nature and environment in many countries, which is done by understanding those countries' local wisdom. Different with two previous studies, this study uses ecofeminism perspective to depict the resistance from dryland female farmers toward the cotton farming development launched by the central government in East Sumba. This study also serves as a preliminary study related to the agrarian transformation within dryland farming population in Sumba. This study examines the previous cotton production development program in the autonomy era as a case study. This study is an explorative study since there has not been a previous study analyzing the same topic and taking place in the same region.

Women's Price in Cotton Industry

Cotton is the most important natural fiber used as the main material in textile industry around the world. Nowadays, the percentage of natural cotton used in textile industry reaches almost 40%, while synthetic fiber reaches 55% (Proto *et al.*, 2000 as cited in Chapagain *et al.*, 2005). Approximately, 50% of cotton existing worldwide is imported from Asian countries, such as China, India, and Pakistan. In these countries, cotton industry development becomes an important strategy to press the poverty rate in rural areas. Likewise, Mancini (2006) asserts that cotton is the only crop serving as an alternative household income for millions of small farmers in Asia. However, the world's cotton production cannot be separated from the issue of environmental degradation because of the use of various kinds of pesticides, synthetic fertilizers, and chemical substances on the massive cultivation (Goldbach *et al.*, 2003; Mancini, 2006). The damage to cotton crops caused by pests reaching 15% from the world's total cotton production leads to the dependency on chemical pesticides. In Asian countries, the amount of US\$1.5 billion is spent annually for the procurement of chemical products. It is predicted that the use of 20% of insecticide and 30% of pesticide in the whole Asia are applied to cotton crops. This dependency on chemical substances is called as "pesticide treadmill," which describes that the use of pesticides will only produce successful result in the first year, but years later, it will bring a catastrophic disaster to the environment (Jean-Christophe *et al.*, 1999).

This has happened in Thailand and other cotton producing countries around the world (Barducci, 1973; Hearn, 1975; Eveleens, 1983; Matthews, 1989 as cited in *ibid*). "Pesticide treadmill" commonly occurs following some particular pattern and characteristics, including 6 stages: subsistence stage, ecological stage, exploitation stage, crisis stage, disaster stage, and integrated supervision stage (*ibid*). The other similar studies show that this pattern is not only found in Thailand, but also in many cotton producing countries worldwide (Smith, 1969; Falcon and Smith, 1973; Bottrell and Adkisson, 1977 as cited in (*ibid*)). The excessive use of pesticides results in the pests becoming immune, and obviously, environmental degradation (Mancini, 2006). Because the pests are getting immune to pesticides, the population of pest natural

predators will decrease, which will in turn disrupt the natural chain of life and cause some organisms in the verge of extinction. The use of chemical substance in cotton farming also damages the soil's ability to regenerate itself and degrades the quality of water and groundwater (Goldbach *et al.*, 2003; Mancini, 2006). Chapagain *et al.* (2005) stated that in agricultural stage (the cotton farming production), there are three types of effects that would possibly happen: the evaporation of rainfall for cotton growth, the reduction of the discharged groundwater for irrigation, and water pollution caused by the excessive use of chemical fertilizer and pesticide. Chapagain's study also estimates that cotton industry is held responsible for the use of 2.6% water globally. Another environmental issue related to cotton industry is the use of land for cotton farming: If all human outfits in this world are made of cotton, there would not be enough land for agri-food sector (Goldbach *et al.*, 2003).

Meanwhile, the 2012 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development in Rio concurred that the prioritized global development is a sustainable development, which is the development that meets the needs of present generation without compromising the needs of future generation (World Commission of Environment and Development, 1987). Furthermore, at the minimum level, sustainable development should not endanger the natural system supporting all living things on earth. To achieve sustainable development, one of the factors should be done is to overcome environmental degradation without sacrificing economic development and social justice. The 2005 World Summit on Sustainable Development announced that sustainable development is comprised of three main pillars, which are the economic, social, and environmental aspects that are interlinked and reinforce one another. Sustainable development should not only concentrate on the economic issue, but also social and environmental issues: Thus, cotton industry that supports sustainable development is the one that also supports social development and environmental preservation, instead of focusing only on the economic development. Among the means that can be done to develop cotton production is to apply integrated pest management (Mancini, 2006) and organic agriculture. Organic agriculture has proven to provide a good opportunity for developing

countries as well as contribute to sustainable development (Kilcher, 2007).

Besides the environmental issue, Mancini (2006) also argued that cotton industry is related with social issue, especially the involvement of women and children as labor workers. Cotton industry is one of the labor-intensive industries, especially during growing and harvesting seasons. Meanwhile, the cotton value chain, including textile industry, provides jobs for the general population, which is mostly women, as laborers. For women's enormous contribution in cotton industry, Salman (2007) stated that the weight of cotton industries is on women's shoulders, because thousands of women laborers worked to manually reap the cotton during harvesting time, which is later used to produce cotton yarn and other end products. Salman estimates that there are approximately 700,000 labors of cotton reaper in Pakistan, consisting of women and children that work during the period of September to December. Meanwhile, Mancini (2006) also states that in India, women that work as cotton reapers often bring along their children while working. However, the crop environment is hazardous because the toxic from pesticide is still attached to the plants (Goldbach *et al.*, 2003, Mancini, 2006). If the labors work for 8-9 hours a day, being exposed to the residue of pesticide, there is a great risk for them to be poisoned. Siegmann's study (2006, as cited in Salman 2007) discovered that 74% women that work as cotton reapers are exposed to pesticide toxic at the intermediate level, while some others suffer at the dangerous level of intoxication. Moreover, Mancini (2006) also mentions that the children of these labor workers also suffer from various health and mental problems caused by pesticide residue. The above discussion shows that global cotton industry is heavily related to women. Even though serving as an alternative source of household income, the women and children labors reaping or processing the cotton have a huge risk of being physically and mentally harmed by the pesticide residue used in commercial cotton industries.

Women's Resistance

The forms of resistance in daily social relationship are considered to be one of the relatively new issues (Gosh, 2008). A study by James

Scott (1981; 1985; 1993) in the Southeast Asia (Burma, Vietnam, and Malaysia) in 1970s highlights the forms of resistance in the daily life of agriculture population. Meanwhile, according to Kerkvliet (2009), opposition or resistance refers to any kind of acts done by a person or a group of people, which expresses anger, dislike, disapproval, or resistance toward anything done by a group of people or an institution having higher social status, which is considered unfair or does not fit with their social values and norms. Through resistance, subordinated people or population struggle to assert their claim on what they believe to be their rights according to the values and norms accepted by most people having equal status with them. Based on Scott and his followers' concept on "everyday forms of peasant resistance", Kerkvliet then developed his concept called "everyday politics of the peasant". Contrary to the common definition of politics, the everyday politics referred by Kerkvliet (2009) is the actions of peasants that are not considered as "propagandistic". However, these actions are actually intended to avoid or resist anything that opposes their ideology and way of life.

Unfortunately, the resistance theories introduced by Scott and Kerkvliet do not take into account the gender issues related to power struggle, and failed to consider the heterogeneity within women population (Ghosh, 2008). Even though unobservable, in reality, women differ in class, social status, race, and ethnicity (Argawal, 1992 as cited in Rao, 2012). Hence, women cannot be classified into only one category, or belong to the same homogenous group based on nationality, or even worldwide (Argawal, 1992 as cited in Gaard, 2011). Upon this heterogeneity concept, Haynes and Praskash (1992) define resistance as a behavior and cultural practice by subordinated group against social hegemony formation. This definition is believed to be able to accommodate various forms of women's resistance. Based on Haynes and Praskash's definition, Anagol's study (2008) develops a definition of women's resistance through analyzing Indian women's resistance during Maharashtra colonial era. This study argues that women's resistance refers to unconscious actions marked by a plan occurring upon gender equality issue in society, which often emerges because of the uneven distribution of power relation between men

and women (Anagol, 2008). From the cultural studies point of view, Holid (2010, as cited in Widiastiti, 2012) mentions that resistance is a subcultural phenomenon that has particular characteristics, natures, forms, and various manifestations.

Meanwhile, on the power struggle under male domination, women's forms of resistance are greatly different from those of men (Gosh, 2008). Anagol (2008) in general classifies three forms of women's resistance: symbolic resistance, assertion resistance, and open resistance. In a study carried out in India, Anagol indicates that symbolic resistance is forms of resistance conducted symbolically, such as through writings, poems, songs, or dances. Anagol points out that during Maharashtra colonial era, Indian women used various literary works as a means to protesting the unequal power relation between men and women. Meanwhile, assertion resistance appears in the forms of real actions done by women to express their existence, without being bold. Assertion resistance also includes women's lawsuit to fight for what they believe to be their rights. Within the context of India during Maharashtra colonialism, a widow could bring lawsuit to stand for their rights since the legal system back then allowed it. Furthermore, open resistance commonly comes to play if the two previous strategies have not met the expectations. Open resistance usually include extreme actions, such as demonstration, bold resistance, even killing others. Anagol (2008) recounts a story of a wife that killed her husband as a means of protest against unequal power relation. Likewise, Holid (2010, as cited in Widiastiti, 2012) also asserts that resistance can be done overtly to resist and even alter the main social structure; but, resistance can also be carried out continuously through social conflicts, negotiation, or even compromise and adaptation.

Besides the aforementioned forms of women's resistance, Anagol (2008) points out that women's resistance is brought forward in various forms depending on the women's culture, custom, education, social structure, politic, and economy. Nonetheless, these various forms of resistance share the same objective, which is to reform the existing system towards the better one for themselves and the society. In Indonesia, Sukeni's study (2006) indicates that the Balinese women's

resistance against the KB program is affirmed by the tradition, belief, and economic factors. This resistance was realized by the refusal to use contraception devices, but using calendar-based contraceptive method instead. Meanwhile, a study by Widiastiti (2012) points out that another resistance of Balinese women was initiated to reform the patriarchal culture in society, especially in the creative industry sector. The women's resistance in Pasekbali was not only carried out boldly, but done as a massive action aiming to destroy one side of the coin. This resistance is affirmed by the economic, educational, and cultural factors. The results of these resistance movements include the increase of household income, psychological effect, and gender equality.

Using ecofeminism perspective, the assorted forms of women's resistance discussed previously are considered as the women's response toward the gender equality issue, as well as natural and environmental degradation. These kinds of response from women often do not get counted as a struggle over the continuing unequal distribution of power relation. Moreover, Salman (2007) provides the examples of ecofeminism movement carried out by women from many countries, including: Love Canal movement in the US, *Chipko* movement in India, Green Belt movement in Kenya, and reforestation in Bangladesh and Pakistan. The US government had just considered the Love Canal movement as a means of women's resistance against water pollution caused by the industrial sector, when a group of women carried out open resistance by setting fire and planning demonstration, causing some of them put in jail (Seager, 1993 as cited in Salman, 2007). Meanwhile, *Chipko* movement⁹ in India was conducted as a spontaneous response from women to protect the trees by hugging the trees that were about to be cut down. Likewise, Green Belt movement in Kenya was an effort toward reforestation, which was conducted in 1977. Nevertheless, Salman (2007) mentions that none of these movements achieved expected results. The Love Canal and Green Belt movements are successfully led by women, who brought their campaigns from scratch to the global-level campaigns. The domino effect of these movements keeps the

9 *Chipko* means hug in Indian.

other movements continue, which become an aspiration to the world population. However, *Chipko* movement, which had gotten huge attention in the beginning, seems to have quieted down a while later. Meanwhile, in Bangladesh and Pakistan, the endeavors to introduce women and environmental issue, for instance in preserving the forest and cotton farms, were mainly supported by institutional donors instead of the efforts of the local women seeking to reform. Because of these phenomena, it is important to differentiate between the professional ecofeminists—which are usually academicians and also often enroll as activists—and the natural ecofeminists, which commonly come from relatively modest background but have extraordinary efforts toward ecosystem preservation with their simple ideas (Andalas, 2013)

Women's Narratives from Tanamanang Village

To Sumba people, cotton (*Gossypium, sp*), or *kamba* in the local language, is very well-known locally. Even though a legal documentation on the history of cotton farms in Sumba has not been discovered, but a report by *Oppehoofd*¹⁰ placed in Sumba during 1750-1800, mentions that cotton grew in Sumba Island (Wielenga, 1916 as cited in Wellem, 2004). In a report about Sumba, Wielenga, a Dutch missionary, also states that there were, indeed, cotton plants in Sumba, even though Wielenga had not discovered any estate cotton plantation¹¹. Cotton usually grew around the house yards in rural areas (*paraingu*). Even though deliberately being planted by the ancestors, cotton in Sumba grew without specific nurture treatment. During old times, Sumba women having the ability to weave made use of cotton fiber as the main material for fabric (ikat, or ikkat weaving technique). However, ever since synthetic fabric was manufactured in 1980s, Sumba weavers have nearly never used cotton fiber for weaving. Since then, cotton crop became less significant for Sumba household income.

10 Dutch for VOC workers placed in particular regions to supervise.

11 According to Wielenga (1916, as cited in Wellem, 2004), Sumba people did not build cotton farms because they were afraid of being attacked in robbery and war.

In 2008, PAKN was implemented in three Sumba regencies: East Sumba, Central Sumba, and West Sumba (Directorate General of Estate Crops, Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture, 2012). Two years later, in the fiscal year of 2010, the central government widened the PAKN coverage to Southwest Sumba. Thus in 2010, this program had covered all districts in Sumba. Furthermore, the government expected 3,500 ha of estate cotton crops distributed in Sumba Island per 2011, including 1,000 ha in East Sumba, 500 ha in Central Sumba, 500 ha in West Sumba, and 1,500 ha in Southwest Sumba (Directorate General of Estate Crops, Indonesian Ministry of Agriculture, 2012). During 2012, in just East Sumba, the area of estate cotton crops reached 2,250 ha, with the total fund of IDR800 million supported by the Budget Revenue and Expenditure in 2011 and increased to IDR1,250 billion in 2012¹². In the prime harvest event in 2009 attended by Anton Apriyanto, the incumbent Minister of Agriculture, East Sumba Regent mentioned that most districts in East Sumba have potential to take part in the cotton farming development program¹³.

