



## The Strategy at Improving of Balinese Women Representation in Legislature



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### Abstract

Since the reform era, the legislator position commonly was contested. The various legislation has been established to improve the women representation in the legislature. Although, the quota of 30% was not reached as women representation target in Bali province, however, the legislator position was contested by the women should be appreciated as an effort to accelerate a gender equality in the politic. The research was intended at understanding and describing a more precise strategy for the women struggle in the future. The critical theory and the method of qualitative descriptive were used in the present study that was conducted in Bali province. The data was obtained was done through an observation, interview, and library studies. The results of the research were to increase the women representation in the legislature could be done through various strategies. First, improving Balinese women's education; second, improving Bali women's political participation; third, improving Balinese women independence in the economic sector; fourth, holding broader social networking.

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### 1. Introduction

There is a point that is often used to measure the men and women participating in the public policy formulation is their involvement as legislators. Although, there are no publications regarding quantitative data towards the men and women participation in the election and nomination candidate process for the legislature in Bali province. However, the results of the political process itself can be seen from the membership proportion of the Council of Representatives (DPRD) regency/city and province in Bali. The women representation in the membership of Parliament 3 time's election results in the reform era (1999, 2004, and 2009) in Bali province less than men. In 1999, the elections results were dominated by the men in the membership of Parliament is very prominent; there are 359 people in the parliament, merely six female members in it, even in most regency/city (Jembrana, Tabanan, Denpasar, Gianyar, and Bangli) and the Bali provincial assembly no women representatives. In 2004 election, the result has been increased the women

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participation in legislative membership, however, overall the gender inequality is still very wide. There were 19 women to be DPRD of 385 in the Regency/city/province only.

In the 2009 election, the various groups who care about women's political attempts to increase the women representation in the legislature. This is reflected in the changes occurred political parties and electoral law. In the Law No. 10, 2008 on the election and Regulation No. 2, 2008 concerning political parties reformative accommodate input from civil society to improve the representation in the legislature. In the law of political parties, there is a women fundamental change from the previous law, such as conditions for the formation of political parties to include 30% representation of women; political party political education for the public to pay attention to fairness and gender equality. In the election laws is consisted of provisions, which provides an opportunity to the women, unlike the candidates proposed at least 30% women representation. In the candidate's prospective list, among the three candidates are at least one female candidate; KPU (Election Commissions) will announce the women's representation percentage on the candidate's list while political parties on media.

The above provision that is mentioned in illustrating a new hope to the women for improving their representation in the legislature. A hope significantly increases the representation in the legislature become dispersed by establishing the Constitutional Court's decision on December 23, 2008, which stipulates that the legislative elections are determined by a majority vote in an electoral district. In the 2009 election, the result showed to increasing the women representation although out of ideal expectation of 30%. The women can seize 28 sets of 400 seats available in the Regency/city and province legislature in Bali.

## 2. Research Methods

The study methodologically was designed as a qualitative descriptive within cultural studies approach (*cultural studies*). Qualitative research is a tradition that is developed in the social sciences and culture that is fundamentally depending on observations in humans to their own region and related with those people in the language and terminologies (Meliong, 2003: 3). The data is collected through observation, interview, and documentation. The observations were made at the office of Provincial DPRD Bali and Denpasar City Council. Interviews were conducted by the members of the Provincial DPRD Bali and Denpasar City Council especially the women legislators. It was also conducted to the leaders of the party and the women figures.

The documentation technique is conducted by collecting data from documents related to the present study, including books, newspapers, journals. In accordance with the purpose of qualitative research, the sampling procedure is also essential to determine the key informants (*key informant*). In order to select the sample (*in the case is the key informant*) more appropriately is done intentionally (*purposive sampling*). Furthermore, when the data gathering process variation information is not found, the study no longer needs to search a new information, the information gathering process has been finished. In the present study, the sampling procedure that is used through a *snowball sampling* technique (Burhan Bungin, 2008: 53-54).

The researcher is the main instrument in the study, in addition, it is equipped with recorder tape, and other data recording/note taking equipment. This analysis model was offered by Huberman and Miles (1984: 15-21) namely interactive models through three processes i.e. (1) data reduction, (2) data display, and (3) conclusions through delineation and verification.

