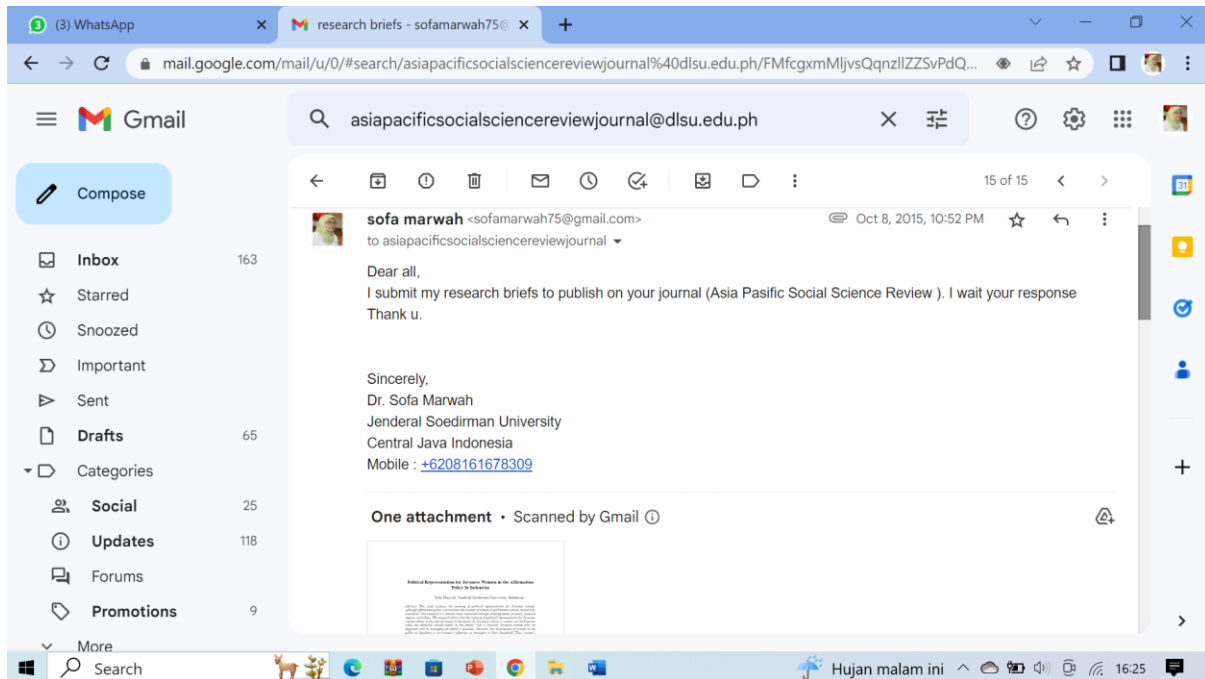


BUKTI REVIEW DAN KORESPONDENSI

ASIA-PASIFIC SOCIAL SCIENCE REVIEW

DE LA SALLE UNIVERSITY, MANILA



Political Representation for Javanese Women in the Affirmation Policy In Indonesia

Sofa Marwah, Jenderal Soedirman University, Indonesia

Abstract: This study assesses the meaning of political representation for Javanese women. Although affirmation policy can increase the number of women in parliament, women cannot fully contribute. This research is a literary study conducted through studying books, journals, research reports, and others. The research shows that the meaning of political representation for Javanese women relates to the role of women in the family. In Javanese culture, a woman can build power when she dedicates herself totally to the family. This is because Javanese women play an important role in managing her family's economy. However, the involvement of women in the public as legislator is not women's reflection as managers in their household. Thus, women's representation in parliament is not optimal. Finally, the conclusion confirms that affirmation policy increases the number of women in parliament, yet the increase of women's representation is not enough; hence, strengthening local feminism dimension in political practice is necessary.

Keywords: Representation, Affirmation Policy, Javanese Culture

Introduction

Since the Reform Era, in Indonesia, *The Women in Development* (WID) has shifted into *Gender and Development* (GAD). In politics, the perspective is characterized by an electoral system that set the minimal quota, 30 percent, for women's representation in the parliament. So far Indonesia has held three elections with that minimal quota. However, until 2014 election, the representation of women in the national parliament is under 30 percent. Besides, Java is the most advanced island in Indonesia, meaning that the development of

education in this island is more than the other Indonesian areas, still cannot also attain the desired target. Among six provinces in Java, none of them has attained the 30 percent women representation. This can be seen through the representation of women in Jakarta Province (26.6 percent), Banten Province (18.8 percent), West Java Province (22 percent), Central Java Province (24 percent), Yogyakarta Province (25 percent), and East Java Province (25 percent).

Then, according to Richard Matland, the most important characteristic of the society associated with the representation of women, is development. Development may cause weakening of traditional values, increasing urbanization and education, raising women labor force participation, and changing perspective about the proper role for women. Thus, one obvious result of the development is the decreasing of women's barriers to be active in politics. This is because culture has a very close relation to development, and development can encourage women to have equal status with men. Therefore, although Matland recognizes that it is hard to see the immediate effect of culture on women's representation, Matland still emphasizes that culture is correlated with women's representation, in which the development is going to be followed by the change of culture.¹

Hence, this article aims to describe the substantive representation of Javanese women in the parliament and study it in a local cultural perspective to understand why, even though the Javanese community has advanced in educational development, women's political representation cannot achieve maximum results. The substantive representation is interpreted as a substantial impact because women's representation may influence policies which are beneficial for women. In addition, the term descriptive representation will be applied meaning the attendance of women's in politics is a symbol of women's existence because of quota.² This research is a literary study conducted through analyzing papers, books, journals, magazines, and any related source. Data are collected by reviewing documents, books, journals and other related sources.³ Finally, open coding data analysis is conducted by processing, checking, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing.⁴

The Women Role and Position in Javanese Culture

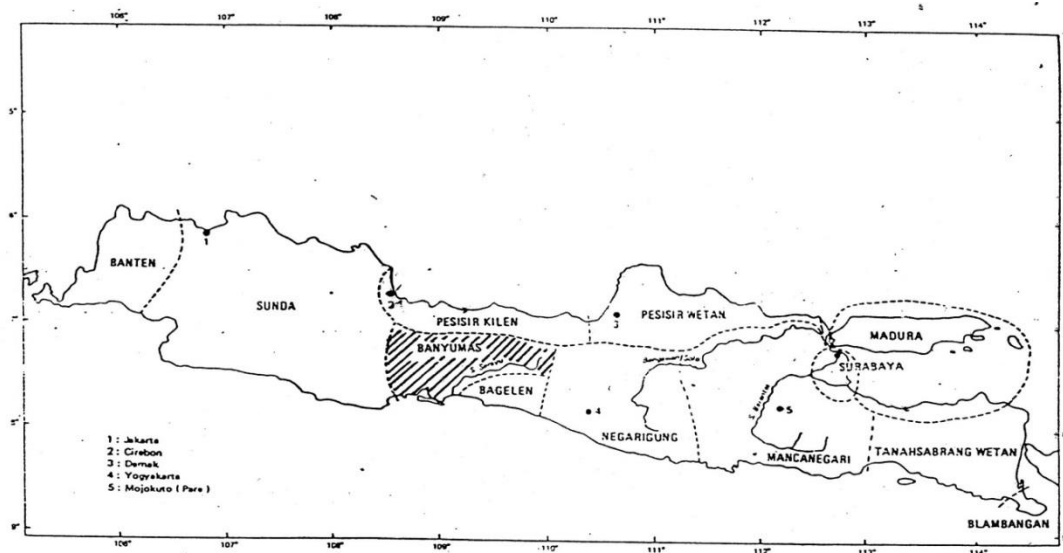
Before discussing the dynamics of the political representation of Javanese women in local perspective, this paper is going to present the role and position of women in Javanese culture. The perspective on Javanese women is important as a basis to illustrate the meaning of political representation for Javanese women. Hence, this crucial explanation is presented in the next section.

¹Richard E Matland, "The Effect of Development and Culture on Women's Representation," in *Women in Parliament : Beyond Numbers*, ed. Azza Karam, 29 (Varberg : Broderne Carlssons, 2002).