In 2008, the East Sumba Department of Estate Crops appointed Tanamanang Village as the location of demonstration plots of the cotton farming development program in East Sumba, particularly in Kalionga watershed (*mondu Kalionga*), with the total area of approximately 20 ha. Two groups of farmers living just by the watersheds were appointed to plant cotton seeds to support PAKN¹⁴. These groups received full supports from the government, which include production facilities and infrastructure. The government even provided 2 units of water pumps, as well as the funds for diesel fuel and gardener. The space of cotton farms depended on the area owned by the farmers, and the wide was determined by each farmer's ability; commonly ranged from 0.5-1 ha. Previously, these areas were used for agri-food farming using polyculture

12 <http://www.waingapu.com/disbun-sumtim-dampingi-warga-kembangkan-kapas.html>

13 <http://www.waingapu.com/mentan-panen-kapas-perdana-didampingi-lula-kamal.html>

14 Besides being the appointed location to demonstrate the cotton plantation development program, Tanamanang also one of the villages implementing PAKN. There are 2 other groups of farmers receiving social support of cotton seeds in 2008.

farming method. At the end of 2008, the cotton farm areas of these two groups were flooded and the harvested products did not meet the expectation. Once again, in 2009, these groups of farmers were appointed to grow cotton in their *mondu*. Unfortunately, the pest attack also kept the harvest outcomes from meeting the government's target.

The demonstration plots of cotton farming development in Kalionga watershed shifted the farming pattern of the local people. Previously, the farmers in these two groups planted anything, used any method, and utilized their *mondu* and land for anything; but, since being "appointed" to develop the demonstration plots, the farmers had to spare some area in their land for growing cotton, which narrowed area for growing foodstuffs. Besides, cotton should be planted using particular method instructed by the Department of Estate Crops. Some farmers planted cotton and corn seeds in an intercropping manner, which was done by plotting two lines of corns and 3 lines of cotton. According to the field instructors of the Department of Estate Crops, this was done to prevent the pests from attacking cotton plants. There were also farmers who used monoculture farming by planting cotton throughout their farms. This method kept farmers from planting foodstuffs, because the pests might threaten the cotton crops. However, the farmers came to know that cotton crops are prone to pest attack. Nearly every week, the farmers should spray pesticide¹⁵ from the government. If they ran out of pesticide, they had to buy it to Waingapu, the capital. A tin of pesticide cost IDR75,000, which could be used for a month. After cotton had been harvested, the remaining stems should be cut down and burnt. The government would give another bunch of seeds in the following year. It can be said that the farmers tend to depend on the commercial companies and the government in the procurement of cotton seeds, as well as facilities and infrastructure in the cotton farming. Furthermore, the cotton harvested by the farmers was used as the main material for the national textile industry, especially by PT AAI. Therefore, the farmers should sell their harvested products to

15 Pesticide is called "*obat hama*" by the local croppers; commonly, most of them do not know the brand, describing the product by the figure of a skull depicted in the tin.

these commercial companies with predetermined price: In 2008, cotton was bought from the farmers with IDR2,000 per kilogram. This shows that the farmers also depended in terms of the cotton price and the target market of their products.

One respondent stated that since her plantation was used for growing cotton, she was no longer able to grow yam, corn, or vegetables. The government discouraged the farmers to grow any other crops because the pests would likely attack cotton and reduce the quality and quantity of the harvested products. As a result, the farmers had to buy vegetables, which could have been harvested from her own land, from the market. Meanwhile, the traditional market (*pranggang*) only operated once a week and was located far from her village, which means she had to spend money on transportation and shopping. Besides, she also felt that she lost the opportunity to earn extra household income, because her land was entirely planted with cotton. When she still grew vegetables and yam in her land, she could sell some of them whenever she needed money. Every Saturday, when the market operated, she brought the harvested crops to be sold. Then, the money was used to buy groceries, such as soap, sugar, coffee, and kerosene. On the other hand, while growing cotton, she could not sell her harvested crops anymore; and, she still had to wait 4-5 months before the cotton could be reaped and collected a lot prior to sale. If the government or cotton industry officers came to collect the cotton at the exact time, the farmers could get the money immediately from the sale. However, the officers' arrival could not be estimated, making the farmers wait too long before the sale. This was worsened because the money from the sale was received by the husbands, which was later usually spent outside the household essentials.

Cotton, which weighs much less than corn, always becomes the main topics of complain within the discussion on PAKN. According to female labors, in producing 1 kg of cotton, they should collect the cotton in a long period of time, consisting of much more amount than that of corn. The respondents described this situation by comparing the harvested corn and cotton collected within a sack with a capacity of 50 kg. Each sack could contain 40-50 kg of corn, while it could only do 30

kg of cotton, even when the cotton was stuffed and pounded with a pestle so that it could fit inside the sack. Moreover, the respondents described that when they still grew corn, they could keep the harvested products as a food supply and sell it to the highest bidders. On the contrary, harvested cotton could not be produced as food, and the respondents had to sell it to predetermined buyers and with a fixed price. The respondents felt that growing corn in a 1 ha area was more profitable than growing cotton within the same area.

Furthermore, all of the farmers would feel itchy while harvesting the cotton because there were many pests attached on the crops. These farmers have complied with the instructions given by the Department of Estate Crops, including applying pesticide to the plants prior to harvest. However, the pesticide covered by the government could not last long within constant use. The farmers finally chose not to use pesticide at all. In the harvest season, the farmers had to immediately pack the cotton inside sacks and store them properly, away from water. These sacks of cotton also prone to fire; thus, the respondents also kept them away from any flammable materials. This worried the respondents as their houses were made of wood: If the sacks of cotton caught fire, it would endanger their family inside the house.

From the discussed issue, the female farmers within the two groups felt burdened by the effect of PAKN. However, their social status within patriarchal culture restrained them from voicing their opinion, especially in the official forums attended by men, government officials, or field instructors. These women only showed what Kerkvliet (2009) presents as the "everyday politics of the peasant" to express their resistance toward their duties within the demonstration plots. This resistance can be classified into several forms. The first one is related to the "project's cotton" or "*kamba proyek*" by the government. The residents of Tanamanang village differentiate cotton (*kamba*) into several varieties, including: *kamba humba* (Sumba cotton), which refers to the local cotton believed to be their ancestors' legacy; *kamba ranga*, which grows wild throughout forest; *kamba jawa*¹⁶ (Javanese cotton), which

16 In other regions of East Sumba, *kamba jawa* is used in the local language to refer to kapok tree.

refers to a cotton variant distributed by the government in the 1980s¹⁷; and *kamba hika* from kapok tree, which is used to produce pillows, bolsters, and cotton mattresses. Meanwhile, the cotton varieties for PAKN are hybrid and Kanesia 8 cottons, which are referred to by the local people as project's cotton or *kamba proyek*. Besides differentiating PAKN cotton from the other varieties of cotton well-known among people, the term project's cotton also has negative inference since the word "project" is usually related to an occupation carried out to spend money carelessly, or only favoring a group of people without bringing welfare to society.

Another form of resistance was expressed by planting cotton seeds without adhering to the pattern. The disappointing experience of growing cotton in 2008 encouraged the female farmers to express their disapproval through this resistance in the growing season of 2009. The pattern of 2 lines of corns interspersed with 3 lines of cotton was not complied. This action was also boosted by the fact that PAKN cotton seeds were not delivered on time. Consequently, the farmers planted corns throughout their plantation, without nearly sparing any space for growing cotton. When they finally received the seeds, they only planted them on between the corn crops, or even on the sidelines of the plantation. As a result, the harvested cotton was far less than the government's target. In reality, there existed such thing as an agreement of the demonstration plots, which was announced when the company officers came to "socialize" and "disseminate" the program. One of the "promises" they made was that they would come when it was time to collect the harvested cotton. The farmers would report about the cotton harvest to the field instructors or officers from the Department of Estate Crops, which would in turn contact the officers from the cotton company. These representations from the cotton company would come, collect, and weigh the harvested cotton directly with the farmers' presence. The payment would be processed after the cotton had been weighed. However, in the harvest season of 2008, the harvested cotton

17 Since 1979, the central government has undertaken efforts to reduce the dependency in importing cotton and increase the domestic cotton production through the Intensification of People's Cotton program or *Intensifikasi Kapas Rakyat* (IKR) in Indonesian. This IKR program was also implemented in Sumba Island in the 1980s.

had piled up for months, but these officers had yet to come and collect. When they finally came, the payment was not immediately processed. The harvested cotton that had been weighed in the farmers' houses, were taken away to be reweighed in the cotton factory; meanwhile, the payment was processed after. One of the respondents was disappointed because the scale when the harvested cotton was weighed in her house was different with that in the factory. Consequently, the sum of money she received was not as much as she had expected. This issue triggered her to defy the rules of cotton farming in the following year, such that the harvested cotton failed to meet the target. She even used the harvested products to replace the worn cotton inside the mattresses and pillows in her house.

The disappointment faced by the female croppers in 2008 and 2009 encouraged them to act out and resist PAKN assertively. They committed not to allow their *mondu* anymore to be the location of cotton demonstration plot in the following fiscal year. Such a commitment can be regarded as the third form of resistance from the female croppers. However, instead of explaining their disappointment and bitter experience toward the cotton demonstration plot, these women argue that the concern toward the flood in *mondu* area is the one underlying their resistance act. This is understandable, because since 2008, their lands, which are located just by the watershed, experience flood every year. This resistance was later supported by the other farming groups, which cause the East Sumba Department of Estate Crops do not extend *mondu* Kalionga as the location of cotton demonstration plot. The department later leased an area of 3 ha, which was not far from the previous demonstration plot location, in which three of its instructors continued to manage the program. In May 2013, flood occurred in Kalionga watershed and destroyed the corn crops in Tanamanang, including the new demonstration plot location on which, until the end of July 2013, there did not seem to be a restoration or renewal.

Various forms of women's resistance in Tanamanang Village discussed above show women's response against the gender inequality happening in society, particularly on the implementation of PAKN that restricted women's access to earn additional household income from agricultural products. If the female farmers could no longer sell their

harvested crops, they would depend a lot on the husbands' earning to make ends meet. Furthermore, they could not immediately receive the money they earned from the cotton farming because their husbands were the ones who obtained the payment. Instead of becoming an additional earning, PAKN is perceived by the women in Tanamanang as the cause they did not have any cash. Besides the response towards gender inequality, women's resistance in Tanamanang also shows their concern towards the sustainability of the balance of nature. Monoculture farming, which is applied in PAKN, has been widely understood as one of the factors responsible for environmental degradation. Even though increasing agricultural products in the harvest season, monoculture farming causes the plants prone to pest attack, such that requires much more chemical fertilizer, insecticide, and pesticide. Once pests attack an area of plants, it would instantly attack wider area. As a consequence, farmers would face crop failure because their crops are destroyed. On the other hand, the traditional polyculture farming well-known among Tanamanang population is able to preserve the balance of nature as well as maintain the sustainability of the environment and the farm's crops.

Conclusion

The implementation of PAKN in East Sumba since 2008 triggered women's resistance in Tanamanang Village. However, instead of employing a bold and destructive movement, this resistance is nearly unobservable because it is blended with their everyday behaviors as farmers. The forms of women's resistance in Tanamanang can be classified into three categories. The first form of resistance was carried out through referring to PAKN cotton as "project's cotton" (*kamba proyek*). The use of this term can be regarded as a form of symbolic resistance since the word "project" attached has a negative inference. The second form can be considered as an open resistance since the actions can be seen from their daily activities. In the context of PAKN implementation in Tanamanang village, the women's resistance was carried out by ignoring the farming method that had been instructed and defying the agreement about the sales of harvested cotton. Therefore, the open resistance in this study is different with the

Anagol's (2008) definition that emphasizes more on the destructive and dangerous forms of resistance. Meanwhile, the third form of resistance can be categorized as an assertion one, because it includes the female croppers' overt protests against PAKN implementation in their village. Instead of trying too hard to be a model group of farmers, these women rejected the cotton demonstration plots in their land.

Although not getting to the court, these forms of resistance assertively depict the role of female farmers in Tanamanang. These three forms of resistance happened simultaneously, albeit distinctive one to another. Hence, there is no form of resistance more prominent than the others, because this study emphasizes the "everyday" actions of women in facing many kinds of injustice. Using an ecofeminism perspective, the various forms of women's resistance in Tanamanang can be viewed as a response against gender and ecological inequality; because, these women were kept from earning additional household income, and manifested their effort toward the balance of nature by resisting monoculture farming and, instead, using traditional polyculture farming that supports sustainable agriculture. Moreover, this study also shows the way natural ecofeminists, who come from agriculture population, struggle against the power relation between the dominating and the dominated in their everyday lives.

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Faces of Female Parliament Candidates in 2014 General Election

Anita Dhewy

Jurnal Perempuan Editorial

anita@jurnalperempuan.com

Introduction

In the last three General Election after reformation era, the policy of affirmative action by applying a quota of minimum 30% for female representatives had been employed. In the 2004 Election, the affirmative action was done through combining quota system and sequence number rule in Election. This resulted in 61 women (11.09%) successfully made it into the representative house from the total of 550 members from the Indonesia People's Representative Council (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Republik Indonesia*/DPR RI). While in the 2009 Election, the quota system and zipper system was employed, which resulted in 101 women (18.04%) became the member of DPR RI from the total of 560 members. In 2014 Election, the same rule is still employed, quota and zipper system. Table 1 showed in detail of the affirmative action policy in Law of General Election.

Table 1.**Affirmative Action Policy in Law of General Election**

Law No.12/2003	Law No. 10/2008	Law No.8/2012
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The female representative in legislative house should be minimum 30%. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is minimum 30% of female representative in the management of Central Executive political party. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is minimum 30% of female representative in the management of Central Executive political party.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The candidate list should have minimum 30% of female representative. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The candidate list should have minimum 30% of female representative.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the candidate list, every three persons will need to have at least one female. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the candidate list, every three persons will need to have at least one female.