The theory of critical social science is used to analyze the problems posed is the Generative Structural theory by Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu theory especially their parts concepts unlike habitus, capital, and domains (Harker, 2007), is used to support explaining the sociological analysis of political actors who participated in the election for the position as a member of the legislature. Bourdieu's theory shows the result, that the lack of capital as economic capital, social, cultural, and symbolic that has by Balinese women became a distortion to keep in the practical politics realm.

## 3. Results and Analysis

The effort at realizing a harmonious equal partnership or gender equity and equality to whole life aspects, especially, in the political field has been a long ago done. The strategy that is designed by the government to achieve gender equality and justice consists of the Presidential Decree No. 9, 2000 which is known as gender mainstreaming in national development. The gender mainstreaming operationally is an attempt to integrate the gender-responsive policies in the development of planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. Regarding development programs strategy that will be implemented, will be the gender that is more responsive. Gender mainstreaming is an

attempt to enforce the women and men rights on the same occasion, the same recognition and the same award in society, including in the political sector.

The establishing of the Regulation No. 12, 2003 regarding the General Elections in 2004, which expects the women will be got more sit in the legislature, in the reality that is out of desirable. The political party is being can not be expected for the women in strategic positions to represent their candidates in the legislature. In 2009, the general election ahead, the Regulation No. 10 in 2008 regarding general Election in 2009 and the Regulation No. 2, 2008 on the political party was passed by DPR RI provided opportunities for women to take part in politics, especially, as a legislator in order to elect become a better society. As a legislator the women are expected to find a new breakthroughs and provide the right solution in addressing the problems facing the nation, and no less important is the woman who will hold in the legislature is expected to remove the legislature stigma which is often described as a nest rogues due to various scandals created by unscrupulous members (Bali Post, Monday, November 17, 2008: 6) to achieve that, the women should be compelled to be active in the political field seize strategic positions, not to wait for the mercy and only used unlike the pawns trimmer to garner in every election. In order to increase Balinese women's political participation there are some basic strategies that must be realized by them, namely:

### 3.1 Improving an Education for Balinese Women

Based on the scrutiny of the various texts which examines gender issues, including a variety of feminist theory, there are many ways that can be followed for achieving gender equality. However, considering gender is a reproduction through education, and then the way to raise awareness of gender should as well as through educational institutions. An education requires a systematic arrangement, therefore, the opportunity for greater gender equality. This effort is to expand the horizons and self-efficacy, self in order to explore the potential of contributing ideas at developing societies. Bourdieu viewed (Ritzer, 2004, Harker, 2008) the term is called as the cultural capital of the various legitimate knowledge. In this context, the three role of education agents, i.e. family (*dadia*), Desa Pakraman, and the school is very important. They must be filled each other and work together to create a greater space and more fair for the women is able to actualize their maximum potential in order to achieve gender equality, especially in the political field (Nengah Bawa Atmadja, 2008:16).

At the micro level, and effort, unlike family, *dadia* (big family), *Desa pekraman*, there should be an effort to give attention and provide equal opportunities to its citizens in an activities variety that demonstrate gender balance. LPD (Village Credit Institutions) is located in each village should set aside part of its profits to help with the education costs for women who have been treated unfairly. The *soroh* (citizens group) should strive to build human resources superior due to it has tremendous resources if it managed using modern organizational management: management, had a vision and mission (*ideal picture for the future*) that is clear and programmed. An effort that must be done is to build a system that is internationally minded Hindu education. If the human resource potential in each *soroh* can be activated as much as possible, will be built as many schools that blend Hindu doctrine of modern sciences of international quality ranging from Kindergarten to College. The cooperation with international educational institutions is needed increasing the knowledge and maturity mindset.

The education concept in this term is not only to pursue an education degree, however, but the critical education should also lead to liberation, that can merely be realized in using total reflection and action methods. This is intended to human can achieve their real goal. Therefore, the education must have two sides i.e. (1) Consist of n concrete action, (2) keep raising a real awareness. The education must lead to action, then the action is reflected and on its reflection, will become a new action. The critical education continuously open reality is inexhaustible, raise awareness to participate in building a better social order (Wijaya, 2004: 63).