²Anne Phillips, *The Politics of Presence: The Political Representation of Gender, Ethnicity and Race* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 5.

³Anton Bakker and Ahmad Charis Zubair, *Metodologi Penelitian Filsafat* (Yogyakarta: Penerbit Kanisius, 1990), 63.

⁴Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory and Techniques* (London: Sage Publications, 1998).



Peta 1: Variasi Regional dari kebudayaan Jawa

Source: Koentjaraningrat, 1984.

Several studies on the role and position of women in Javanese culture show that women are responsible to manage household's income and expenditure. This is emphasized by Koentjaraningrat who agrees that women and men as husband and wife in the household are complementary living beings, in which the women give a substantial contribution to the family economy through active participation in productive activities.⁵ In line with Koentjaraningrat, Hildred Geertz has stated that the position of women in Javanese society in general is powerful. A wife will take decisions, mostly, if they are domestic problems. Also, the wife controls all the family finances even though they still give a formal tribute to the husband. Therefore, although the wife listens to her husband's consideration in major problems, commonly, the wife is dominant. Most jobs, such as, working in the fields, trading, doing business, and teaching are carried out by Javanese women. Moreover, Geertz also mentions that Javanese family centers on the figure of the mother. Again, emphasizing the dominance and the position of women in the family.⁶

Furthermore, the mother figure in Javanese culture has a very important position as the mother is always trusted. Hence, a mother is always respected in the family. Besides, Javanese women have a decisive role in the family, even the decision concerning the public. Javanese women who are *sumeleh* or patient, calm, and flexible can build power through her devotion to their family. Structurally, there is men's hegemony against women, but there is a strategy to have a dominant position vis-a-vis men from the inside, hence promoting women's hegemony within domestic arena. The strategy is "*memangku*" which is about understanding, forgiving, accepting, protecting, and comforting their husband through serving, devoting and respecting. Women do not destroy formal structure because she keeps men as the most powerful and respected. This proves the greatness of Javanese women who are attached by maternal instincts

⁵ Koentjaraningrat, *Villages in Indonesia* (Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1967). According to Siti Kusujarti, there are experts who see the subordinate position of Javanese women because there is cultural and institutional obstacles to play a role in various sectors. The patriarchal system is an obstacle for Javanese women to obtain the equal role with men. Experts are of the view such as Locher Scholten and Niehof, *Indonesian Women in Focus* (Leiden: KITLV, 1992); Berninghausen and Kerstan, *Forging New Paths: Feminist Social Methodology and Rural Women in Java* (London: Zed Book Ltd, 1992). However, according to Prof. Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra, the views influenced by Mataram Kingdom's values which reflected by historiography books like *Serat Centhini*, *Serat Cendrarini*, and *Serat Wulangputri*. It mean that the views is incompatible to see the role of women in Javanese villages.

⁶ Hildred Geertz, *The Javanese Family : Study of Kinship and Socialization* (New York : The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), 48-49.

to protect, maintain, and provide others gently. That is why, in this condition the men become dependent on women, but they do not feel the mastery over them.⁷

Moreover, the phenomenal study from Benedict Anderson shows that power in Javanese tradition is signed by the ability to concentrate. It includes the ability to absorb power from outside and centralize opposite things.⁸ Harmony to maintain and restore order is a social sign of power and king's task. This is because, in the context of authority, in Java, the position of a king as the reflection of God makes a king maintain and restore.⁹ In this case, feminine dimensions in social sign of centralization power are about fertility, prosperity, stability and glory. Moreover, harmony and orderliness are also feminism dimensions as women have ability to give in, think unselfishly and understand.

Javanese also has a tradition called asceticism or "*laku tapa*" which is done in order not to think of their own interests or "*sepi ing pamrih*." This means that Javanese has will to apply asceticism to achieve inner strength to refrain from worldly pleasures. The sincerity in this asceticism contains feminine dimensions. Javanese society also emphasizes fertility and harmony manifested in the principle of "*tata tentrem karta raharja*" which means orderly, peacefully, prosperously and happily. Fertility contained in the principle of "*tata tentrem karta raharja*" also reflects feminine dimension. This is explained by study conducted by Christina Handayani and Ardhian Novianto who say that fertility is about agricultural land, and the land is closely related to agrarian culture of Javanese society. Hence, since the land is the source of people's lives, Javanese expresses it by "*ibu pertiwi*" or motherland.¹⁰

Feminine dimension is also proven in the point of view of Javanese which centers on harmony, tranquility, and equanimity. This principle of life is very prominent in the Javanese tradition shown by spirit to live in harmony and respect. Moreover, Javanese always conduct themselves gently and control their behavior well. A ruler in Java is required to have nobility in conducting his administration, and this nobility is perquisite. This is strengthened by Frans Magnis Suseno saying that nobility is an element of religious legitimacy of a ruler besides having supernatural power and having ability to create justice and prosperity.¹¹ That is why, maintaining harmony, tranquility, equanimity, and nobility describes feminine dimensions. In social relations, Javanese society has a model of social stratification called "*kawula-gusti*" which means subordinate-supervisor. The relationship is smooth and familial, but it still applies respect.¹² In connection *kawula-gusti*, the feminine dimension is dominant because the pattern implies conquering the outer world and developing the inner world; requires sympathy, attention, and respect; and maintains the position of social hierarchy. Hence, Javanese women have the ability to apply such connection, act caring and compassionate to others, and maintain social status.

The description given by the experts on the role and position of women in Javanese culture implies that the feminine dimension is strongly associated with Javanese women. In this context, feminine dimensions are characterized by a loving nature, having high sympathy, understanding, being unselfish, gentle, compliant, patient, and so forth. Women are the manager of the household. Household management requires precision, patience, and certainly

⁷ Christina Handayani and Ardhian Novianto, *Kuasa Wanita Jawa* (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2008).

⁸ Benedict R.O.G. Anderson, "Gagasan tentang Kekuasaan dalam Kebudayaan Jawa", in *Aneka Pemikiran Tentang Kuasa dan Wibawa*, ed. Miriam Budiarjo, 58-59 (Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1991).

⁹ Soemarsaid Moertono, *Negara dan Usaha Bina Negara di Jawa Masa Lampau: Studi tentang Zaman Mataram II Abad XVI dan XIX* (Jakarta: Yayasan Obor, 1985), 52.

¹⁰ Christina Handayani and Ardhian Novianto, 183.

¹¹ Frans Magnis Suseno, *Etika Politik: Prinsip-prinsip Moral Dasar Kenegaraan Modern* (Jakarta: Gramedia, 1987), 42.

¹² Soemarsaid Moertono, 19.

unselfishness. Even when a woman contributes to the family economy, characteristic of a mother who always cares. In such circumstances, when a Javanese woman devotes her life to serve the family, she is building power in her domestic space. However, power in the Javanese tradition is in essence different from power in the tradition of Western political science as it is described in the study of Anderson. Generally understood in political science, the meaning of power starts on Max Weber's point of view of power quoted Robert Dahl which illustrates that power (*macht*) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests.¹³ On the other hand, Anderson saw that the essence of power in Javanese tradition emphasizes the ability to concentrate; adjust; maintain order and sincerity, and achieve balance, gentleness and compassion. Therefore, as Javanese women have a role and position that is in line with feminine dimensions within the meaning of power in Javanese culture, the question which needs to be answered is how the substance of women's representation in modern politics is represented when the state interfere women's representation through affirmative policies.