Source: Taken from Law No.12 of 2003, Law No.10 of 2008, and Law No.8 of 2012

The existence of this law product was able to boost the number of female legislative members, even the number in 2009-2014 was the highest out of all Election ever done. Even though, actually the number was still below the 30% critical mass. On the other hand, the absence of punishment for this law was the obstacle of employing affirmative action policy. Therefore, the decision of Constitutional Court on March 12, 2014 agreed on the petition of law test for Law No. 8 of 2012 on General Election that was stated in the Explanation of Article 56 Section (2) and in Article 215 Sub-Section b as a warrant or ethical legal umbrella for the female representation.

As decided by Constitutional Court, on the phrase '*atau*' (or) in the Explanation of Article 56 Section (2) of Law No. 8 of 2012, it should be cumulatively and alternatively interpreted into '*and/or*', which meant in every three names of legislative candidates, there should be one or two, or even three female candidate names. On the other hand, in phrase '*mempertimbangkan*' (considering) in Article 215 Sub-Section b of Law on Legislative Election, the Court thought it should be interpreted into '*prioritize*' female candidates if the spread of voting for male legislative candidate and female legislative candidate in one Election Area (*Daerah*

Pemilihan/Dapil) reached the same number. Unfortunately, the process of law test consumed more time; it had been more than a year since the petition was submitted on January 30, 2013. As the result, the deciding process of election participants and of legislative candidates had passed.

The decision would be applied in the future and would not affect the legislative candidates list of election run in April 9, 2014. However, the Constitutional Court decision would be able to bind many parties, especially political parties. The Executive Director of Women Empowerment Center in Politics who was also the keynote speakers in Equality and Democracy Advocating Team and as the one who suggested the petition, Titi Sumbung¹ stated that political parties had to have clear, transparent, and objective criteria of recruiting their legislative candidates. Therefore, in the future, the legislative candidate recruitment process was not number-oriented; instead, it would focus on the number and quality. Furthermore, the government would also have the responsibility to facilitate the training and education on civics, politics, leadership, and so on.

A member of General Election Commission (*Komisi Pemilihan Umum/KPU*), Ida Budhiati² explained that in the rule book of General Election Commission, there were already prevailing rules supporting female legislative candidacy. As the petition was granted, it would strengthen the rule made by KPU concerning on the disputes on election result. Before the law test, KPU was reported to the Election Supervisory Board (*Badan Pengawas Pemilu/Bawaslu*) when they prioritized female legislative candidates. Concerning on 'prioritizing' female candidates, it was exemplified by when female and male candidates reached the same vote number for People's Representative Council, it was then seen the spread in Regency area. If both reached the same number in five Regencies, it would then be seen the spread in Sub-District area, the position was prioritized to female legislative candidate as the selected member. However, if both positions were dominated by male candidates, it had to be seen through the voting number spread in Regency, Sub-District, and Village. This was seen as different forms of treatment done for gender equality and the need to control political actions.

How was Political Parties' Reaction towards Female Legislative Candidates?

Political parties had huge role of female candidacy regarding to the internal policy of each political parties in candidates selection process, for example how the political party placed women in potential election areas or, on the opposite, in election areas that were free from certain political party influence. Titi Sumbung, a female activist, who were actively involved in balcony fraction to finalize the 30% quota, had her own experience regarding political parties' influence in election. She stated that in 2004 Election, she was placed in an unfamiliar election area, and the society did not even know her. However, when she was there, she got more votes compared to the previous candidate who was number two. However, as in the election area her political party only received two seats, while 2004 Election employed Running Number system, she lost all of her votes and the number two candidate was the one who became the legislative member. In 2009 Election, she was placed in far bigger election area, which later made her had to rethink of re-electing.

“In 2009, the second time I joined the election because people pushed me to do so. Okay. People told me to change my political party. No, I wanted to test them, how far my party understand women representation, and whatnot. But in the end, where did they push me to? I was thrown to greater area. And after the Law stated that one of the three candidates must be a woman, the third person was the daughter of a governor, and I was put as the fifth person.... At that time I finally gave up before the election. I thought it was a waste, I failed when I was thrown to Jember that consisted only some election area, what would happen if I was in West Kalimantan, which consisted of 10 election area. Moreover, the political would not give even a cent money, we have to pay everything by ourselves”³.

Titi Sumbung's experience could also be experienced by other legislative candidates. Ida Budhiati said that in the Adjunct Candidate List (*Daftar Calon Tetap/DCT*) of People's Representative Council submitted by the political parties for 2014 Election, there was an

increase in female legislative candidates, if it was compared to 2009 Election. In 2009 Election, the number of female legislative candidate reached 30%, while in 2014 the number rose to 37%. Even though there was a raise in the number, it was not a warranty that there would be increasing number of women as the legislative member. Some policies had been ratified to encourage political parties to give more opportunities towards the female cadres to do more. As done by KPU through PKPU No. 7 of 2013, which was the response towards Law for Election. For example, Article 24 of PKPU concerned on the obligation of the 30% quota for female candidates in each Election Area. As well as some policies regarding the Running Number system, which allow female candidates to not stay in the last running number in the list.

The rule also contained some penalties, if it was not employed by the political party, then this party would not be applicable for the requirements of legislative member candidacy. Concerning on the rule implementation, KPU's strictness heed some appreciations. As reported by *kompas.com*⁴ on mid-June, KPU announced four political parties which did not have female candidates in their list. As the result, all of the legislative candidates in election area which did not fulfill the requirement were announced unqualified and could not participate in the Election. The four political parties were Gerindra, which was not qualified in Election Area West Java IX, Partai Pesatuan Pembangunan (PPP) in Election Area West Java II and Central Java III, Partai Amanat Nasional (PAN) in Election Area West Sumatra I, and Partai Keadilan dan Persatuan Indonesia (PKPI), which lacked of the quota for female legislative candidates in Election Area West Java V and VI and Nusa Tenggara Timur I. This penalty was important to ensure that each political party would have to fulfill the appointed quota for female candidate, or they would have to suffer the penalty. If the reprimand went well, then the female candidate quota would be fulfilled.

The effort to boost the number of female candidacy in parliament through some rules like Law of Election and PKPU brought some results. If it was seen through the Adjunct Candidate List (*Daftar Calon Tetap/DCT*) of the candidates in 2014 Election, every political party was able to fill the minimum number of female candidacy, as seen through Table 2.

Table 2.
Political Parties’ DCT of 2014 Election based on Gender

Party	Male	Female	Percent
Nasdem	333	226	40,4%
PKB	348	210	37,6%
PKS	301	191	38,8%
PDIP	360	200	35,7%
Golkar	358	202	36,1%
Gerindra	354	203	36,4%
Demokrat	355	205	36,6%
PAN	353	208	37,1%
PPP	335	214	39%
Hanura	335	203	36,4%
PBB	351	205	36,9%
PKPI	339	200	37,1%

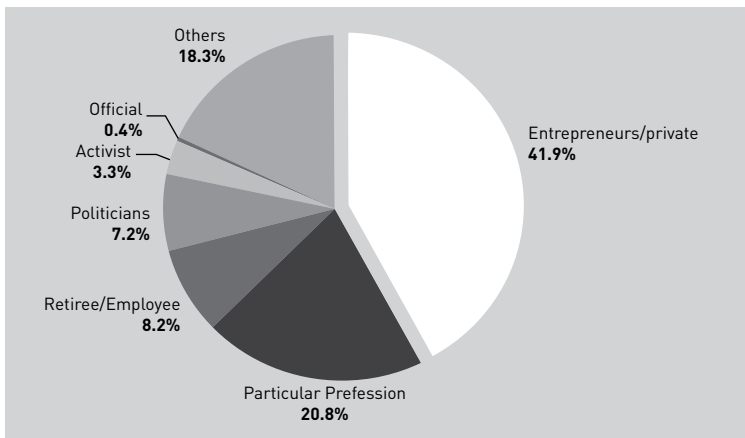
Source: KPI

How was the Background of Female Legislative Candidates in 2014 General Election?

How was the composition of female legislative candidates? Based on their occupational background, most of them were entrepreneurs/ private (1171 persons), followed by special profession group (581 persons), which included doctor, advocate, religionist, academician, and celebrity. The complete description could be seen through the following figure.

Figure 1.

Legislative Candidates Composition Based on Occupation



Source: Formappi

The Director of Megawati Institute, Musdah Mulia⁵, stated that referring to the 2009 Election result, which 42% of female parliament members were from political dynasty, it meant political parties did not give proper political education. They randomly recruited wife, daughter, niece or siblings. If we saw the composition of legislative candidates in 2014, she had not seen significant change over this.

“Based on my observation, the current legislative candidates are the same, nothing changed. Maybe if it was mapped, the pattern was no different to the composition in the previous parliamentary board, most of them are political dynasty, it is better to have my own family, as long as they are women”.

Political dynasty became a problem, since based on familial relationship, the candidate’s ability and capacity, in this context voicing gender-related interests, did not become a priority. Furthermore, practically, power abuse would be likely to happen. Generally, the practice of political dynasty did not bring positive impact for constituents or societies.

Different opinion was given by Politics Expert from Northwestern

University, Jeffrey Winters⁶ who observed political dynasty from a more optimistic point of view. He perceived the patriarchal point of view shared in this world, and one of the way women could enter strategic positions was via men. He thought this was not a problem and saw this as a universal pattern. For example Megawati Soekarnoputri, Benazir Bhutto, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, Corozon Aquino, Indira Gandhi, Hillary Clinton, and so on, who entered political world through men. Thus, the first step would be from men, and the next should be perfected. He thought this was important for experience, for the young generation to see that women were able to stand in that position.

Besides political dynasty, most of female legislative candidates were public figure, including celebrity. The 2009-2014 parliament members from public figure reached 25%. In 2014 Election, these figures remained. Musdah evaluated the existence of celebrities who became legislative candidates was a shortcut chosen by the political parties, considering the fact that they had popularity and money. This indicated immaturity level of the political parties. Regarding this, Atnike Nova Sigirow from Partai Serikat Rakyat Independent (SRI) thought that our political parties had not become a modern political party, meaning we did not have a good political education for the cadres. On the other hand, our democracy system in legislative election, regional representative election, and presidential election still depended on marketing product rather than promoting the programs and vision.

“It was usual case if a political party will choose Desi Ratnasari (an actress, ed.) rather than Gadis Arivia (the founder of *Jurnal Perempuan*, ed.) to become legislative candidate. Even though Gadis must have better vision on women in Indonesia compared to Desi Ratnasari. Thus, Indonesian democracy, especially electoral democracy, is no different to Indonesian Idol”⁷.

The existence of female legislative candidate with political dynasty background and from celebrity world tended to fulfill the political party agenda, which was only to fill the formal quota of 30% female legislative candidate and to raise the vote numbers, rather than truly considering female-related interest.

How was People's Reaction to Female Legislative Candidates?

On the other hand, people were inclined to use dual standard to appraise woman and man. Even though in fact there were some male legislative candidates who did not have proper capacity and bad historical background, the insults and criticisms were often and easily directed to female legislative candidates who were less capable compared to male candidates. As stated by Atnike, the evaluation towards female candidates sometimes were not directed to their political vision or program, rather it was directed to her sexuality.

“It was easier for public to insult female legislative candidate who was considered as incompetent, if compared to incompetent male candidate. I was not fond of the idea that Desi Ratnasari can become a candidate or for example another woman from PPP, Angel Lelga. But I think there was some kind of machoism or something like that.... Between the men who had more modern idea, had better insight on women and more civilized men and democracy, it was easier for them to insult women. For example, a picture posted in Facebook, there was a picture of Rhoma Irama and Angel Lelga, under Angel Lelga's picture written a quote ‘*coblos saya*’, and Rhoma Irama wrote, ‘*saya sudah pernah*’.... I dislike Angel Lelga, I think she is incompetent of being a legislative candidate, but the picture also showed that public are judgmental towards women rather than men”.

The same manner was not only done by the society, the media also showed similar tendency. The media tended to dichotomize women, as a genius in one side and as a fool in another side. Furthermore, the media would look for eye-catching issue in their point of view and inclined to ignore female-interest issue, as stated by the Secretary of International Department of Partai Demokrat, Imelda Sari.

“... there were some celebrity friends who were new in politics, they did not have any background and never studied about it or on the empowerment as a legislative candidate and so on. Whenever they spoke up, they talked in their own style, and from what we saw, they were bullied in public space and

in twitter, and almost everywhere.... If it came to politics, media would only take the side of women if they thought it was eye-catching for public. But whenever we spoke about loan for women, they decided that it was uninteresting. Actually, for women in villages, in rural areas, for example in Bogor... these issues are very important”⁸.

It could be said that the dual standard was applied to all women in every aspects and levels, not only when they were fighting for their position in the parliament (when they became legislative candidates), but also when they had their position as either legislative member, part of executive structure, and so on. As explained by Mari Elka Pangestu, the Ministry of Tourism and Creative Economy, that in every area, women had to prove that they were able to do more than men. There was a prevailing standard, which differed man and woman. In this situation, women had to be able to adapt. Therefore, Mari thought that it was important for women to have their self-confidence. And based on her experience, becoming role model and result-oriented self was the most applicable way of them to be accepted by the society.

“So, based on my experience in various capacity, sometimes as the only woman there, we have to prove that we can do better than men do. It was a fact, and we could not fight against it. We have to be able to adapt on such condition. And if we are in this situation, we have to be the role model. So, when I was elected as a Ministry in *Kabinet Indonesia Bersatu I* (KBI I), I was scared because I could not fail, I had to succeed in proving to people that I could. And I was a minority. It could be a challenge, but also a pressure. That means we have to adapt to decision making... finally I became outcome-oriented. I want to be involved in decision changing, if I was persistent in meeting, as I observed, I always failed. They said, ‘this woman is too stubborn, talk too much, persistent,’ they listened to me, but I failed. In the end, I changed my way, for example pursuit normally the other male cabinet members to see the value of the decision changing. So I think, in the end, we presented the main point of the decision... And finally I win my argument, if I could present the benefits to them”⁹.