The role of the school as well as the other socialization agents role can not be ignored. It can provide an opportunity for the women to overcome the syndrome inferior that infected through leadership training and provides the opportunity to be a leader – class leader, OSIS (students organization), and others. The women should be encouraged to participate optimally by taking into account the willingness and the potential that exists in themselves.

### 3.2 Improving Balinese Women Political Participation

This effort is done to improve political education among the women. Through the independent and autonomous organization, the women will be able to articulate themselves in political life and striving to improve the women dignity. So far, though the women generally have always participated actively promote the interests and aspirations of politics, however, they do not represent the aspirations and their own political interests. The women aspirations and

interests will continue to be defeated by other varieties of aspirations and common interests voiced harsher. There are two factors that influence why the women's aspirations unbeaten includes; first, the type of women aspirations and interests are not recognized or known by the parties dominated by men, therefore, naturally there is no one support their aspirations; second, the women who take a part in the political sector can not articulate their aspirations and interests typical due to their numbers are a minority in politics.

According to Ani Widnyani Soetjipto (2005: 38-41), there are some strategies that suggested to political parties at increasing the women participation in politics as follows. First, gender sensitivity training that is basically a political education that aims to alter opinions been developed in the society who think politics is merely the man and provide insight to them about their political rights. Second, in order to bring the women to vote into the organization/political party. Gender planning method can be done in various ways to analyze, monitor, and develop the organization's practices that are sensitive to women's interests. Using gender analysis is a good way to integrate gender in everyday decision making, both in political organizations and government agencies. Third, *lobbying* (lobbying action), *campaign*, and *advocacy* in the collaboration with LSM (Society Social Institutions) and governments.

The communication links must remain intertwined and it would be very useful for the ideas exchange and a testing ground for the new strategy implementation. Fourth, the political parties activity is to increase the women political participation. Through, various activities unlike campaigns, information provision, and leadership training and political skills for the women expected that has an interest and to engage in practical politics. The other side, the important thing is to establish a Women's Caucus in Parliament that is cross-party and cross-faction and worked based on concern the women problems. Fifth, the identification and supporting the women, defines the activists and organizations women should identify and provide a support to them those have the capacity and ability in hold a position and strategic at determining public policy. Sixth, the quota is needed. It is required for balancing, to achieve the strategic figure. The representation is regarded as significant is that if the women participation percentage reached 30%. Thus the women issue and women's perspectives can be integrated into various policies.

According to Tutik Kusuma Wardhani, not to ask a dispensation excessive in order to our position is equal to the man. Since 2006, based on family support Tutik has joined the Democratic Party and established as a legislative member of Bali Province 2009-2014. The experience in the organization that has been done and social activities primarily conducted in the sector of health and education provide an opportunity for her to meet people of different layers. At first, the women born in 1954 Singaraja was to view the politics merely for a man and always judged negatively. After following developments and get in the practical politics, Tutik aware that politics is not just for men, but also the woman can be involved in politics. Inappropriate recognition to the Koran Tokoh (newspaper name) (2009: 12):

*"...saya memaknai politik perempuan sebagai the personal is political; politik itu terjadi dimana saja baik di rumah tangga maupun di luar rumah. Ketika perempuan mengambil keputusan di manapun berada perempuan sudah dikatakan berpolitik dan itu sebenarnya terjadi pada kehidupan sehari-hari. Saya ingin mengapus anggapan bahwa politik adalah hal yang kotor dan identik dengan kekerasan..."*

*"... I interpret the women politics as the personal is political; that politics happened anywhere both in and outside the household. When the women take a decision wherever she belongs, it actually occurs in everyday life. I want to delete a notion that the politic is a dirty thing and synonymous with violence..."*

The access and networking expanded is a major goal for Tutik to compete in getting the position as a legislature member. Hence, he is doing some social activities to assist government programs primarily through health and education activities. Through Kerta Usadha Hospital that was managed since 1990, the former chairman of HIPMI Buleleng 1998-2001 did a social mission to provide free health care to people who can not afford through health safari program to several villages in Buleleng. As a treasurer of the Education Buleleng Board, Tutik also supports the government's efforts to alleviate the poor society, especially, in the education field in helping the children dropping out of school. Tutik currently had 12 foster children due to the education is the most important thing in life.