Javanese Women's Political Representation: A Contestation Arena

Quota policy to increase the political representation of women in parliament was enacted in Indonesia in 2004 election. On the one hand, the policy can be interpreted as a success story of the feminist movement in Indonesia in seeking electoral system that integrates quota policy for women's representation. Of course it is a great success for the feminist movement in Indonesia, considering that during the New Order which applied the Women in Development (WID) framework places women only as men's companion and convince women that having role in politics is inappropriate. However, on the other hand, the affirmative policies in the electoral system in Indonesia also show that the struggle of women demands state's intervention. In this context, Shirin M Rai states, "In the development discourse, women's struggle will not be separated from the economic and political agenda determined by the national elite".¹⁴ It means that the impact of state intervention on the issue of the advancement of women in developing countries can produce varied situations, and it may result in negative situation. Of course, each country has the its values the local culture, may wholly not apply democracy, face economic inequality and poverty, and have not established welfare state structures yet the implementation of affirmative policies impact can vary among various countries. Thus, affirmative policy does not resolve all of the issues in the various places. Furthermore, Matland shows that the representation of women in developing countries are different from that of developed countries, where higher education for women, labor force participation, and literacy rate becomes variables that affect the political representation of women. When there is a significant highly educated and skilled female population the effectiveness in relation to realizing gender equality is potentially. In this case, the development is an important part to support the achievement of the condition.¹⁵ Thus, women in a particular country will understand and get different experience from women in other countries because of development. The next question which is needed to be answered are the significant meanings of political representation for women in Indonesia, especially for Javanese women and whether the quota policy for women in Indonesia is the right answer to accelerate the live quality of Indonesian women.

¹³ Robert Dahl, "Power as The Control of Behaviour," in *Power*, ed. Steven Lukes, 39 (Oxford : Basil Blackwell Ltd).

¹⁴ Shirin M Rai, *Gender and the Political Economy of Development* (Cambridge : Polity Press, 2002), 8.

¹⁵ Richard E Matland, 29.

Studies conducted by Sofa Marwah in several places in Java which are influenced by Javanese culture, namely, Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, Banyumas, and Cilacap district showed that the number of women legislator did not reach 30 percent, and only a few number of women legislator had occupied strategic positions, such as board chairman, faction chairman, commission chairman, special committee chairman, and board of fittings chairman such as legislation board, budgeting agency, deliberative board, and honorees board. Political parties also had difficulty to fulfill the 30 percent quota of women candidates, so the candidates had to be recruited from the political non-cadres. Besides, the support of their fathers or husbands to be elected in parliament election was really needed reinforcing the affirmation that male hegemony is indeed very present in the 'outside' world as opposed to the domestic arena where the women can exercise a certain level of authority and decision-making power. Furthermore, after elected, just a few women contributed in legal drafting discussion and public hearing. The women legislators could not always defend their interests. They represented their political party or community constituency interests more. Ironically, several of the women legislators did not feel themselves as representatives of women.¹⁶

This paper attempts to understand the political representation for Javanese women who have not yet reached substantive representation in perspective of local culture. In this regard, the role of women in the Javanese family as the family manager where they totally devote themselves to the family constructs their power from domestic space. Feminine dimension is associated with patience, compassion, unselfishness, accuracy, tranquility, and harmony, and these can be valid and accepted women's values in politics. Javanese community believes that women roles in the domestic sphere have power. In this private space women are able to build and exert their power for the well-being of their family. That also means that when the public office is held by women, women promote their Java feminine dimension as political representation. In this case, women in Java and possibly in other regions in Indonesia have "its own agreement" on their role. They believe that being in the domestic sphere is not always inferior, and if they have opportunity to be in public spaces, they do not become superior. It is time for Indonesian women and Javanese women to speak up and convey their point of view. Feminine dimensions should be continuously produced to demonstrate the power of women and women's issues in the parliament. Theoretically, the real idea also inspired by Joni Lovenduski when analyzing feminizing politics. She states that the political representation of women in parliament institution follows the precise rules constructed by men. It is time for feminine politics to change the practices and political nature in which feminist theory should take a part in the process of political representation.¹⁷ Maybe, the emphasis of this paper contributes political practice purposed by Lovenduski. It is time for Javanese and women in various other areas in Indonesia to realize their strengths based on their local values. Thus, affirmative policy must be supported by strengthening the local identity in each community.

Thus, political representation for women's representation in Indonesia, especially, in Java, is difficult to be developed based only on modern principles and state's intervention which is conducted by supporting the quota of women's representation. This is because major principles in applying liberal democracy. In this case, women in parliament should promote local values to form medium contestation in the parliament as public space by showing their strengths based on feminine dimensions. Furthermore, according to Franz Fanon, it is time for women in the Third World to free them from the grip of the public space by doing resistance from domestic space. When the public space is occupied by modernity, the only medium that

¹⁶ Sofa Marwah, *Representasi Politik Perempuan di Banyumas: Antara Kultur dan Realitas Politik* (Indonesia University : Dissertation of Political Science Doctoral Program, 2012).

¹⁷ Joni Lovenduski, *Feminizing Politics* (Cambridge : Polity Press, 2005), 34.

allows women to have the resistance is precisely from the private sphere. In this case, the domestic space is a contestation arena where women show their abilities.¹⁸

This paper also seeks to convey to the importance of formulating the direction of the feminist movement in Indonesia, including in Java, to improve women quality of life. The formulation of the feminist movement that does not solely follow the demands of modern women and country's rules may be the ideal formula. However the policy of quota for women's political representation is still important to be implemented, but the representation of women in parliament bodies is also necessary to promote feminine dimensions, dimension based on local values on women's roles the family. It is beneficial to formulate local identity of women in Indonesia when they involve in the public space in the parliament. From that, the description about the identity of local women in Indonesia will be reflected in the direction to achieve the goal in which advocating for certain women's issues is included.

Conclusion

Substantive political representation for women is a political process that lasts long and gradually. In that regard, the meaning of political representation for women in various parts of the world may be different. In this case, the meaning of political representation for Javanese women is related to women's roles as managers in the management of the household. From the domestic space, Javanese women can build power. Javanese society has a local meaning of power and the meaning of it precisely represents feminine dimensions. The role of women as the central manager of the household that is parallel to the meaning of power for the Javanese society confirms that the local dimensions of feminism narrowed to the value of patience, affection, tranquility, unselfishness, gentleness, and sympathy. When the state implements the quota policy because of the principles of modernity, Javanese women understand and find different experiences. In this case, the number of women representation has not reached the ideal number. In addition, substantive representation of women cannot also be achieved. Finally, it is important to be formulated and implemented how to strengthen feminine dimension values based on the role of women in the local culture.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