How was the Money Politics in General Election?

Another problem which could be the main spotlight was money politics. Musdah saw the problem concerning the absence of political parties in political education for the society. Therefore, we often found news on problematic election for Regional Representative Council (*Pilkada*) and the problem always ended on money. Chusnul Mar'iyah¹⁰, the President Director of Center for Election and Political Party University Link (CEPP Uni Link) shared her experience how hard it was to change people's perception on money politics. After four hours of giving political education to female legislative candidates in Riau Province, sharing related materials on how legislative candidates could stand up and win and when the participants looked optimistic, in the end of the discussion, a participant voiced her refusal to believe that legislative candidate could win without money politics, early attack, and so on. On the other hand, Erika¹¹ from Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan (PDIP) thought that the political parties' culture and the societies' pragmatic manner encouraged the practice of money politics. She saw that political parties were still dominated by males who had lack interest in women's interest and thought that money was the biggest source of power. In Regional Legislative Representative Election DKI Jakarta, she saw with her own eyes how people frankly asked rice in exchange for money, as it was their main need.

The next question would be: how pragmatic the societies were? If seen through the result of 9 April Election, unfortunately, the answer might be yes. The Commission III DPR member from PDIP Fraction, Eva Kusuma Sundari as quoted by viva.co.id¹² admitted that her chance of reclaiming her seat as legislative member might be slim, even though she had started campaigning in her Election Area (East Java VI) six months before the election and met the prospective voters directly to promote her programs and listen to their aspiration. While making her round, Eva admitted that some people asked for transportation money, but she negotiated to make the money as social donation for local people's needs. She presumed her losing chance of her seat in the legislative council was the earlier attack done by her rival. However, she thought system was the one that made the voters act the way they were. The 2014 Election focused on two main criteria; popular and have

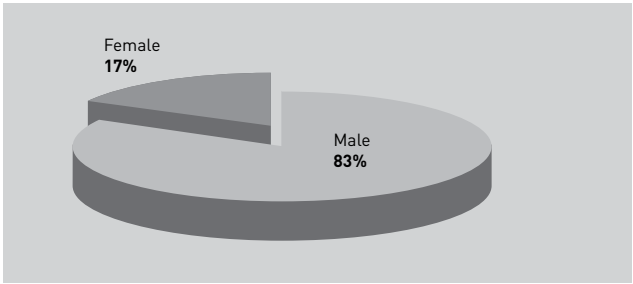
money, just like in the 2009 Election.

Regarding the popularity of certain legislative candidates, was the popularity a guarantee for political parties' vote numbers? It was not actually the case, as it was stated by PPP which had most of celebrity legislative candidates in 9 April Legislative Election; the vote numbers of this political party on the quick count only reached seven percent. The Vice General Chairman (Wakil Ketua Umum /Waketum) of PPP, Emron Pangkapi, as reported by www.kabar3.com¹³, he stated that Angel Lelga who was placed in Election Area Central Java V was not able to boost PPP's votes. Even, the legislative candidate number two got more votes. The same thing also happened to Nasrullah, or who was commonly known as Mat Solar in Election Area DKI Jakarta III which covered West Java and Kepulauan Seribu. Out of the celebrities, Okky Asokawati received most of the votes, and expected to run to the parliament. Okky was a legislative member of PPP 2009-2014. According to Emron, this could be a good experience for his party to prepare better, more competent, and people-interest-oriented legislative candidates in 2019.

How was Female Legislative Candidate Vote Acquisition?

The 2014 Election result, which was announced by KPU on May 9, showed that the legal vote reached 124,972,491 and there were 10 political parties, which were successfully reached the national vote beyond the parliamentary threshold of 3.5% for People's Representative Council. Political parties that got the highest number were PDIP (22,681,471 or 18.95%), followed by Golkar (14.75%), Gerindra (11.81%), Demokrat (10.91%), PKB (9.04%), PAN (7.57%), PKS (6.79%), Nasdem (6.72%), PPP (6.63%), and Hanura (5.26%). The selected female legislative candidates in 2014 Election were 97 persons (17%), lessening from the 2009 Election (103 persons or 18%).

Figure 2.
**The Selected Female Legislative Candidates Percentage
in 2014 Election**



Source: taken from General Election Commission

Although the decline was only one percent, it still needed to be noted. Moreover if we tried to compare it to the female legislative candidates, as shown through the following table:

Table 3.
**The Comparison of DPR Legislative Candidates in 2009 and 2014
Election**

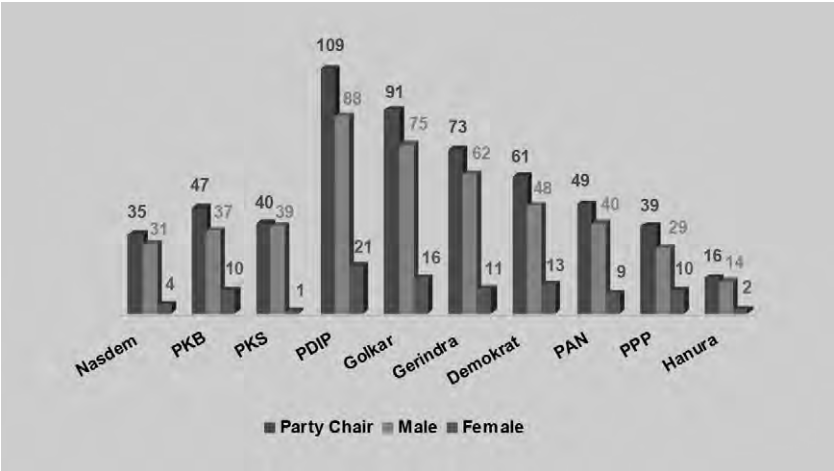
Information	2009 Election	2014 Election
Number of DPR Male Legislative Candidate	7305	4152
Number of DPR Female Legislative Candidate	3910	2467
Percentage of DPR Female Legislative Candidate	34,86%	37,27%
Number of Elected Male Legislative Candidate	459	463
Number of Elected Female Legislative Candidate	101	97
Percentage of Elected Female Legislative Candidate	18,03%	17,32%

Notes: The current number of female legislative member in People’s Representative Council 2009-2014 was 103 people (18.3%), due to changes overtime (*Pergantian Antar Waktu/PAW*)

In 2009 Election, the number of female legislative number was 34.68% with the selected members on 18.03%. In 2014 Election, the female candidacy raised to 37.27% with the selected female member underwent a decrease to 17.32%. As explained previously, the existence

of KPU Rule (*Peraturan KPU/PKPU*), which required political parties to place at least 30% of female candidates in *Daftar Calon Tetap* in every Election Area succeeded on raising the percentage of female candidacy (see Table 2). However, this did not automatically ensure their selection as legislative member. It was interesting to further study on the vote acquired by each political party:

Figure 3.
Vote Acquisition by Each Political Party and Classification Based on Gender in 2014 Election



Source: taken from General Election Commission

PDIP had the most number of ‘giving’ female legislative number, which was 21 persons (22%) of the total number of female legislative members in People’s Representative Council. The smallest contribution was PKS that only ‘gave’ one legislative member (1%) from the total number. However, if it was seen through the percentage of female chair compared to that of political party, then PPP had the highest percentage (25.64%). Even though PDIP had the most chair numbers, the percentage was only 19.27%, the fourth after PPP, Demokrat, and PKB. The complete data could be seen in Table 4.

Table 4.

**Vote Acquisition of Political Party and Female Legislative Candidates
in People's Representative Council in 2014 and 2009 Election**

Political Party	2014 Election			2009 Election		
	Party Chair	Female	Perce- tage	Party Chair	Female	Perce- tage
Nasdem	35	4	11,43%	--	--	--
PKB	47	10	21,28%	28	7	25%
PKS	40	1	2,5%	57	3	5,26%
PDIP	109	21	19,27%	94	17	18,08%
Golkar	91	16	17,58%	106	18	16,98%
Gerindra	73	11	15,07%	26	5	19,23%
Demokrat	61	13	21,31%	148	35	23,65%
PAN	49	9	18,37%	46	7	15,22%
PPP	39	10	25,64%	38	6	15,79%
Hanura	16	2	12,5%	17	3	17,65%

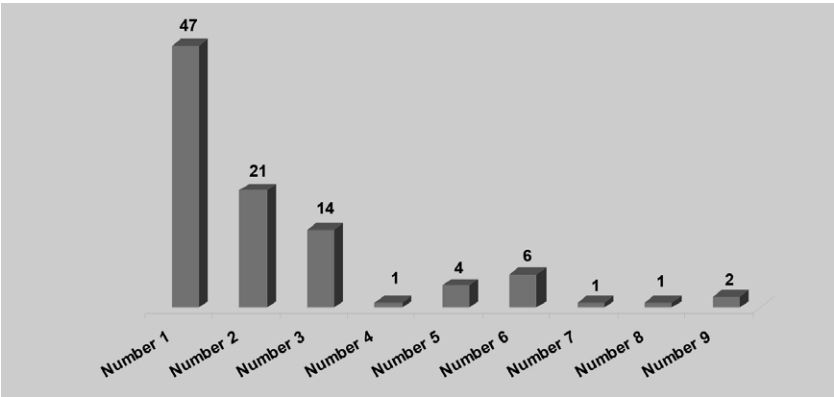
Source: taken from General Election Commission.

In 2009 Election, Demokrat was recorded as political party with the most number of female legislative candidates, in 2014 Election, the number decreased significantly, from 35 seats to 13. Although the total chair number of Demokrat decreased, the collective number of female candidates remained stable (from 23.65% to 21.31%). On the other hand, Gerindra in 2014 Election showed a significant raise in the number of female candidates (from 5 to 11), however the percentage lessened (from 19.23% to 15.07%).

On the contrary, based on the legislative candidate running numbers, the election result showed that most of the selected female candidates were the ones who were in the first orders of the list. The following figure showed the majority of the selected female legislative members were from number one (47 persons or 48%), followed by significant gap with the number two (21 persons or 22%), and number three (14 persons or 14%). Thus, 84% of the female legislative members were on the first order in the list (1, 2, and 3). A small portion of them (16%) were in number four to nine. The data showed that although the candidates were determined by most voted ones—as seen since

2009 Election which was assumed that the order was not relevant factor—it remained a determining factor for the candidate selection. Consequently, special treatment like placing female candidates in first orders and the position of one or two even three female candidates every three candidate names was deemed effective to raise the number of female legislative members.

Figure 4.
Running Numbers of Female Legislative Members in 2014-2019
Indonesian People’s Representative Council



Source: taken from General Election Commission

In the 2014 Election, out of 33 provinces, it was decided to be 77 Election Areas with chair dimension of three to ten seats. And out of 77 Election Areas, there were only 18 election areas with 30% or more electability of female candidates. The highest number was in Java, some were in Sumatra, Sulawesi, Kalimantan, and Maluku. Table 5 showed the complete data.

Table 5.
**Election Area and Female Candidate Electability in People's
Representative Council > 30%**

Election Area	Seat Allocation	Female Candidate Elected	Percentage
South Sumatra II	9	3	33,33
Bengkulu	4	3	75
Lampung II	9	3	33,33
Riau Islands	3	1	33,33
Jakarta I	6	2	33,33
West Java IV	6	4	66,67
West Java VI	6	2	33,33
West Java VII	10	3	30
Central Java IV	7	4	57,14
Central java VIII	8	3	37,5
Banten I	6	3	50
West Kalimantan	10	3	50
East Kalimantan	8	3	37,5
North Sulawesi	6	2	33,33
South Sulawesi I	8	3	37,5
West Sulawesi	3	2	66,67
Moluccas	4	2	50
North Moluccas	3	1	33,33

Source: taken from General Election Commission

Meanwhile, there were 21 Election Area with unselected female legislative candidates. It had various spread area, including Aceh, Bangka Belitung, Bali, Nusa Tenggara Timur, South Kalimantan, Gorontalo, and West Papua.

Conclusion

The decreasing number of votes for female legislative candidates for DPR RI in 2014 General Election aroused an urgent question related to the commitment of political parties to encourage female

representatives in the parliament. The 2014 Election result showed that, so far, political parties only adopted the affirmative policy in the level of legal-formal. Practically, even though they had implemented the minimum quota of female representation in the candidacy, this policy was not followed up by the internal policy in the political party to earnestly support the quota for female representation. Therefore, the internal political party transformation was needed and was urgent to be done, both for its structural and cultural level. On the other hand, the decreasing number of votes for female legislative candidates for DPR RI could be an important agenda for women's movement. Out of 97 2014-2019 DPR RI members, it was noted that 33 persons (34%) were incumbents and the rest (64 persons/66%) were new candidates with highly diverse background and was dominated by familial networking link with political elitists. This challenged the effort to fight for and realize the non-biased-gender policies and in the future it could pose a threat. Therefore, precautions had been taken to direct the chosen legislative members and it would need comprehensive strategy.