One of Balinese women activists, Nyoman Hartini stated that the women who want to advance into practical practice should be preceded an activity in political parties. In an interview to the Koran Tokoh (2008: 1) Hartini stated that:

*"...perempuan mesti tahu di mana mulai berpolitik; perlu dipahami teorinya, hulunya adalah partai politik. Mulailah dari parpol, jangan antipati atau tidak suka. Di sana semua proses awal dimulai."*

*Kalau kita memasuki parpol saja ogah, siapa lagi yang bisa membantu untuk akses lebih lanjut. Jika perempuan mulai dari hulu berarti dia sudah digembleng di sana. Begitu dia terpilih menjadi anggota dewan, tidak akan membuang waktunya lima tahun untuk belajar. Jika ingin duduk di kursi legislatif, berkering dan berjuanglah di parpol, jangan tiba-tiba pas musim pemilu baru nongol..."*

"... the women have to know whereas begin to engage in politics; it needs to be understood their theory, the upper reaches is a political party. Start up by political parties, not antipathy or dislike. There all the initial process begins. If we refuse to enter any political party, who else can help to further access. If the women from upstream i.e. he has trained there. He once was elected to the board, will not waste his time five years to learn. If you want to sit in the legislature, sweat, and fight in the political parties, do not suddenly appears in the new election season ..."

Discussing politics, the women should be aware regarding the political law, election regulation. The adequate knowledge provision those involved in the political parties will be able to talk and help provided insights, especially, against the party's decision is deemed detrimental to the women. The political parties need to get in touch with the women contributions. If the more women are involved and the position as party leaders from the branch level to the twigs level, it is expected there will be significant changes due to touch female thought process each program will contribute to a political party printed forerunner of the nation's leaders. The advantages whose the women to maintain personal honesty, grounded to the moral, wisdom is something valuable in the party development in the future.

### *3.3 Improving Balinese Women of Economic Independence*

The man position as upscale also means that the man has the power capital, not only with respect to ideology but also has a dialectical relationship with the infrastructure materials, namely, the man has a variety of other capital better than the women (Harker, 2008, Jenkins, 2004). The family system "*kepurusa*" (the male lineage) prevailing in Balinese society results in males have a stronger economic base on the shaped property that comes from their parents (Windia and Sudantra, 2006). The male is positioned as the main breadwinner so that the man can distribute earnings to women. Thus, the women have the basic economy is weak if it is compared to men. The less basic economics of the women complicate the emancipation conduct, especially, in the political field. In order to strengthen the economic base of women, in relating to scientific women should be able to position itself not just as a technology innovator, but also as a creative inventor faced human right in intermediate technology, meaning that the women whose an intelligence at once wisdom. Whereas an involvement in politics sector (especially for the women who have managerial skills societal) the aim is not just to participate fill vacancies or the male quota provided, however, further than humanize systems and political structures.

The succession who have skills in the intellectual and managerial field opportunities in the profession will have an effect on women who have the ability in the engineering field, carpentry (procurement of goods and services and tourism) so that they would regain the human dignity that had been marginalized by the patriarchal system. It will be impacted on the women that were the most workers who have only a physical as the main capital to survive. If the three groups of women above can contribute a maximum offset to the men in each profession is a path to strengthening the economic base of the women. In addition, the economic independence for the women individually can be done through the economic institution's establishment, unlike the women cooperatives. In the micro level, unlike a family and Desa Pakraman, could be a model in handling an activity that leads to gender balance. The family should think about how to provide impartial capital between boys and girls. Desa Pakraman has LPD, designing provide education scholarships to the children of women who have a high intelligence, however, having a weak economy. At the micro level an effort unlike a family, *dadia* (big family), Desa Pakraman, there should be an effort to give attention and provide equal opportunities to their societies in variety activities that demonstrate a gender balance.