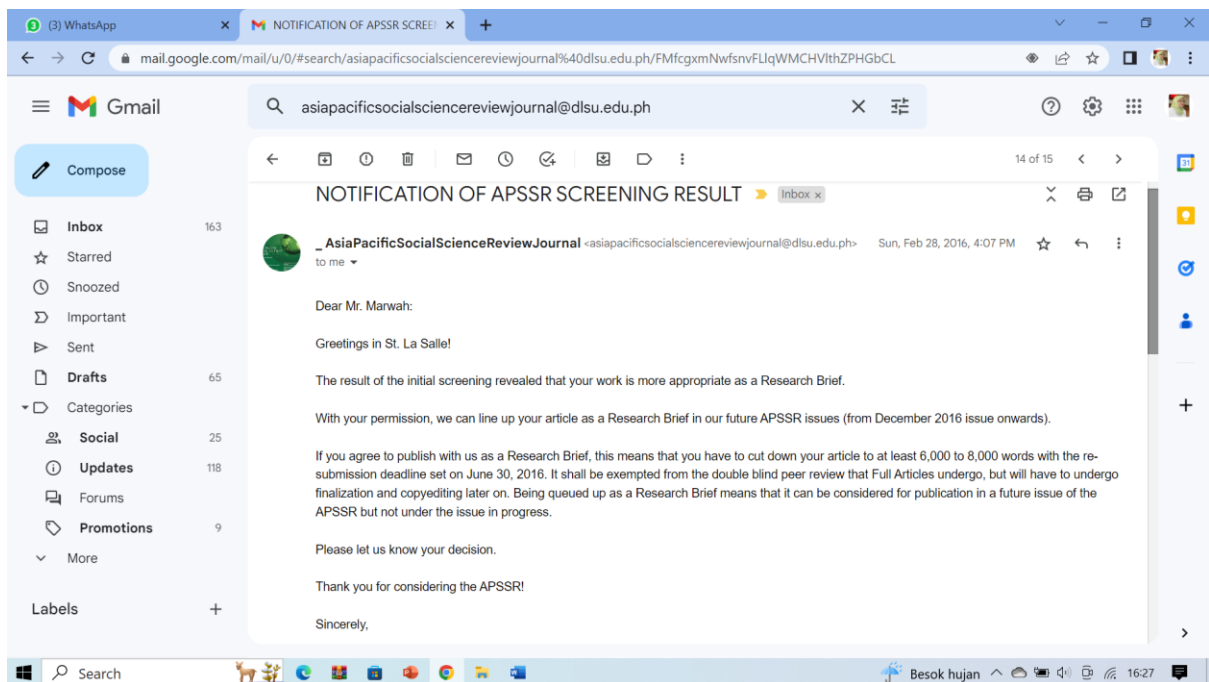
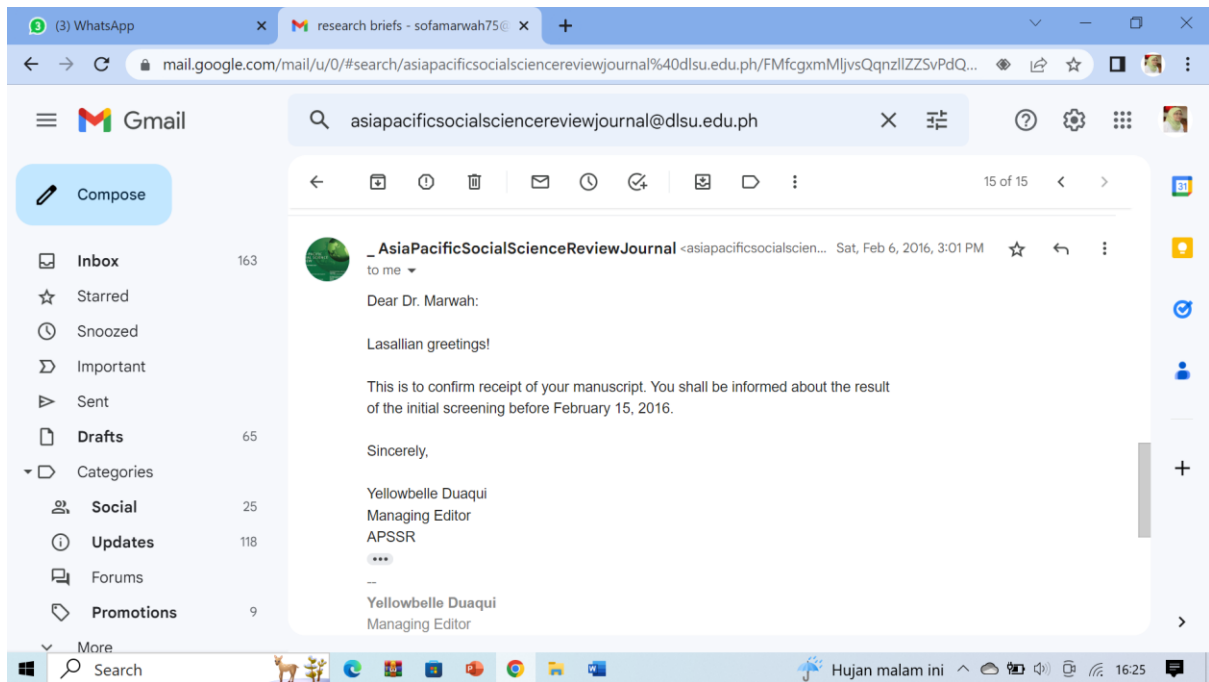
- Anderson, Benedict R.O.G. "Gagasan tentang Kekuasaan dalam Kebudayaan Jawa." In *Aneka Pemikiran Tentang Kuasa dan Wibawa*, edited by Mirriam Budiarto, 58-59. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1991.
- Bakker, Anton and Ahmad CharisZubair. *Metodologi Penelitian Filsafat*. Yogyakarta: Penerbit Kanisius, 1990.
- Baso, Ahmad. "Ke Arah Feminisme Postradisional." In *Perempuan Multikultural : Negosiasi dan Representasi*, edited by Edi Hidayat, 5. Jakarta : Desantara, 2005.
- Berninghausen and Kerstan. *Forging New Paths: Feminist Social Methodology and Rural Women in Java*. London: Zed Book Ltd, 1992.
- Dahl, Robert. "Power as The Control of Behaviour. " In *Power*, edited by Steven Lukes, 39. Oxford : Basil Blackwell Ltd.

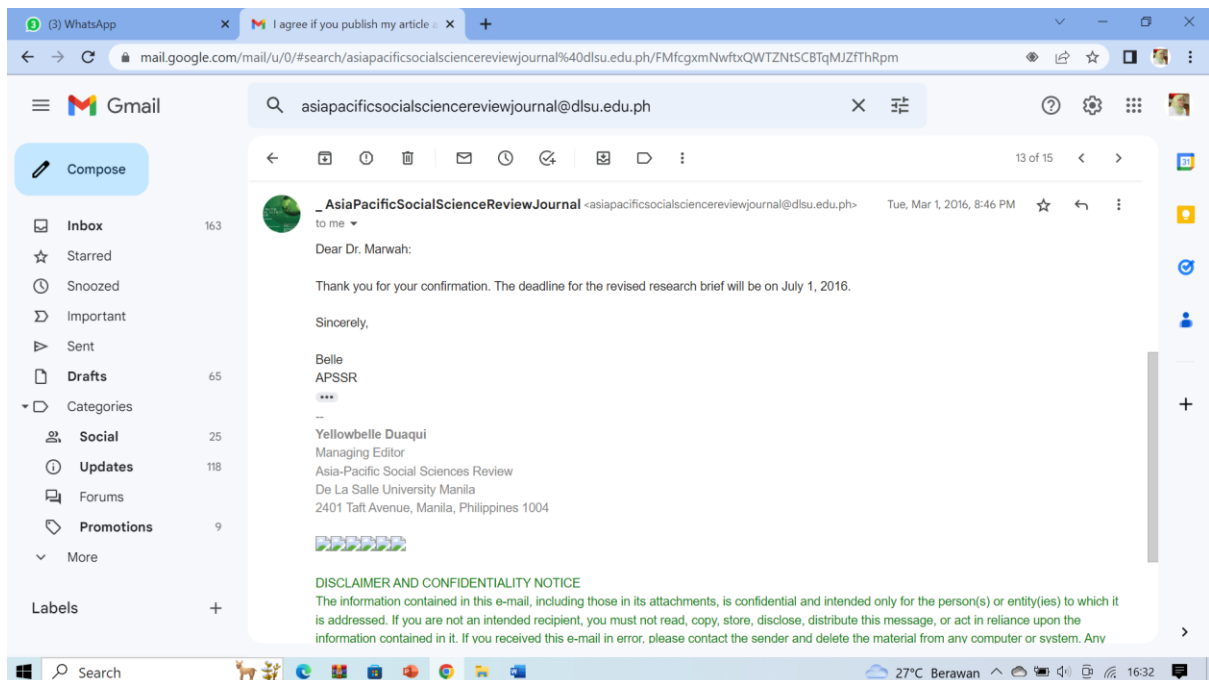
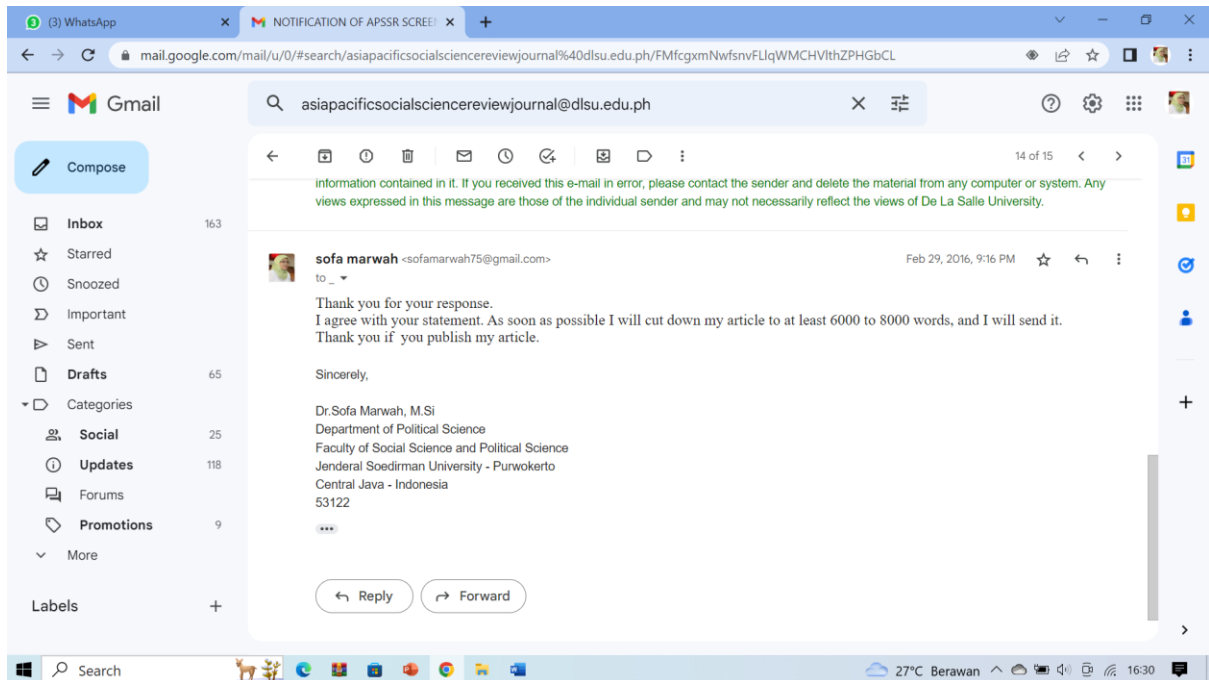
¹⁸Quoted by Ahmad Baso, "Ke Arah Feminisme Postradisional," in *Perempuan Multikultural : Negosiasi dan Representasi*, ed. Edi Hidayat, 5 (Jakarta : Desantara, 2005).