Endnotes

- 1 Press Conference of Tim Advokasi Kesenjangan dan Demokrasi, Hotel Akmani Jakarta, 18 March 2014
- 2 Press Conference of Tim Advokasi Kesenjangan dan Demokrasi, Hotel Akmani Jakarta, 18 March 2014
- 3 Focus Group Discussion (FGD), YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 4 <http://nasional.kompas.com/read/2013/06/10/1726595/Tak.Penuhi.Keterwakilan.Perempuan..4.Parpol.Gugur> accessed 1 April 2014
- 5 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 6 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 7 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 8 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 9 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 10 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 11 Focus Group Discussion, YJP Office, 8 March 2014
- 12 <http://us.m.news.viva.co.id/news/read/497491-habis-rp1-5-miliar--eva-sundari-gagal-kembali-ke-senayan> accessed 17 April 2014
- 13 <http://www.kabar3.com/news/2014/04/ppp-akui-caleg-artis-gagal-dongkrak-suara-partai> diakses 17 April 2014



Interview with Jeffrey Winters

The Importance of Nation's Intervention on Electoral Quotas for Women

Dewi Candraningrum

Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta

dewicandraningrum@jurnalperempuan.com

Professor Jeffrey Winters is the founder and the director of the Equality Development and Globalization Studies (EDGS) Program at Northwestern University in Chicago (www.edgs.northwestern.edu). He is also the founder and the Chairman of the Board Trustees for the Indonesian Scholarship and Research Support Foundation (ISRSF) in Jakarta, which annually grants scholarships for Indonesian students to pursue their doctorates in the social sciences at Northwestern University. Professor Winters received his PhD from Yale University and he specializes in the study of oligarchs and elites, especially in Indonesia. Winters also studies international political

economy and comparative politics. His book, *Oligarchy* (Cambridge Univ Press, 2011; and *Oligarki*, Gramedia 2012), won the American Political Science Association's award in 2012 for the best book in Comparative Politics. He is also the author of *Power in Motion: Capital Mobility and the Indonesian State* (Cornell University Press, 1996), *Reinventing the World Bank* (Cornell University Press, 2002) edited with Dr. Jonathan Pincus. Both of these books have been published in Bahasa Indonesia. He also published another two books in Indonesian: *Dosa-Dosa Politik Orde Baru* in 1999 and *Orba Jatuh, Orba Bertahan?* in 2004.

Jurnal Perempuan (JP): Do you think President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) made much progress in promoting gender equality and women's rights in Indonesia?

Jeffrey Winters (JW): Gender equality was not a significant priority during SBY's Presidency. During his ten years in office, SBY did not propose any major policy initiatives focused specifically on women. We could say that women neither made any major progress under SBY, nor lost a great deal of ground. In this regard, it is rather typical of SBY's presidency. It is hard to think of anything in which he made major strides or introduced significant change. In the area of women's empowerment and gender, he was true to form. It was different in the period before SBY. I think we saw a lot of changes between 1998 and 2004. But these advances went hand in hand with the broader transformations occurring in that era. It was a transformative moment—like a window of opportunity—when changes people had been fighting for a long time suddenly became a reality. We saw a lot of improvements during that time. But SBY's presidency was a major disappointment. A full decade with a president in the palace who didn't really care about leaving his mark on the country in any form, including in the important area of gender equality.

Jurnal Perempuan (JP): What are your thoughts on gender and civil society? And how about the specific issue of equality for women?

Jeffrey Winters (JW): The issue of rights and equality is very contentious and confusing in this era of history. On the one hand, the world is getting smaller and we all know a lot more about each other, and women around the world have an opportunity to compare their status and rights with each other. On the other hand, we are also in a historical moment when cultural diversity and multiculturalism is to

be respected. The world is a very diverse place, and we cannot impose, for instance, Western standards on every culture. The two values—equality and multiculturalism—clash when women are oppressed using local cultural standards as the justification or excuse.

Jurnal Perempuan (JP): Is there a moral strategy for dealing with this clash of values?

Jeffrey Winters (JW): I believe there is. It is possible for all of us around the world to adopt a universal approach or standard based on equality of treatment, but at the same time embrace diversity. What I mean is, I believe it is possible to have both universalism and pluralism. How might this be done? The first principle is to accept that not all places have the same cultural practices or values. Even within a single country, there can be many cultures, as in Indonesia. Let a thousand flowers of diversity bloom! But the second principle is one of absolute equality *within* each culture or society. One standard, one metric for all members of that community. It helps to have a concrete example. Let's say in a certain part of Indonesia, a law is passed that says women may not go out after dark, or women may not work in the evenings. According to the universalism-pluralism approach, we would say OK, if in your community there are to be rules regarding working after dark, all such rules must be applied the same to all—one metric, one standard with no discrimination on the basis of gender. If women may not go out at night, men are also forbidden. If women are not allowed to work at night, the same standard must apply absolutely equally to all members of that community. If you want to pass a law about riding sideways on a motorbike, men must also ride sideways if they sit in the back. If a rule is passed about covering heads, it should apply to women and men equally. Men must cover their heads also. If they don't want to, then there can be no restriction on women. No one in the world is saying you cannot have different rules or practices in your society compared to other societies and cultures. Go ahead, be diverse. But the second part of the principle simply states that it is unacceptable to discriminate on the basis of gender. Different practices and behaviors between societies. Great! But a single standard, a single principle for all within each one.

Jurnal Perempuan (JP): Do you have any thoughts about Indonesian female politicians? And what about women politicians who are heirs of political dynasties founded by men?

Jeffrey Winters (JW): Patriarchy is a fact of life. There is progress being made thanks to the struggles of women. But men are still in dominant positions in every society in the world. This has blocked most women from positions of power. Out of 100 seats, there are only 17 women in the U.S. Senate. There have only been 44 women Senators in the U.S. since 1789. The record is terrible and embarrassing. And we have still not had a woman president. In Indonesia I think in some ways you are making progress faster. It is very important that women are in government even if sometimes they don't fight hard for women's issues. It matters that a young Indonesian girl turns on the TV and sees Indonesian women as ministers, as members of parliament, and as president—even if that woman president is Megawati, who did not really have a strong pro-woman agenda. The quota system in Indonesia is important. The first battle is to get women in the positions. Step two is to make sure they speak up for women's issues.

Jurnal Perempuan (JP): Does it matter if those women politicians get there only because they are related to a powerful man?

Jeffrey Winters (JW): I realize that it is not the most ideal path for women to enter power, but I don't think there is much to be gained by attacking these women just because their father or husband was the key to their success. It is still better if the daughter or wife gets the position rather than the man's brother or son, right? Men have been handing power to their male siblings and heirs in political for centuries. It is a step in the right direction for related women to get the positions instead. And again, then we focus on what they do, not how they got there. Coming back to the U.S. for example, Hilary Clinton has a serious chance of winning the presidency in 2016. The fact that Bill was president has given her a lot of advantages in her political career. If the only way to break the gender barrier in the U.S. is for the wife of a former president to be the first women president, so be it. Better the barrier is broken as soon as possible, however we get there.

Jurnal Perempuan (JP): What are your thoughts about the emergence of fundamentalist groups that strictly refuse the participation of female politicians? Where do you see this leading?

Jeffrey Winters (JW): The fall of the Suharto dictatorship and the rise of democracy has been a double-edged sword. There are more freedoms, but groups that previously did not dare to push for their narrow policies

now try to do so. One thing all conservative religious groups around the world have in common is men dominate them and they are obsessed with controlling women. They try to pass laws that restrict women, keep them out of sight, keep them out of political power, and if possible keep them home. I am happy to say that every time conservative religious groups try this in Indonesia, they have failed. They tried it against Megawati. They try it in local political elections. Thus far it has not been a strong strategy. But the trends worry me. I have been observing Indonesia for 30 years, and the power of fundamentalist groups is stronger than it has been in a long time. More and more women feel they must cover their heads than decades ago. This is a subtle visual sign of conservative influence. Independent women need to speak up to make sure, as I stated before, that anyone trying to impose restrictions on women must, in the name of fairness, consistency, and equality, impose identical restrictions on men. If they are not willing to do so, then they admit they are discriminating on the basis of gender and their proposals should be rejected as biased against women.

Jurnal Perempuan (JP): Back to the matter of gender and quotas in Indonesian politics. Do you have further thoughts on that?

Jeffrey Winters (JW): Quotas are an important instrument for any minority trying to break through limitations that have been in place for generations. A 30% quota for women was a good starting point, but it should be required to increase by 5% every election cycle until 50-50 is reached. Once this happens, the quota can be removed. When women get positions of power, it is not uncommon for them to imitate men in terms of dress or politics. Sometimes they can only win as women by giving the impression they "think like men." This is regrettable but it happens in the U.S. as well. Women in DPR or DPRD are often criticized because they do not put enough effort into fighting for women's rights and issues. I am more patient. The first step is being there and visibility. Males, but also women, need to get used to seeing them there. With time they will step forward and defend a pro-women agenda. The pattern happens in all societies where women break through and get into positions of power.

Jurnal Perempuan (JP): What should we do to push the number of quota gender?

Jeffrey Winters (JW): The government holds the key to this. They should intervene, like in other developed countries, to make

affirmative efforts. For example, they should encourage women to become officials—directors, commissioners, ministers, rectors of universities, and CEOs of companies. The government can give favorable treatment to corporations that are owned by women, for example in city or government projects for development. For example, in my city of Chicago in the U.S., the city government gives preferences for companies that are owned by women and minorities to make sure they get a piece of the pie, so they can survive and grow. Indonesia can do the same thing—for example, passing a regulation that 10% of projects must involve a women's organization or company. This can increase every three years by 5%.

Jurnal Perempuan (JP): You write a lot about oligarchs and oligarchy. What is the gender angle there?

Jeffrey Winters (JW): Oligarchs are people who are powerful because they are super rich. The world of oligarchs is one of the most patriarchal in the world. At least 98% of the richest people on earth are males. Nearly every dollar billionaire is a man. The vast majority of CEOs of corporations are men as well. The world of wealth and business remains heavily male dominated—even more male dominated than political positions.

Jurnal Perempuan (JP): What do you hope for Indonesia's political map in the future?

My hope for the future is that Indonesian women will rapidly reach their gender equality goals in every dimension. And not only limited to women, but also other groups who face discrimination and inequality based on race, ethnicity, or sexual orientation. They all are human beings who deserve the same rights and opportunities in life as everyone else. However, based on my experience as a political analyst, dominant groups do not surrender easily. They enjoy their position of domination. This means there will be resistance and the progress might sometimes be slow. We cannot be discouraged and give up the struggle just because it is hard or disappointing. We struggle because it is the right thing to do. All around the world, women's movements have understood this. Even if hard work and sacrifices now don't seem to produce results, remember that a foundation is being laid for future generations. The freedoms and equality they will enjoy will be because of the struggles we make now. So, fighting for justice is never in vain.

Editor: Abdul Waidi, Arie Sudjito, Sugeng Bahagijo

MENDAHULUKAN Si MISKIN

Buku Sumber Daya Anggaran Pro Rakyat

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Profile of Binny Bintarti Buchori

How should Politics Work?

Mariana Amiruddin

mariana@jurnalperempuan.com

Binny Bintarti Buchori is a well-known name in the Indonesian democratic activism. What makes her joined a political party? When Binny Buchori is busy “joining in an Election Area (*Daerah Pemilihan*),” Jurnal Perempuan approached her to talk about her representation in politics as legislative candidate. Binny is a candidate of DPR-RI 2014-2019, East Java VII Election Area, Golkar, number 1. She was born in Bandung, March 1, 1958. She was a student of English Department in Gajah Mada University Yogyakarta, and then she continued her study to UK by acquiring Master’s Degree scholarship on Librarianship and Information Studies in University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, United Kingdom. In UK, Binny saw a political, social, and student movement blended into fight against the apartheid politics in South Africa. Her interest in Civil Society Organization (CSO), education, and politics probably was the influence of her family. Binny is the daughter of Mochtar Buchori, ex-Rector of IKIP Muhammadiyah Jakarta Yogyakarta and ex-member of DPR RI, he was also known as an expert in education. Binny’s interest in politics

emerged since she worked in INFID (International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development), which doing advocacy on various policy. Binny sees there is a missing link of what she dreamt as a civil society organization's and the society's vision about justice and prosperity with what the policy makers decided on. Finally, Binny thinks she has to step into politics. She never mentions it as practical politics, instead she calls it as a decision to do politics, whether with or without the political party.

Binny had her opportunity of being a Chairman of Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa on 2005, but she rejected the offer because she just established a Civil Society Organization *Perkumpulan Prakarsa*, which focuses on research. Binny realizes the importance for an activist to join a political party to avoid the domination of elitist in a political party. DEMOS study in 2004 stated that pro-democracy groups have to enter the political arena to ensure that the Act made by the government is in the favor of the society. She has wide experience as a leader such as the Executive Director of International NGO Forum on Indonesia Development (INFID), Executive Director of *Perkumpulan Prakarsa* Jakarta, and she also led Ashoka, a non-profit organization that bequeath a reward for people who have innovative idea in public sector. Binny started her career in *The Jakarta Post* from 1983 to 1986. She left her steady career as the mass media at that time could not accommodate people's concern on social justice, and her critical ideas did not receive much response. Her enlightenment process went on when in 1986 she continued her study on Librarianship and Information Studies in University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, United Kingdom. She saw public participation in policy making, the activities ranged from boycotting South Africa's product until *Free Mandela Movement*. She brought the passion back to Indonesia, fortifying her desire to join people who dared to work outside the box and believed in what they did.

Binny considers herself as an activist who is already involved in political world. Even though statistically saying, it is rare for an English Department student chooses to be an activist. Before she finally joins a political party, in reunion Binny's friends often asked why she wants to be an activist while she already had a stable job. Her friends often said, "it is like you have nothing you need," meaning Binny does not

need the money, does not need to work. For her, getting involved in activist world, particularly in advocacy, enable her to have closer connection with the policy makers such as the government and legislator. Even before she became an activist, she already joined a lot of discussions with other female activists such as Maria Pakpahan and Gung Ayu in 1993 or 1994 on what if in the future Indonesia changed with new political parties? Will they be ready to be involved? It was inconceivable, but after 1998, Binny considered of joining a political party, because our Nation management relies on the Acts and Policies. By joining a political party it also means that she will have the chance to make a change in the policy. When she was a journalist, Binny felt she did not have much space to convey her opinion, for example on writing news, she could not even give a slight interpretation for the readers due to the situation and the journalists needed to be careful on writing a news. Editors were very strict so that the published news did not seem tendentious. There was a slight freedom on writing feature on arts and culture. That was the unstable time due to Bill on Societal Organizations of 1985 (*UU Ormas tahun 1985*), when there was only one rule for media to write news and there was a law to enforce it. Many of Binny's family members had experience of working in Civil Society Organization, especially related with studies on society's understanding. Binny wanted to join the professional world when more people were excited to join group discussion and wanted to make a significant change. "When my friends excitedly discussed about their passion to make a change, I got my first salary and my life became more stable." Binny admitted that it was a bit slower for her to finally participate in activist world compared to her other friends, but when she went to UK because of her teaching responsibility as a lecturer, Binny learned about political actions and helped the activists network there.