Village Credit Institutions that is located in each *desa pekraman* should set aside part their profits to help with the education costs for women who have been treated unfairly. The citizen's groups (*soroh*) should strive to create superior human resources due to it has tremendous resources if it is managed using modern organizational management: there is a management, having vision and mission (*ideal picture of the future*) that is cleared and programmed. The rational management of the capital accumulated primarily in *soroh* (through either compulsory contributions, dues, or shares sale) will grow into an economic power and promising microfinance. If the capital is used to build a commercial lending institution, then the power will reach to touch the poor, which suffered structural poverty due to they can not

borrow money in the bank because they do not have collateral. Moreover, they could obtain a loan with the low-interest rate.

The success of any soroh build economic institution will prevent its citizens from a debt and various economic problems other due to each member is not only responsible for the formal legal, however, more important is the family law, especially, regarding curse ancestors, that those who violate will have the responsibility to ancestors. This punishment is more feared than the formal laws. If the awareness and understanding have appeared on the individual level, many other businesses could include building a supermarket, the art market, cooperatives, and others. The social and financial strength, if it has a good management will provide enormous economic opportunities for Balinese women from an artisans and laborers class. The women of intellectuals and scholars will also be able to seize the opportunity to make new discoveries if there are any citizens group (*soroh*) to provide funding support (Wijaya, 2004).

### 3.4 Creating a Social Network

In order to create a social networking is about getting close relationships with others and keep ongoing all the time. Bourdieu called it a social capital (Harker, 2008, Ritzer, 2004). The people that are related to a series of networks through tend to their shared values with others, so far, the networking becomes a resource, it can be regarded as a capital. In addition, to providing immediate benefits, social capital can often be used in other settings. Therefore, it generally means that the more a person knows of others who have a common point of view, the increasingly rich social capital possessed (John Field, 2010: 1).

In an effort to increase the women representation in the legislature need to build a cooperation network to various institutions both government and LSM concerned with the women politics. The supporting system for female candidates should be included in it, namely LSM networking. LSM supporting is an important part due to LSM can mobilize collective support to all stakeholders political parties, the government and parliament to ensure that the stakeholder key remains consistent in promoting increased women representation in accordance with the law's mandate. In addition, LSM can also play an active role in mediating the women candidates in political parties and the community (supporting group) to communicate and develop relationships with constituents. The women candidate individually should understand the political map and constituency condition, smart in determining the issues choice, having a good self-image, able to communicate effectively, and intelligent in using the momentum (Tokoh, 9-15 November 2008: 8).

It is no less important an effort to improve the women representation in the legislature to cooperating with the media. Media has managed to spread throughout the social values of liberation and equality, therefore, more people will be aware of their rights, especially on gender equality. The media can be a mirror to give a concerning picture, conception or leadership for women aspirations. In the contrast media can also occur could weaken the image of women and leadership. Media is formed, giving focus, and speed public opinion up.

The media is expected as the quality culture, pioneer. The hope is increasingly urgent to be realized when access to the media discourse of women's leadership depends on a culture that respects the public area. In order to open a wider access up to the public area for the discourse of women's leadership means accelerating the maturation and expansion of quality political participation. The open public area increasingly becomes part of the media responsible for the quality culture is based on a concern to the plurality acceptance. Unlike interests often conflict with economic pragmatism interests. Bali's cooperation with the media has been looked by the media, especially newspapers (Koran Tokoh) for introducing women figures in Bali are contesting for the position as a member of the legislature.

## 4. Conclusion

An effort at increasing the women role in the politic is done by improving education and association raising awareness among the women, in order to build the women self-reliance in the economic field, cooperating with the various parties that is concerned in the women representation in the legislature, understanding regard the political mapping and having a good image.

The women role in the legislature is not merely for fulfilling the quota, however, they have a high responsibility of moral. The women should be able to change the politic image that is considered bad and justifies any means to perfume the more honest politics and manners, therefore, unlike change, the politics image is corrupt, and violence full. Thus, the problems being faced by Indonesia society can look for solutions that accurate as early in realizing a prosperous Indonesia.

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*Statement of authorship*

The author(s) have a responsibility for the conception and design of the study. The author(s) have approved the final article.

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