- Geertz, Hildred. *The Javanese Family : Study of Kinship and Socialization*. New York : The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.
- Handayani, Christina and Ardhan Novianto. *Kuasa Wanita Jawa*. Yogyakarta : LKiS, 2008.
- Koentjaraningrat. *Villages in Indonesia*. Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 1967.
- Kusujiarti, Siti. "Antara Ideologi dan Transkrip Tersembunyi: Dinamika Hubungan Gender dalam Masyarakat Jawa." In *Sangkan Paran Gender*, edited by Irwan Abdullah, 83. Yogyakarta : Pustaka Pelajar.
- Lovenduski, Joni. *Feminizing Politics*. Cambridge : Polity Press, 2005.
- Magnis Suseno, Frans. *Etika Politik: Prinsip-prinsip Moral Dasar Kenegaraan Modern*. Jakarta : Gramedia, 1987.
- Matland, Richard E. "The Effect of Development and Culture on Women's Representation." In *Women in Parliament : Beyond Numbers*, edited by Azza Karam, 29. Varberg : Broderne Carlssons, 2002.
- Marwah, Sofa. *Representasi Politik Perempuan di Banyumas: Antara Kultur dan Realitas Politik*. Indonesia University : Dissertation of Political Science Doctoral Program, 2012.
- Moertono, Soemarsaid. *Negara dan Usaha Bina Negara di Jawa Masa Lampau: Studi tentang Zaman Mataram II Abad XVI dan XIX*. Jakarta : Yayasan Obor, 1985.
- Phillips, Anne. *The Politics of Presence: The Political Representation of Gender, Ethnicity and Race*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Rai, Shirin M. *Gender and the Political Economy of Development*. Cambridge : Polity Press, 2002.
- Scholten, Locherand Niehof. *Indonesian Women in Focus*. Leiden: KITLV, 1992.
- Strauss, Anselm and Juliet Corbin. *Basics of Qualitative Research : Grounded Theory and Techniques*. London : Sage Publications, 1998.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

My name is Dr. Sofa Marwah. I am a lecturer in Department Political Science, Faculty of Social Science and Political Science, Jenderal Soedirman University, Purwokerto, Central Java, Indonesia. I am female. I was born in Kediri East Java on 26 April 1975. My interests are women's studies, culture, and politics.





(3) WhatsApp x CONFIRMATIONS - sofamarwah: x +

mail.google.com/mail/u/0/#search/asiapacificsocialsciencereviewjournal%40dlsu.edu.ph/FMfcgxmNwfwHSBFnLFvNHxsQQRJcpj

Gmail

Compose

Inbox 163

Starred

Snoozed

Important

Sent

Drafts 65

Categories

Social 25

Updates 118

Forums

Promotions 9

More

Labels +

asiapacificsocialsciencereviewjournal@dlsu.edu.ph

CONFIRMATIONS

sofa marwah <sofamarwah75@gmail.com> Tue, Mar 1, 2016, 9:20 PM

Dear all...

I checked my article that entitled Political Representation for Javanese Women in The Affirmation Policy in Indonesia and I found that my article has 3866 words.

Your guideline explain that a Research Brief must contain 3000-5000 words. Does amount of words of my article fulfill the requirement as Research Brief?

But your email stated that I has to cut down my article to at least 6000 to 8000 words.

So give me your confirmation in order to my article can publish in Asia Pacific Social Review as Research Brief. I want to improve my article according to your requirement.

Thank you very much,

Sincerely,

Dr.Sofa Marwah, M.Si
Department of Political Science

26°C Berawan 16:33

(3) WhatsApp x CONFIRMATIONS - sofamarwah: x +

mail.google.com/mail/u/0/#search/asiapacificsocialsciencereviewjournal%40dlsu.edu.ph/FMfcgxmNwfwHSBFnLFvNHxsQQRJcpj

Gmail

Compose

Inbox 163

Starred

Snoozed

Important

Sent

Drafts 65

Categories

Social 25

Updates 118

Forums

Promotions 9

More

Labels +

asiapacificsocialsciencereviewjournal@dlsu.edu.ph

_ AsiaPacificSocialScienceReviewJournal <asiapacificsocialsciencereviewjournal@dlsu.edu.ph> Tue, Mar 1, 2016, 9:24 PM

Dear Dr. Marwah:

The number of words is no longer a problem, and need not be revised. The length is okay for a Research Brief.

Kindly just make sure references follow the APA Manual 6th ed.

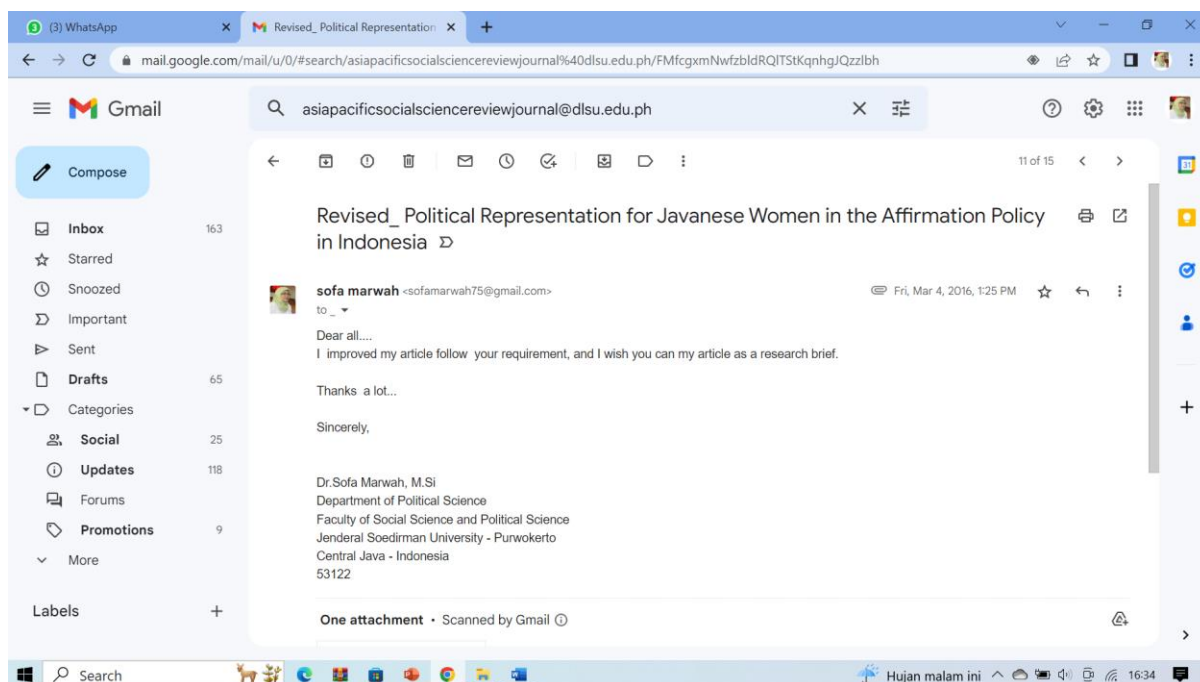
Sincerely,

Belle
APSSR

--
Yellowbelle Duaqui
Managing Editor
Asia-Pacific Social Sciences Review
De La Salle University Manila
2401 Taft Avenue, Manila, Philippines 1004