She got scholarship and only stayed for two years in UK. As she got scholarship from the government, she was restricted of doing some activities and she had to be extra careful. But she has strong will to join the students' movement there, moreover when she looked at her friends who were active in Amnesty International, picking up phones, sending telegrams, making releases, and Binny helped them a bit. The

first week she started her study, she was introduced to student groups through exhibition; some of them are Amnesty International, a group with train riding as their hobby, social solidarity group, and a group that accompany senior citizens. That was when Binny saw those as political movements.

What she learned on librarianship in UK could also be a distinctive political action in Indonesia. In UK, there was an Act on library named Public Library Act, which was ratified in the 1500s. It stated that the local government and every district need to have a public library funded by the tax. The librarians also contributed to democratize the knowledge by serving people related to their citizen's advice biro rights. "Usually they will release a brochure on 'borrowers' rights.'" Most of the librarians are volunteers, and that is how politics supposed to run, and the lesson they teach there are according to what they learn in the society. "I saw how politics worked, and what they learned about library became alive in the society." Binny is interested in public library concept, which is the state when the Nation becomes the provider like Civil Society Organization and many people are willing to be volunteers to help people, including the homeless with smelly clothes as they rarely shower, who want to lie down or read newspaper in the library. The librarians cannot kick them out. They should get the similar treatment as the other citizens do. Compare it to our library, if the homeless goes into the library, the security guard will be the first to kick them out. Binny saw this as democracy and this politics model excites her. As soon as she returned from UK, she wanted to build a local public library. She often reminds her librarian friends that library is supposed to be a place to spread information and to educate people; they should not stick to technical problems and contain a lot of rules, except for the standard rules. There, Binny saw in practice how society service works, since information and knowledge is also a part of political commodity.

If She Becomes a Legislative Member

What would Binny want to do if she becomes a legislative member? Binny answers, a legislator or parliament member has three main tasks: making Act/Bill, monitoring and formulating the National Budget.

Binny aims to make the Meeting of Public Hearing as a discussion forum with the government to plan more proportional National Budget. "We have a lot of funds, but the problem is not how we allocate the money, we also need budget politics. There never has been a Meeting of Public Hearing that shows the existence of budget politics." This is something she aspires to do. Another thing, there needs to be a serious initiative of DPR about food policy, the implementation of the Social Security Administrative Body (*Badan Penyelenggara Jaminan Sosial/ BPJS*) that shows the extent of the law reflecting framework welfare regime, and the effectiveness of DPR's monitoring on the information of BPJS progress. When she was asked about the public's interest, Binny answered that the society and the Nation have not realized that we need to be resourceful, take control of the information. They have not realized that there are laws protecting them. "I heard there are a lot of vagueness from the government on which one is public information and which one is not."

When she was asked about her opinion on education, she quoted her late father that education is supposed to prosper life. Therefore, the government needs to think of the needed policies and institutions. "Future-oriented education. Our educational budget is abundant, but what about the budget allocation? For example, we have plentiful amount of educational budget, but why there are a lot of dropped out students?" Binny explained that in her Election Area, there are 33% of Elementary School graduates and 18% of Senior High School graduates. The main root is poverty. The second one is access, how people can access the education. The next aspect is the school facility such as the library and the librarians. The librarians should have the knowledge and skills on how they can develop the library qualities. Also, the laboratories on technology and language. "For example, in an elementary school, there are six classes and there are about 300-500 students, how many computers they need. And they should also think about the language laboratory, because language is the window of the world."

Binny thinks, budget politics is how the budget is composed and managed; we have to closely observe whether the arrangement is pro-prosperity or if it is pro-the rich. And our budget politics, according to

Binny, is still far from that goal. "If we talk about budgeting, there are actually some options on the policy, on where we put the money. After that, we can see whether the arrangement is pro-society or pro-the rich, while we still have extractive income source or we still depend on the natural resources. The fact is, our income should have been from the tax." Binny further explains that our routine budget focus on routine purchasing and item purchasing not capital. "If the government did capital purchase, it was for the rural infrastructure. Up until now there are some islands without piers, and we should also buy ferry ship for crossing between islands, which should be bought in good quality standard and under reliable supervision. Or perhaps, the lack of infrastructures is caused by corruption practices."

Women in Political Party

When she was asked about the obstacles in joining a political party as a woman, Binny answered that she did not receive discrimination; it was rather on age-basis. The obstacles often happen to young female politicians or to young mothers because they have limited time to join meetings, which usually start at evening till late at night. "Because usually Indonesian women are car-giver, while men are not. Political parties are gender-blind, not necessary gender resistance, but there is no understanding about the difference of men's or women's life. As the result, there is no awareness of making pro-gender rules. We have to be able to talk and ensure the chairman of these political parties about this. The most important thing for them right now is the existence of women in political parties. They do not have any vision for what these women are involved in. If it is true that a party really intend to empower women, it will be obviously seen from recruitment system and how women are given the opportunities to attend the internal party forums. In reality, they recruited old-visional women and use the 30% quota to rule the others, making the purpose unacceptable. Sometimes she feels uncomfortable with the not political correct jokes on women expressed by her political party colleagues. She usually protests directly, but she thinks it is not too frontal when they say, "Well, where are my ladies?" Binny will explain that she is not his 'ladies' but his colleague. "They do not understand that it is a humiliation and sexist, and they think there

is no thing such as sexist in this world.” She can totally understand that, “but probably because I do not get the sexist joke directly, because I am already a middle-age.” She also pity beautiful and potentially-able women but they are not appreciated as assets, rather the men will think of a way to tease them. In women-specific policies, Binny wants to encourage gender budgeting and focusing on the rising number of maternal mortality, and of course on reproduction health. She thinks the number of maternal mortality is worse than 10 years ago due to lack of health facility and counseling.

Women Regeneration

Regarding women recruitment in political party, Binny does not have direct authority on woman regeneration in the political party, because the one who has the authority is in woman field. But of course as the Chairman of *Pengelola Lembaga Kaderisasi* will always be able to coordinate and encourage them to put women as the priority. She sometimes stressed over the fact that most women became the host of a show/event, not as the speaker, or they just need to write meeting minutes, moderator, or as food committee. “There is a hierarchy problem in a political party, and the seniors will always be the speakers while it is impossible for the juniors to be senior. They need to think of a way to make a progressive movement on women.” Binny gives an example of how important it is to make a woman group in a political party, which can be used to voice their concerns/ideas on woman-specific problems. “We create a woman group where we can help each other with our ideas, and then we present our group discussion result to the public.” Women cadre in political party does not only fight for a seat, but also for some public policies such as on environment. “Therefore, we should encourage activism within a political party.” Binny emphasizes that political party does not only work for five years, we should work continuously to do public education, thus politics become the public’s interest. She recounts her experience when she studied in UK, and that they give service to everyone without any discrimination, even to the poor who walked into the library. “Political party should not only work for five years party.” She wishes, the 2014 Election will be for the people, which enable a more transparent and

better politics. Furthermore, there will be a guarantee for the people to keep expressing their concerns, and the independent media, which is not less important. "Now, it is very hard to have an independent media," she adds. For the future president, Binny hopes the elected will be able to prioritize the public's interest such as health and education. The government should pay more attention to this, as example, there should not be region in Indonesia with 33% of the citizens who are merely as Elementary School graduates.

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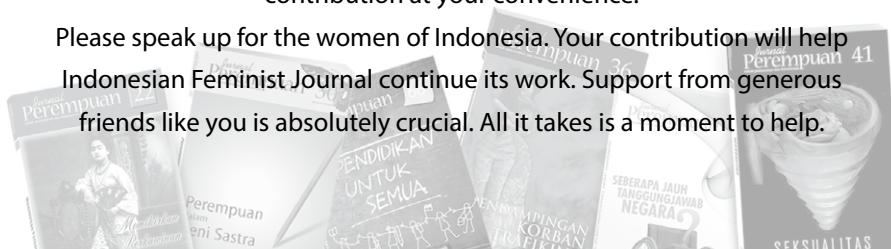
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Obstacles to Women's Political Independence

Astuti Parengkuh

astutisjahban@yahoo.com

Title	: <i>Menuju Kemandirian Politik Perempuan</i>
Writer	: Siti Musdah Mulia
Page Number	: xx & 369 pages.
Publisher	: Kibar Press, Yogyakarta
First Print	: February 2008

Siti Musdah Mulia's book entitled *Menuju Kemandirian Politik Perempuan*, which was written in November 2007, is based on the author's experience and a form of reflection towards women's participation in politics. As stated in the preface, the author has experience as a program coordinator of voter education for women at *grassroot* level. It was also mentioned four main aims of the program; they are: deliberate and systemic processes of women depolitization, women still do not completely understand the meaning of democracy and the importance of Election as a tool to build democratic Nation (Indonesia), women still do not understand the true meaning of human rights, and fourth, political education is still lacking and not well-planned for women. This book has four chapters, discussing about the author's concern, which

enable her to provide critical suggestion such as ideas and thoughts that she hopes can be introspection, self-criticism, and evaluation for people to realize that gender inequality exists, and injustice that disable women to fully participate in politics.

The first chapter is about the paradigm in Islamic country on political response. She writes about political history as Islamic issues. Some records on the thoughts about the relation of religion and state mentioned that they found three thoughts patterns in the thoughts of contemporary Islamic politics, especially in the study of the relation between religion and state; they are secularist, traditionalist, and reformist. Secularist pattern affirms that Islam is a religion that regulates the relation between human and God, and the rules for nation affairs are not exclusively stated in it. On the other hand, traditionalist emphasizes that Islam is a plenary religion. Reformist rejects both extreme thoughts.

The religion reinterpretation studies is a necessity, because the main cause of the deterioration of women's position in politics is religious interpretation that is deliberately constructed based on the religious authorities, not based on the teaching. *"Therefore, the solution to solve this problem should start from revising the study through ijtihad, Moslems nearly agree that ijtihad in Islamic teaching reinterpretation is basic need, not only after the death of Muhammad, but also even when he still lived."* (p. 39). In chapter 4 about theological debate related to leadership, the author writes the historical facts, which clearly stated that leadership issue was the most crucial issue in the history of Islam. Policies support women's participation in political space by requiring the political party to pay attention on the gender equality and justice.

As regulated in Act No. 13, 2002, Section 13 on Political Parties, the government has taken Temporary Special Measure by applying minimum quota of 30% of women as Legislative Candidate in the political party members of Public Election (as regulated in Act No. 12, 2003, Section 65 (1)). *"Because, the quota meant to equate the starting line, to equate the foundation. Therefore, women and men would be able to walk side by side and hand-in-hand in fighting for their position in public space"* (p. 93). There are several barriers experienced by women in accessing political world. Ideology and psychology barriers in the form of rooted

tradition and culture forming norms and labor division pattern, which are based on gender stereotype. Women are placed as second citizens, being discriminated and marginalized from public area such as people's representative institutions, government, and political parties. The hindrance in human resources is caused by the fact that the current condition make women feel unsafe and uncomfortable in the political world. Some women remain less-educated and it is also a disturbance to the information and technology access. It is also connected to the low understanding of the political world and education for women.

Another challenge is the obstacles in organizational and structural aspect, as mentioned in this book, are fundamental human's rights; it can be seen through the teachers' actions in school and in gender-biased textbooks. There are only a small number of political party that show their strong commitment to allow the opportunity for women by taking affirmative action, which involve women in the organizational structure of political party and political recruitment. The obstacles in law and constitution include the misunderstanding of the 30% quota as Special Measure that is only temporary. *"30% quota for female legislative candidate in legislative election as stated in the Law of General Election was considered less-effective because the system of general election still opened opportunities for party elitists to arrange and decide the running number for each legislative candidate. The fact showed that even though the number of female candidate had fulfilled the quota, commonly they were placed in last running numbers (nomor sepatu)"* (p. 99). The lack of data also poses as an obstacle, which is now has been tackled by the NGOs as they did the data compilation in national and regional level. The appearance of networking called *"Gerakan Perempuan Peduli Politik"* (GPPP) or Women's Movement for Political Affairs presents as a pressure group, which finally drives DPR to adopt TKS minimum 30% quota of woman for Legislative Candidate.

The second part of the book discusses women's political rights in Islamic view. She also suggests to review and deconstruct the old *ijtihad* or interpretation, which are gender-biased and patriarchal values-biased. In the religious teaching context on women's position, there are two reasons of the emergence of gender-biased religious understanding. First, commonly Moslems understand Islam dogmatically; second,

Moslems receive the teaching from religious scholars. Therefore, the writer can conclude that Moslems in Indonesia need a new interpretation in *tafsir* and their understanding about Islam. It is, of course, the Islamic understanding that accommodates human values and concerns about women's lives in Indonesia. In realizing women-related interpretation, there should be an affirmation that Moslems truly understand that Al Qur'an and Hadits are text they need to read/interpret contextually, which is by understanding the cultural and societal context where Al Qur'an was bestowed. *"Reading Al Qur'an contextually will show that Al Qur'an bring universal moral messages such as justice, rights, respect for humans, love and freedom"* (p. 151). In the book, it is also explained the reasons why women need to have career in politics. Reformation and democratization era trigger the implementation of regional autonomy, which emphasizes the importance of society's participation. Then the efforts to women empowerment emerged by rising awareness, changing the mindset of democracy principles that guarantee equality, human's rights, law supremacy, and justice. The author also talks about the role of Islamic women organizations that have networking to the lowest layer (grassroot), and will whole-heartedly improve the quality of human resources and the organizations performance. They will also revise the gender vision while building solid networking among the organizations to avoid being fragmented in political interest, which will send suspicions towards each other.



The author also discusses about the New Order (*Orde Baru*) political policy that depolitized women. The policy ushered women as traditional being and had the responsibility of bearing good name and pride; this made women's function and participation in the New Order as political tool. It was done merely for two main purposes: political stability and economic growth.

If we talk about budgeting structure, we talk about database. The unawareness

of database, which can be used as a reference, can pose problem. The existence of database can give clearer image that the construction planning and National and Regional Budget is still insensitive to gender issues, which results in the lack of social prosperity. In the end of chapter three, the author talks about the authority problem faced by women. She further explains the concept of women's authority was different to men's, and in the future can be a reference to all parties. It is also mentioned that authority in feminine concept is a loving/caring power. This kind of authority do not focus on one self, rather it will focus on one purpose. By improving women's authority, women can be a competent politician.

The fourth chapter contains the theme on trying to build a gender-perspective politics that expressed the traditional gender (female) role. She also writes that double gender role should not be women's only, but also men's responsibility. Women naturally bear the responsibilities in domestic sphere; those responsibilities can be men's too. Just like the title of this book, the fifth chapter, *Menuju Kemandirian Politik Perempuan*, is presented in the form of preface from the author. In the conclusion part, the author is able to raise four main points. The first is by promoting *networking* between women group from various elements through National Conference. Second, the women groups have to be brave to support and do cultural reconstruction efforts, especially in changing the thick patriarchal culture in the society into gender-perspective culture. Third, women groups have to be brave to support and to do reinterpretation efforts of the religious teaching, in order to create religious interpretation that accommodate human values, supportive to women, and *rahmatin lil alamin*. Fourth, internally, women have to be able to boost self-capacity with education and spiritual ability.

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Snow Red

Intan Paramaditha

*“And you all know, security
Is mortals’ chiefest enemy.”*
-Macbeth III.5

In one winter night, when you think that there is nothing but a blanket of thick endless snow on cars, homes, and barren trees; Snow Red will appear like a drop of fresh blood. The cold weather causes everyone forced to leave homes walk hurriedly and hold their bodies tightly, but she, with a veil and a long red gown covering the ice, stares straight forward, dragging her steps slowly. Sometimes she appears with one or two persons who hurriedly walked to their homes, but not all eyes are able to catch a glimpse of her. She only comes for those who are longing, waking up the buried and the sleeping. So when your time comes, hold your breath, then look away; pretend that you do not see her, and she will pass you by just like you pass so many trifles in your life.

Unless you want otherwise.

Berlin, 1977. Helga told the legend of Snow Red as Ismail sat quietly, staring outside the window of his work desk. Ismail did this every night, just like brushing his teeth. Helga forgot when this ritual began although they had only been married for a month. Sometimes Helga thought they had already been married for years, not because they really knew each other, but because there was no question of why some things were done. Silence was probably a recipe for happiness. Helga knew what had happened, and it was never enough. The only thing that could save them was the future.

She held her husband from behind as she whispered, "Be careful. You might fall in love with a beautiful woman who walks on the snow."

Ismail turned and kissed Helga's lips. He smiled happily, as if he had been surprised by the coming of his wife, who returned from work earlier than expected. But Helga had been home for hours, cleaning the dining table, washing the dishes, and changing into her nightdress.

She was six when Oma told her a story about a woman in a red dress who walked in snowy night. Oma, in Helga's memory, was a small-built woman with short gray hair. Her pair of brown eyes was big and she had sharp facial features. Oma was not Helga's real grandma, but she asked Helga to call her Oma. At first Helga called her Oma Rachel, and later just Oma. She lived next to Helga's house, with her son and daughter-in-law. There were no children in their house. Whenever she felt lonely, Oma would invite Helga to taste her homemade cakes (Helga was really fond of cherry pie), then she would play the piano or sat in her rocking chair while knitting and telling stories. No one could tell stories as good as she did. Her brown eyes rounded whenever she reached came to the thrilling parts, sending an invitation to believe. Helga had her own grandma from her parents, but now, when she was forty two, she only knew one Oma.

The memories of Oma were also the memories of the woman in the red gown. Helga listened to her story for more than three times, because she was not bored out of it, and there were always new details, every time. The Snow Red, as called by the old people,

was able to bewitch every people to be drunk in love and surrender themselves to be kidnapped. After receiving Snow Red's kiss, someone—a man or a woman—would disappear in the next day, leaving their belongings and their loved ones behind. It was the first and the last kiss. People said, the kissed would follow Snow Red with her evil followers. When her long dress swept the road, Snow Red had marked whoever she wanted to choose. In every victim's forehead appeared an invisible scar, forming an X. We did not know who started this—Snow Red who wanted the victim, or the victim who wanted her.

Worried of her own safety, Helga asked: What if Snow Red wanted to kidnap me? But, Oma said, Snow Red did not kidnap children. Helga did not believe this, and Oma gave her a snow globe. Helga's eyes glimmered. She saw snow fell onto a beautiful small house, which reminded her of Hansel and Gretel's candy house. Take this snow globe everywhere you go. Oma will always be praying for you.

Helga felt calm, but then she worried about Oma. What if the Snow Red kidnapped Oma?

Oma stroked her head while saying that she did not need to worry. Oma was happy, so she would not leave. The Snow Red would only come to those who longed.

Oma, Oma, promise me you will hold your breath when she comes.

Helga remembered saying this with teary eyes. Oma nodded and smiled. But, in the era when the world seemed too big for us, adults often thought in a weird way and we could not understand. Oma promised, but she left anyway.

"Is this Snow Red so powerful?" Ismail asked.

Helga kept silent for a moment. When she was a child, she thought exactly like that. A human who could move another human must be really strong, and it seemed that Snow Red was not a human. Now, as an adult, Helga saw another dimension of the story of Snow Red.

"I think she was a kind of woman the wives are always worried about."

Helga's calm and sweet comment, welcomed with a smile from Ismail's lips, made them sure that they were exchanging joking.

"Don't worry, she won't be interested in me."

Ismail did not say: don't worry, I only love you. Helga was not surprised. She knew the reason was not because they had passed the age when they would burn out of love. The only thing that was burning and it would not burn out was a city in Ismail's head. In this city, there were abandoned houses, weapon-holding soldiers, and rows of trucks containing worried adults and children, who were ready to go to the border.

Their marriage was unspoken pact to save themselves. Ismail, a year younger than Helga, evacuated from Europe after Lebanon was no longer bearable. Even before the civil war, Lebanon was no longer his homeland. He was a refugee from Palestine, sympathized, but it was also hard for him to get a job. Without a passport, he roamed out of his homeland like a ghost. But a ghost did not need a country. Ghost did not need to be excommunicated from his land because his feet did not step on the ground. Whereas, Ismail was a human who needed to bring names, papers, and stamps. He, Ismail Saleh, was a country-less man, *staatenlos*, who went to Europe with *document de voyage* issued by Lebanon.

Helga moved from city to cities — Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam — only to return to Berlin. She thought she was more appropriate to be called refugee than a drifter, although she knew that she could not use the word. It was inappropriate. Helga did not really understand what she was hiding from. Maybe from some unsuccessful relationship, or maybe some other things, which she could not completely grasp. More importantly, her friends said that there were many men moved out of her life, getting married was a crazy decision. Ismail came to her as a damaged man. She did not know how to save Ismail, and Ismail did not wish for her to save him. But Helga believed that both of them were linked into a desperate idea: took refuge in a house.

Helga worked as a local librarian, she went to work at eight in the morning and went home at six. After changing her line of work, this job made her slightly feeling that she could be any of use. Library was a salvation tower of humans from forgetfulness (even though

of course, Helga later thought, it was possible to burn them down). Ismail had not gotten a job, then he spent most of the time at home by writing poems – at least that was he told Helga, who never read her husband's works. Helga stuck household chores Ismail needed to do in the kitchen cupboard: grocery shopping, threw away the rubbish, went to the laundry. Without the list, he did not have the initiative to do anything, but at least he did the tasks well.

After work, Helga would lie down on the couch and turned on the television. Sometimes Ismail made her a cup of tea, but he never sat in the couch to accompany Helga. He refused to watch the news. At eight thirty, they had dinner. There was nothing much they could talk about, since, as a librarian, Helga did not meet a lot of people, and Ismail did not spend much time outside the house.

"More soup, Honey?"

Helga was never bored to ask questions: Do you want to eat now, Honey? Do you want more? What do you want to eat tomorrow?

At a certain age, we decided to stop being kids. To Ismail, it was twelve, when he and his family were forced to leave their home. Seeing his mother became so sad, Ismail trained himself to keep his feeling to himself. He didn't whine when he wanted something. Until now, Ismail was trained not to ask for food although he was hungry.

Helga's plate was always clean. She was a child of the world war. Her parents would be angry if she did not finish her plate. Out there, they said, a lot of people could not eat. And Helga swallowed everything. All of them. She did not complain as it was not appropriate. She even thought that she needed more discipline. She was getting better of cooking in the right portion so that she did not throw away foods.

She was lucky, and Ismail would not beg for food although he was hungry.

One night, when the lights were off and Helga closed her eyes, she heard Ismail whispered next to her.

"I saw her."

She opened her eyes in the dark. She wanted to ask, but something told her to be silent and waited.

"From the window, I saw her walking slowly with a dog next

to her. Her red dress swayed by the wind. The dog was as white as snow. It was so weird. The dog had three heads."

Helga did not reply. She pretended to be asleep.

That night Helga tried to fake her irregular breaths. She did not know whether her husband was imagining things or joking, but she wanted to cling on a fact she found shortly after Oma left her: Snow Red did not exist. That afternoon she found an empty house. Snow Red had kidnapped Oma and her family. Oma broke her promise; she did not hold her breath when the woman passed.

She stopped believing on the fairy tale when the neighbors told her the truth. The night before, Oma and her family left town by train. It broke Helga's heart. If Snow Red kidnapped Oma, she would not be able to buy ticket (at six she knew that people needed money to ride train). Oma did intend to leave, and Snow Red never existed.

Ismail said nothing the next day, but he became more often, and longer, stared outside the window. Helga had to remind him to leave his work desk to sleep. Ismail complied, just like how he tried to do the household chores as best as he could, but he always returned there, on the corner, as if waiting for his lover. He began to bring whiskey bottle. Helga remembered that Ismail stopped drinking after they moved to serious relationship.

Helga was reading a book in the bed, lighted with a small lamp next to her, when Ismail said softly from his desk.

"I saw her. No, she saw me."

He turned his back on Helga. His head turned to the right, as if mesmerized by something out there. Helga put her book down.

"The Snow Red," Ismail murmured.

This was the first time that name was spoken from Ismail's lips long after Helga told the legend about kidnapping woman. That woman, Ismail continued, stood in front of their apartment building and looked up. She knew Ismail was looking at her. Helga rose up angrily, and walked to the window. She looked down, trying to see whatever her husband was seeing. No one was there.

"You have to stop drinking," Helga snapped.

"I don't know how long she looked at me," he raved, as if he did not hear Helga. "She smiled, and then she looked ahead and kept walking."

"Really? Is she beautiful?"

"Really beautiful."

Angrily, Helga opened the drawer of Ismail's work desk—*her* work desk—and took a pack of cigarettes. She took one, returned to her bed, and broke her promise one year ago to stop smoking. She felt weird surge of jealousy. She did not even say she loved him when she asked Ismail to live with her, but now she was jealous towards a woman, who might only exist in her husband's head.

The Snow Red officially became the third person in their marriage. "She" always presented between them, sometimes uttered, sometimes knocked in silence. "She" was there on their dinners, whenever they did not know what to talk about, stuck in closed doors, reflected in television screen. Now it was not Helga who turned it on, it was Ismail, he sat firm in the couch, looking for his homeland pictures through news.

When she was little, Helga imagines Palestine as a paradise. She saw palm trees in vast field of sand in Christian books. The pictures of Palestine made her forgive Oma who left without any words. If Oma went there, of course she was happy. Didn't we all want to go to Jerusalem?

"Do you know who stay at your house now?" Helga asked her husband.

Some years ago, Ismail's uncle paid a visit there. A family from Poland stayed at Ismail's house. They offered him a drink and were good-mannered. The baby they brought from Europe in 1948 had grown into a beautiful girl.

"They are not bandits," Ismail said. "The girl, Ilana, she is very beautiful."

Ismail looked at the television with blank stare, but—either because she was stupid or loyal or neither—she decided to stay next to her husband. Ismail walked to the kitchen cupboard, took a bottle of whiskey, and returned to his work desk. "She," the Snow Red, slowly moved from the room corner to the bed, creeping beneath the

blanket. Sometimes Helga felt that she heard someone else's breathing voice between them. Ismail began talking in his sleep. Helga was not even asleep when Ismail, in his restless sleep, called a name. Helga could not hear it clearly, but his delirium shook her. Her husband dreamt of 'her'. And the third person could never get as dangerous when she had a name.

After work, Ingrid fetched Helga in the library. She was an old friend, born from a devout Catholic family, but some ten years ago she announced that she was an atheist. She did not believe in God but believed in many other things, which Helga could not prove empirically. That afternoon, she took Helga to her oracle.

"Ah, your contradiction," Helga sneered.

"Your marriage could be more contradictive, moreover when we get closer to Aquarius era. But maybe because you are a Taurus. Earth Element. You feel like you need to set your foot on the ground,"

Ingrid's oracle was a red-headed middle-aged woman who called herself with exotic name: Esmeralda. Helga was sure it was not her real name. Esme, as Ingrid called her, began her career by walking up to people in the park and greeted them politely, "I am sorry, but I saw your aura is so dark." She felt she needed to apologize, like feeling sorry of knowing bad omen that could happen in the future. Then she would give them a business card containing address and telephone number if they wanted to hear spiritual advices. Ingrid was one of the card receivers. And maybe because we were welcoming Aquarius era, Esmeralda was always busy with clients.

Helga often heard about Esmeralda's prophecy, but this was the first she visited her with Ingrid. Esmeralda's practice room was painted in dark blue, and covered in colorful curtains. Esme wore a white loose dress and necklace made of green-tosca-colored stones. Ingrid watched carefully when the oracle arranged tarot cards, and, with serious look on her face, explained her reading. Helga listened to blurry lines like 'you had to be careful in making choices,' or 'someone would come and change your life.'