DISCLAIMER AND CONFIDENTIALITY NOTICE

26°C Berawan 16:33



Political Representation for Javanese Women in the Affirmation Policy in Indonesia

Sofa Marwah, Jenderal Soedirman University, Indonesia

Abstract:

This study assesses the meaning of political representation for Javanese women. Although affirmation policy can increase the number of women in parliament, women cannot fully contribute. This research is a literary study conducted through studying books, journals, research reports, and others. The research shows that the meaning of political representation for Javanese women relates to the role of women in the family. In Javanese culture, a woman can build power when she dedicates herself totally to the family. This is because Javanese women play an important role in managing her family's economy. However, the involvement of women in the public as legislator is not women's reflection as managers in their household. Thus, women's representation in parliament is not optimal. Finally, the conclusion confirms that affirmation policy increases the number of women in parliament, yet the increase of women's representation is not enough; hence, strengthening local feminism dimension in political practice is necessary.

Keywords: representation, affirmation policy, Javanese culture

Introduction

Since the Reform Era in Indonesia, *The Women in Development* (WID) has shifted into *Gender and Development* (GAD). In politics, the perspective is characterized by an electoral system that set the minimal quota, 30 percent, for women's representation in the parliament. So far Indonesia has held three elections with that minimal quota. However, until 2014 election, the representation of women in the national parliament is under 30 percent. Besides, Java is the most advanced island in Indonesia, meaning that the development of education in this island is

more than the other Indonesian areas, still cannot also attain the desired target. Among six provinces in Java, none of them has attained the 30 percent women representation. This can be seen through the representation of women in Jakarta Province (26.6 percent), Banten Province (18.8 percent), West Java Province (22 percent), Central Java Province (24 percent), Yogyakarta Province (25 percent), and East Java Province (25 percent).

Then, according to Richard Matland (2002), the most important characteristic of the society associated with the representation of women, is development. Development may cause weakening of traditional values, increasing urbanization and education, raising women labor force participation, and changing perspective about the proper role for women. Thus, one obvious result of the development is the decreasing of women's barriers to be active in politics. This is because culture has a very close relation to development, and development can encourage women to have equal status with men. Therefore, although Matland recognizes that it is hard to see the immediate effect of culture on women's representation, Matland still emphasizes that culture is correlated with women's representation, in which the development is going to be followed by the change of culture.

Hence, this article aims to describe the substantive representation of Javanese women in the parliament and study it in a local cultural perspective to understand why, even though the Javanese community has advanced in educational development, women's political representation cannot achieve maximum results. The substantive representation is interpreted as a substantial impact because women's representation may influence policies which are beneficial for women. In addition, the term descriptive representation will be applied meaning the attendance of women's in politics is a symbol of women's existence because of quota (Anne Phillips, 1995, p.5).

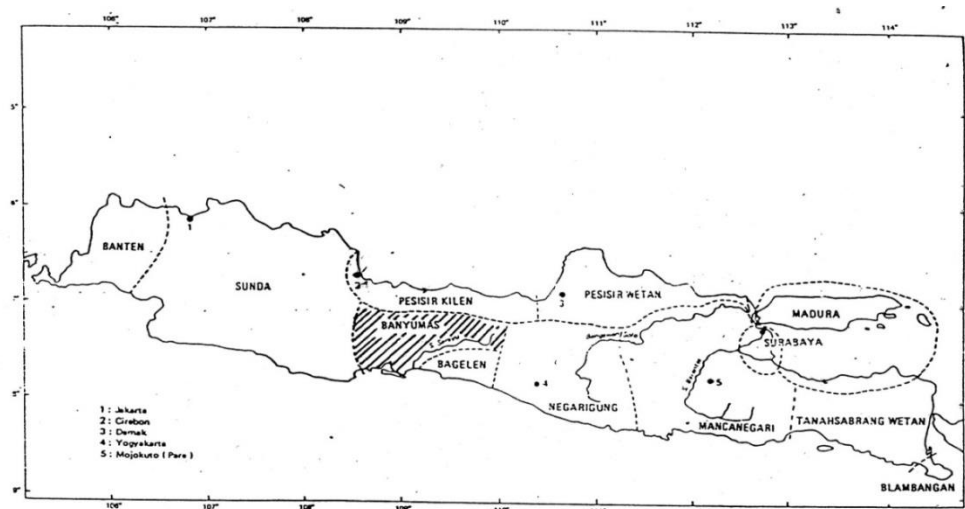
This study is a literary study conducted through analyzing papers, books, journals, magazines, and any related source. Data are collected by reviewing documents, books, journals and other related sources. Finally, open coding data analysis is conducted by processing, checking, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing (Anselm Strauss & Juliet Corbin, 1998).

The Women Role and Position in Javanese Culture

It is known that Javanese culture has the regional variations of culture. All the variants centered on Nagariung region in Jogjakarta and Solo as the central of Mataram Kingdom in the past (see Graph 1). It meant Mataram Kingdom bequeathed strict culture structure and feudalism values in Javanese culture. Javanese society has social level based on the master and

the servant; and the status in social system. The lower system is ordinary people (*kawula*) and the higher one is rulers (*gusti*) (Soemarsaid Moertono, 1985, p. 19).

Graph 1. The regional variations of Javanese culture



Peta 1: Variasi Regional dari kebudayaan Jawa

Source: Koentjaraningrat, 1984.

Before discussing the dynamics of the political representation of Javanese women in local perspective, this paper is going to present the role and position of women in Javanese culture. The perspective on Javanese women is important as a basis to illustrate the meaning of political representation for Javanese women. Hence, this crucial explanation is presented in the next section.

Several studies on the role and position of women in Javanese culture show that women are responsible to manage household's income and expenditure. This is emphasized by Koentjaraningrat (1967) who agrees that women and men as husband and wife in the household are complementary living beings, in which the women give a substantial contribution to the family economy through active participation in productive activities. In line with Koentjaraningrat, Hildred Geertz (1961, p.48) has stated that the position of women in Javanese society in general is powerful. A wife will take decisions, mostly, if they are domestic problems. Also, the wife controls all the family finances even though they still give a formal tribute to the husband. Therefore, although the wife listens to her husband's consideration in major problems, commonly, the wife is dominant. Most jobs, such as, working in the fields, trading, doing business, and teaching are carried out by Javanese women. Moreover, Geertz also mentions that Javanese family centers on the figure of the mother. Again, emphasizing the dominance and the position of women in the family.

However, beside it, there are experts who see the subordinate position of Javanese women because there is cultural and institutional obstacles to play a role in various sectors. The patriarchal system is an obstacle for Javanese women to obtain the equal role with men. In Javanese society with strict social system and feudalism values, women's destiny is determined mainly by how women obey their husband. That is why, there are many obstacles which are caused by cultural and institutional system faced by women to get important roles in any sectors. Experts are of the view such as Locher Scholten & Niehof (1992) ; Berninghausen & Kerstan (1992). But according to Prof. Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra said, the views influenced by Mataram Kingdom's values which reflected by historiography books like *Serat Centhini*, *Serat Cendrarini*, and *Serat Wulangputri*. It mean that the views is incompatible to see the role of women in Javanese villages.