Of course, if you did not take the prophecy seriously, we knew

those lines could lead to anything.

After reading Ingrid's prophecy, Esmeralda turned to Helga. Helga prepared herself for receiving an invitation started from a sentence like 'you had dark aura.' But Esmeralda did not do it. Ingrid made the decision and told Esmeralda to read Helga's fate through tarot card. Unlike before, Helga did not reject it. She thought she needed an entertainment, although based on her experience with an oracle; it would not be entertaining at all. Disbelieving an oracle meant one thing, but listening that bad things could happen to you was another case.

Esmeralda arranged the card. She asked Helga to open some.

"Something could not leave, and maybe could not be forgiven," said the Oracle.

Helga opened the next card, and continued:

"Crossroad. You need to choose. Someone will go very far."

"She did move around a lot," Ingrid added. "Please continue."

Esmeralda looked at the card for a very long time, and then she stared at Helga.

"This card is important for you. The Goddess of Moon who walked in the night," she said. "But I prefer to call her The Goddess of witches. Witches prayed at her."

Feeling ridiculed, Helga asked, "Do you think I look like a witch?"

"I think you are in a crossroad."

They debated about the goddess. Christians, Esmeralda said, ruled out strong woman symbols and replaced them with new symbols. The old women were considered as evil, bad, and associated with witches. Helga was not religious, although her parents gave her Christian story books for kids. She no longer read them, but she also did not believe in Pagan stories.

"I am sure you will meet her soon," Esmeralda said. "Hecate."

The oracle did not say it dramatically. But, right at that moment, Helga felt her body tense up.

The name was familiar to her, so close and warm. She remembered the nights when she heard Ismail's voice next to her, saying something repeatedly, like a hiss.

As she parted, Esmeralda said, "Be good to the three-headed dog."

As they walked home from the oracle, Helga and Ingrid rode a train, but no one talked. Helga was not in the mood to.

On Sunday, Helga took her husband to do grocery shopping. A Curtain and a new table cloth might bring a small change in their apartment. Ismail looked confused, but Helga kept asking for his opinion for their household needs. Ismail chose cheaper and of poor quality things rather than the long-lasting things. His choices disappointed Helga. Refugee mentality, she sighed.

Or her husband was preparing to leave?

Helga tried to remember whether Oma prepared for her departure by buying second-class furniture.

That day shopping, however, was not that bad. They found a new restaurant in Kreuzberg, and it was enough for someone who did not put her hope too high. Helga now understood how husband and wife could last. They invested on things they could do together—like shopping or taking care of children—until they forgot they were strangers to each another.

When night fell, Ismail called her softly. He was pale.

“She wants to kiss me.”

They were watching television, watching trucks filled with militants and people who walked back and forth.

Ismail said it as if they grasped the same reality. Helga did not turn. She denied believing anything. She knew her decision of taking up a damaged man was madness. She also understood that Ismail was never completely sane after he was exiled from his homeland. But she was not ready to face other madness.

“Don’t ask permission from me to have an affair,” said Helda. “That’s an insult.”

If there was someone mad in their house, let it be her husband. Helga rose from the couch when Ismail grabbed her arm.

“The first kiss,” said Ismail. “was the last kiss.”

Helga sat down, hugged Ismail and stroked his hair. The shadow of Snow Red brought back the fear. She cursed her own thoughts. Maybe she was stupid for believing that another woman—who kept

attracting him like a magnet – wanted to kidnap her husband. She was not supposed to worry – unless Ismail did want to get kidnapped.

But Helga never really knew what her husband wanted.

“What do you want, Ismail?” she whispered.

Ismail did not reply. Her question made Helga helpless. She thought she knew the answer, but it was not enough. It was inappropriate.

That night Ismail fell asleep. He did not talk in his sleep. Helga thought the heater did not work because she was cold. Curling up in her blanket, she kept staring at her husband’s face. But unlike the previous nights, Ismail looked calm. Helga fetched a deep sigh, relieved and heavy. Slowly, she closed her tired eyes.

In her dream, Helga walked in the snowy sidewalk with someone. She was a six year old again, who needed to look up to look at the adults. Oma held her right hand.

Will we board the train, Oma? She asked.

Oma stopped walking, then looked at her peculiar smile on her face. She pulled Helga’s left hand and placed something in it. A snowy globe.

Snow fell harder. Helga put her hands in her coat pocket. That was when she saw her. A fresh color of red, creeping, and slowly ripping the white snow field. The figure became clearer. Yes, the woman, Hecate. Beneath her long red hood and dress, she walked with her dog, a strange three-headed dog. When she woke up, Helga forgot how she looked like, and whether she was old or young. She just remembered that in her dream, her beauty was so threatening.

Oma did not hold her hand anymore. She left with the train, leaving her alone. Helga held her tears back while holding the snow globe in her pocket. Hecate walked closer. Helga looked down. She stopped right in front of her. Motionless. Helga forgot to hold her breath. She began to steal glances. She hesitated, but she slowly regained her courage. Hecate smile at her. She looked as if she wanted to say something. Suddenly, from behind Helga, someone ran fast and dropped on to his knees right in front of Hecate’s feet, hugging her gown. Hecate took off her cloak and enveloped him with red.

Helga thought she knew him.

Snow piled up the next morning. People had gathered when she descended. Ismail threw himself from the ninth floor, hit the car, and now lied in the snow, which absorbed red. Unpretentious red. Hecate's gown, in Helga's dream, was so burning.

In another winter after Ismail's death, Helga did not extend the lease for her apartment. She walked back and forth from the bedroom to the living room, which was now filled with piles of boxes; she was busy choosing things she would get rid of. She would only keep some things. Ismail did not leave anything for her, and Helga had given all of her husband's belongings to a charity. When she emptied the cupboard, Helga opened the drawer where she kept her valuables, then carefully she pulled something out. A snow globe given by Oma.

That night the train brought Oma to Auschwitz. You did not need a ticket to board the death train.

Helga never told this to Ismail, because she, a six-year-old little girl, had let her beloved grandma to board the train, just like she could not bring back Ismail's house, which was taken away from him. As she was a bystander, who was never exiled or dragged out, but she was cursed for her memories and sight.

Ismail gave up his life to Hecate when Helga finally began to put her hopes in the future. But Helga could not complain because it was not appropriate. Hecate, Snow Red, was the Crossroads Goddess. The Goddess of the homeless. She would be there for those who seek refuge, who often get lost between the adventures and the fugitives.

Helga would leave the next day. She stared at the vast snow field from the window, holding onto her snow globe, saying her prayer to Hecate.

Archive Drama

Afrizal Malna

The stove was lit. It burned green, blue, yellow, and red. I was not boiling archives. Like organizing heat in my drawer. Gossip between the documents, political party field, and my beauty that made of brick. But the fire was not lit like fire or like lit, in the colored stove. The stove still contained the aroma of spices, oil field, between the smell of fire and the smell of fire. Was the weight of fire equal to the weight of my beauty? 2kg of the grammar to re-arrange the Nation's loan.

The rice was cooked. It went green, blue, yellow, and red. Gossip between the documents and a woman who hid the power in memories. But it did not become rice or like a rice. Was the aroma of rice as they cooked the same as my menstruation? 2cc of the perfume temperature to explode ragged political speech. The politics went green, blue, yellow, red and the roar of hundreds of motorcycles in the road, which made the air thick of madness.

Maybe I was a woman, or akin to a pile of clothes that always be worn out after twelve minutes passed. Forgetting thing that went faster than media politics, the obliterating

machine of opinion and memories. What was the importance of woman what was the importance of man. Dividing both of them to the one who was oppressed and the one who oppressed. Election inside the room and outside the room. I became all-I was covered, but also became all-I was undressed.

Who was I when I named my name? The name of the memories that went passed the shadow of death of 7 generations. I clung on to the shadow. As I knew: the memory itself that changed the story. You would know my name in the secret of memories, after the pleasure dragged your neck to the parking area. After your shadow stepped passed my body. The flag of political parties waved before me, spreading the blinding political machine. Leaving the darkness in slick tissues. My body had become the gallery of silence, dissected by the pain of beauty, and the political treaty over bank account. The women had left their homes to steal their own beauty. The beauty color went green, blue, yellow, and red. Inside and outside.

Maybe I lived in a dead neon-sign. In a city, in a gigantic billboard, with a wrecked past. It was me who stole the neon. Traded it with a lamp from the darkness. A shadow with burnt smell. Hands that hid from handshake. Eyes that hid from stare. Light from the darkness still reeked of sperm, like the stench of dead bodies of a president who always died after he was elected. Did not shout, almost screaming. I forgot where I kept the archives on how to whisper and how to scream. The masters knew better, how a monkey wore a crown in an election, paying his political loans to the masters of Nation's authorities. Making election as a dream destroyer. Tunggul Ametung and his obliterating machine. Ah, the man had become a gallery that froze the time. Had to choose between power or fear to accept the silence.

Gods and ghosts, flushed green, blue, yellow, and red, they have to pretend they are humans to possess my body, field darkness with no edge visible. But I can see them, crystal clear. Like the entire burden to become man or to become woman. Should we erase hand from the shadow to be able to work? Is beauty a shadow of all things that went past. Colors go past in cluster of colors. Political parties that go through the roar of motorcycles in the midst of zealous air.

Enough.

Now I said it: Mpu Gandring forged his *keris* in my vagina. The fire from male's sperm burned every crown. The throne without any people, like a dead body stench from a pile of money. Cancer. Commission. Tumor. Car. Cyst. Apartment. Credit Card. You wrapped me for the god of drought. You undressed me for the god of drought. Bare forest. Oil field in your drawer full of the archives of land certificates. My body was *keris* that opened erased history pages. And all the revenges trapped in the eraser.

I could only hang onto the memories when my husband was killed. The books became blurry in the pages, became colorless. I could only share my memories when my son killed my next husband. My clothes obscured in the web of threads, became colorless. I could only persevere the memories when I walked behind your shadow, the shadow of my son's death who was killed by the other son. In this neon sign, the wave of all the madness: electricity, memories, and archives, I chose my own darkness to step back from humans' stench. And closed my vagina with the cement liquid.

Then, no humans were born or died.



Binny Bintarti Buchori

In UK, Binny saw a political, social, and student movement blended into fight against the apartheid politics in South Africa. Her interest in Civil Society Organization (CSO), education, and politics probably was the influence of her family. Binny is the daughter of Mochtar Buchori, ex-Rector of IKIP Muhammadiyah Jakarta Yogyakarta and ex-member of DPR RI, he was also known as an expert in education. Binny's interest in politics emerged since she worked in INFID (International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development), which doing advocacy on various policy.

The Islamic-Political Genealogy of Fatayat in Soekarno and Soeharto Era: A Feminist Perspective on the History of Organization

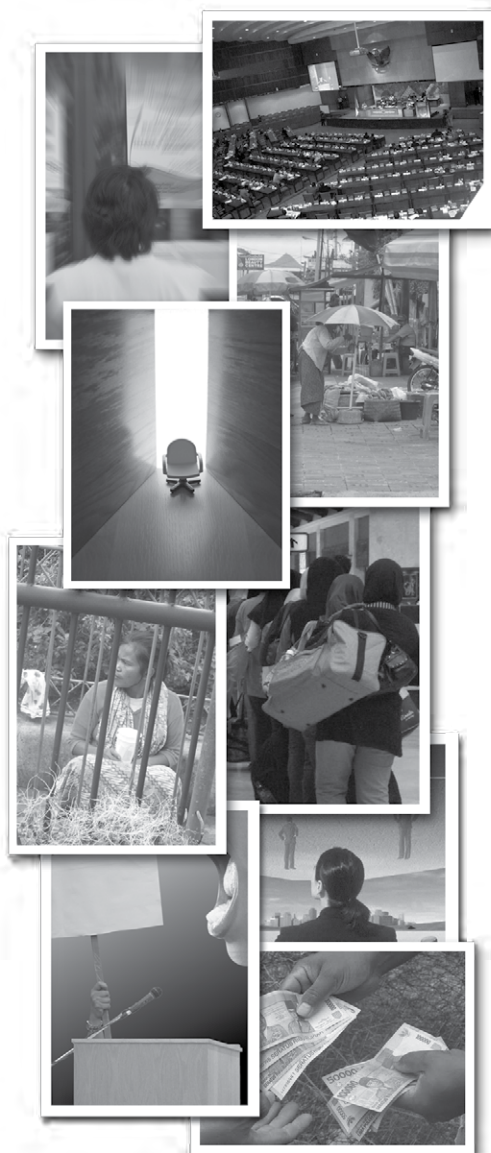
The establishment of Fatayat could not be separated from three important women: Aminah Mansur from Gresik, Khuzaimah Mansur from Gresik, and Mustasyirah from Surabaya. As the majority of the Indonesian population is Muslim, the role of Islamic women's organizations is inevitably instrumental to promoting the political mobilization of women. Another matter that is central to take into account, is that Islamic women's organizations play important roles among women at the grassroots level since they have strong social legitimacy.

The Disaster of Development: How Women's "Empowerment" Projects are Damaging Indonesian Smallholder Farming, Rural Families, and the Environment

The agricultural development models that focused on income generation, as most of the women in agriculture projects are, are based on "gender strategies" that instrumentalize women to achieve productivity goals. These ideological hierarchies that instrumentalize women, also allow for the systematic domination of industry over smallholder farmers, and commodities over food security. In conclusion, these combined "strategies" are leading to the degradation of both rural, agricultural families and rural ecology in Indonesia.

Female Politicians in Political Parties of 2014 Election: Descriptive Representation vs. Substantive Representation

Women's representation in parties and legislative institution is closely related to Indonesian's party typology as office seekers. It charted descriptive mandate to fulfill 30% quote of women's representation in General Election 2014—not necessarily, representing women's critical agenda. The phenomena of female legislators who were celebrities, actresses, singers, or coming from political dynasty is the consequence of office seekers parties. It does not then guarantee the promotion, empowerment, and protection of women's critical issues in societies, as they do not represent women substantively. It is necessary to create female critical actors coming to office in political parties to succeed feminist agenda.



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