Furthermore, the mother figure in Javanese culture has a very important position as the mother is always trusted. Hence, a mother is always respected in the family. Besides, Javanese women have a decisive role in the family, even the decision concerning the public. Javanese women who are *sumeleh* or patient, calm, and flexible can build power through her devotion to their family. Structurally, there is men's hegemony against women, but there is a strategy to have a dominan position vis-a-vis men from the inside, hence promoting women's hegemony within domestic arena. The strategy is "*memangku*" which is about understanding, forgiving, accepting, protecting, and comforting their husband through serving, devoting and respecting. Women do not destroy formal structure because she keeps men as the most powerful and respected. This proves the greatness of Javanese women who are attached by maternal instincts to protect, maintain, and provide others gently. That is why, in this condition the men become dependent on women, but they do not feel the mastery over them (Christina Handayani & Ardhian Novianto, 2008).

Moreover, the phenomenal study from Benedict Anderson (1991) shows that power in Javanese tradition is signed by the ability to concentrate. It includes the ability to absorb power from outside and centralize opposite things. Harmony to maintain and restore order is a social sign of power and king's task. This is because, in the context of authority, in Java, the position of a king as the reflection of God makes a king maintain and restore (Soemarsaid Moertono, 1985, p.52). In this case, feminine dimensions in social sign of centralization power are about fertility, prosperity, stability and glory. Moreover, harmony and orderliness are also feminism dimensions as women have ability to give in, think unselfishly and understand.

Javanese also has a tradition called asceticism or "*laku tapa*" which is done in order not to think of their own interests or "*sepi ing pamrih*." This means that Javanese has will to apply

asceticism to achieve inner strength to refrain from worldly pleasures. The sincerity in this asceticism contains feminine dimensions. Javanese society also emphasizes fertility and harmony manifested in the principle of "*tata tentrem karta raharja*" which means orderly, peacefully, prosperously and happily. Fertility contained in the principle of "*tata tentrem karta raharja*" also reflects feminine dimension. This is explained by study conducted by Christina Handayani et.al (2008) who says that fertility is about agricultural land, and the land is closely related to agrarian culture of Javanese society. Hence, since the land is the source of people's lives, Javanese expresses it by "*ibu pertiwi*" or motherland.

Feminine dimension is also proven in the point of view of Javanese which centers on harmony, tranquility, and equanimity. This principle of life is very prominent in the Javanese tradition shown by spirit to live in harmony and respect. Moreover, Javanese always conduct themselves gently and control their behavior well. A ruler in Java is required to have nobility in conducting his administration, and this nobility is perquisite. This is strengthened by Frans Magnis Suseno (1987, p.42) saying that nobility is an element of religious legitimacy of a ruler besides having supernatural power and having ability to create justice and prosperity. That is why, maintaining harmony, tranquility, equanimity, and nobility describes feminine dimensions. In social relations, Javanese society has a model of social stratification called "*kawula-gusti*" which means subordinate-supervisor. The relationship is smooth and familial, but it still applies respect (Soemarsaid Moertono, 1985, p. 19). In connection *kawula-gusti*, the feminine dimension is dominant because the pattern implies conquering the outer world and developing the inner world; requires sympathy, attention, and respect; and maintains the position of social hierarchy. Hence, Javanese women have the ability to apply such connection, act caring and compassionate to others, and maintain social status.

The description given by the experts on the role and position of women in Javanese culture implies that the feminine dimension is strongly associated with Javanese women. In this context, feminine dimensions are characterized by a loving nature, having high sympathy, understanding, being unselfish, gentle, compliant, patient, and so forth. Women are the manager of the household. Household management requires precision, patience, and certainly unselfishness. Even when a woman contributes to the family economy, characteristic of a mother who always cares. In such circumstances, when a Javanese woman devotes her life to serve the family, she is building power in her domestic space. However, power in the Javanese tradition is in essence different from power in the tradition of Western political science as it is described in the study of Anderson. Generally understood in political science, the meaning of power starts on Max Weber's point of view of power quoted Robert Dahl (1951) which

illustrates that power (*macht*) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests. On the other hand, Anderson saw that the essence of power in Javanese tradition emphasizes the ability to concentrate; adjust; maintain order and sincerity, and achieve balance, gentleness and compassion. Therefore, as Javanese women have a role and position that is in line with feminine dimensions within the meaning of power in Javanese culture, the question which needs to be answered is how the substance of women's representation in modern politics is represented when the state interfere women's representation through affirmative policies.

Javanese Women's Political Representation: A Contestation Arena

Quota policy to increase the political representation of women in parliament was enacted in Indonesia in 2004 election. On the one hand, the policy can be interpreted as a success story of the feminist movement in Indonesia in seeking electoral system that integrates quota policy for women's representation. Of course it is a great success for the feminist movement in Indonesia, considering that during the New Order which applied the Women in Development (WID) framework places women only as men's companion and convince women that having role in politics is inappropriate. However, on the other hand, the affirmative policies in the electoral system in Indonesia also show that the struggle of women demands state's intervention. In this context, Shirin M Rai (2002, p.8) states, "In the development discourse, women's struggle will not be separated from the economic and political agenda determined by the national elite". It means that the impact of state intervention on the issue of the advancement of women in developing countries can produce varied situations, and it may result in negative situation. Of course, each country has its values the local culture, may wholly not apply democracy, face economic inequality and poverty, and have not established welfare state structures yet the implementation of affirmative policies impact can vary among various countries. Thus, affirmative policy does not resolve all of the issues in the various places. Furthermore, Matland shows that the representation of women in developing countries are different from that of developed countries, where higher education for women, labor force participation, and literacy rate becomes variables that affect the political representation of women. When there is a significant highly educated and skilled female population the effectiveness in relation to realizing gender equality is potentially. In this case, the development is an important part to support the achievement of the condition (Richard E Matland, 2002, p.29). Thus, women in a particular country will understand and get different experience from women in other countries because of development. The next question which is needed to be

answered are the significant meanings of political representation for women in Indonesia, especially for Javanese women and whether the quota policy for women in Indonesia is the right answer to accelerate the live quality of Indonesian women.

Studies conducted by Sofa Marwah in several places in Java which are influenced by Javanese culture, namely, Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, Banyumas, and Cilacap district in Central Java Province showed that the number of women legislator did not reach 30 percent, and only a few number of women legislator had occupied strategic positions, such as board chairman, faction chairman, commission chairman, special committee chairman, and board of fittings chairman such as legislation board, budgeting agency, deliberative board, and honorees board. Political parties also had difficulty to fulfill the 30 percent quota of women candidates, so the candidates had to be recruited from the political non-cadres. Besides, the support of their fathers or husbands to be elected in parliament election was really needed reinforcing the affirmation that male hegemony is indeed very present in the 'outside' world as opposed to the domestic arena where the women can exercise a certain level of authority and decision-making power. Furthermore, after elected, just a few women contributed in legal drafting discussion and public hearing. The women legislators could not always defend their interests. They represented their political party or community constituency interests more. Ironically, several of the women legislators did not feel themselves as representatives of women (Sofa Marwah, 2012).

This paper attempts to understand the political representation for Javanese women who have not yet reached substantive representation in perspective of local culture. In this regard, the role of women in the Javanese family as the family manager where they totally devote themselves to the family constructs their power from domestic space. Feminine dimension is associated with patience, compassion, unselfishness, accuracy, tranquility, and harmony, and these can be valid and accepted women's values in politics. Javanese community believes that women roles in the domestic sphere have power. In this private space women are able to build and exert their power for the well-being of their family. That also means that when the public office is held by women, women promote their Java feminine dimension as political representation. In this case, women in Java and possibly in other regions in Indonesia have "its own agreement" on their role. They believe that being in the domestic sphere is not always inferior, and if they have opportunity to be in public spaces, they do not become superior. It is time for Indonesian women and Javanese women to speak up and convey their point of view. Feminine dimensions should be continuously produced to demonstrate the power of women and women's issues in the parliament. Theoretically, the real idea also inspired by Joni

Lovenduski (2005, p.34) when analyzing feminizing politics. She states that the political representation of women in parliament institution follows the precise rules constructed by men. It is time for feminine politics to change the practices and political nature in which feminist theory should take a part in the process of political representation. Maybe, the emphasis of this paper contributes political practice purposed by Lovenduski. It is time for Javanese and women in various other areas in Indonesia to realize their strengths based on their local values. Thus, affirmative policy must be supported by strengthening the local identity in each community.

Thus, political representation for women's representation in Indonesia, especially, in Java, is difficult to be developed based only on modern principles and state's intervention which is conducted by supporting the quota of women's representation. This is because major principles in applying liberal democracy. In this case, women in parliament should promote local values to form medium contestation in the parliament as public space by showing their strengths based on feminine dimensions. Furthermore, according to Franz Fanon, it is time for women in the Third World to free them from the grip of the public space by doing resistance from domestic space. When the public space is occupied by modernity, the only medium that allows women to have the resistance is precisely from the private sphere. In this case, the domestic space is a contestation arena where women show their abilities (Ahmad Baso, 2005).

This paper also seeks to convey to the importance of formulating the direction of the feminist movement in Indonesia, including in Java, to improve women quality of life. The formulation of the feminist movement that does not solely follow the demands of modern women and country's rules may be the ideal formula. However the policy of quota for women's political representation is still important to be implemented, but the representation of women in parliament bodies is also necessary to promote feminine dimensions, dimension based on local values on women's roles the family. It is beneficial to formulate local identity of women in Indonesia when they involve in the public space in the parliament. From that, the description about the identity of local women in Indonesia will be reflected in the direction to achieve the goal in which advocating for certain women's issues is included.

Conclusion

Substantive political representation for women is a political process that lasts long and gradually. In that regard, the meaning of political representation for women in various parts of the world may be different. In this case, the meaning of political representation for Javanese women is related to women's roles as managers in the management of the household. From the domestic space, Javanese women can build power. Javanese society has a local meaning of power and the meaning of it precisely represents feminine dimensions. The role of women as

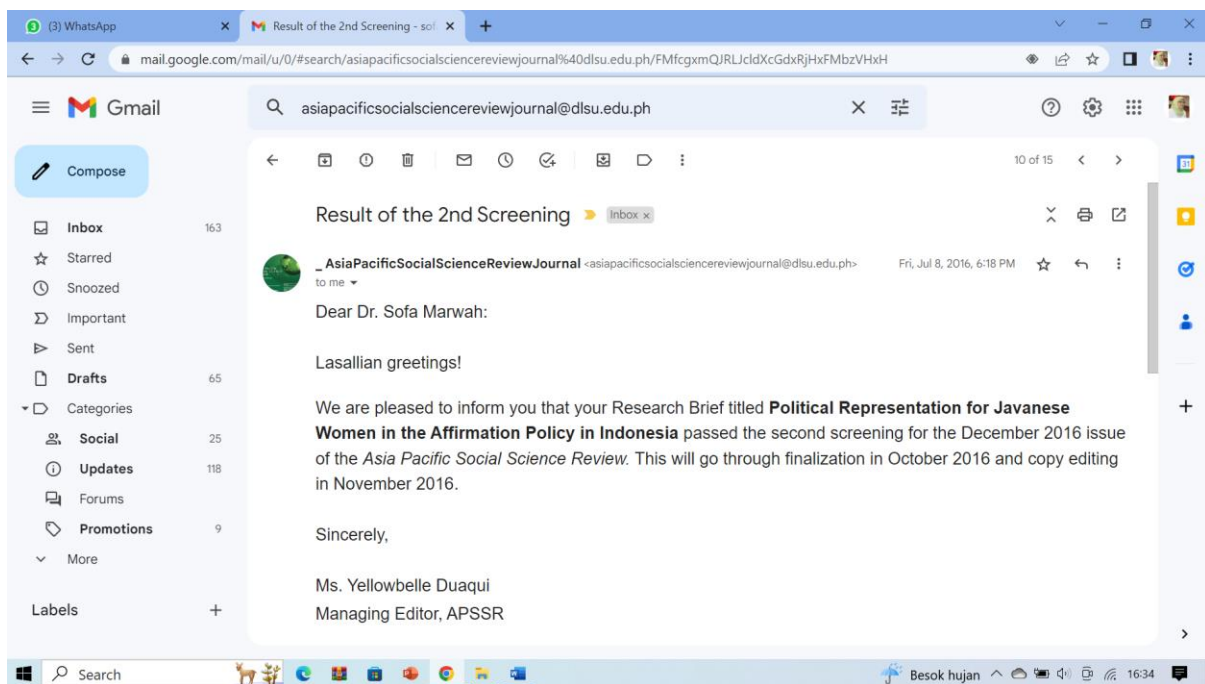
the central manager of the household that is parallel to the meaning of power for the Javanese society confirms that the local dimensions of feminism narrowed to the value of patience, affection, tranquility, unselfishness, gentleness, and sympathy. When the state implements the quota policy because of the principles of modernity, Javanese women understand and find different experiences. In this case, the number of women representation has not reached the ideal number. In addition, substantive representation of women cannot also be achieved. Finally, it is important to be formulated and implemented how to strengthen feminine dimension values based on the role of women in the local culture.

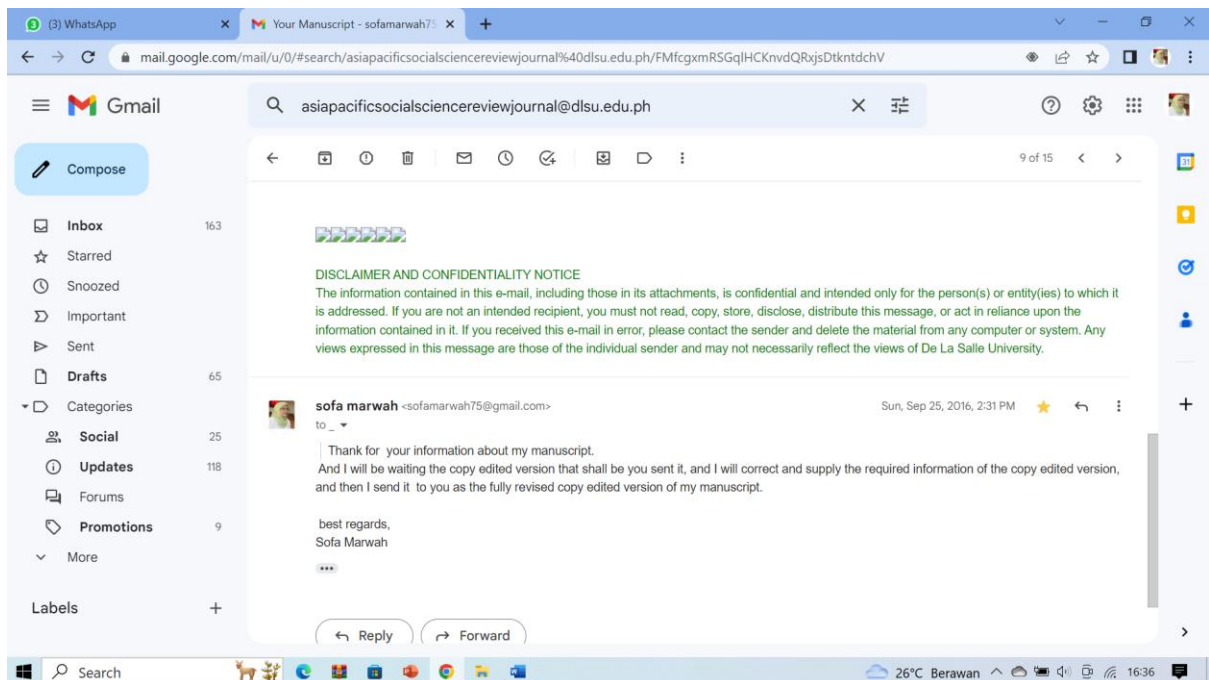
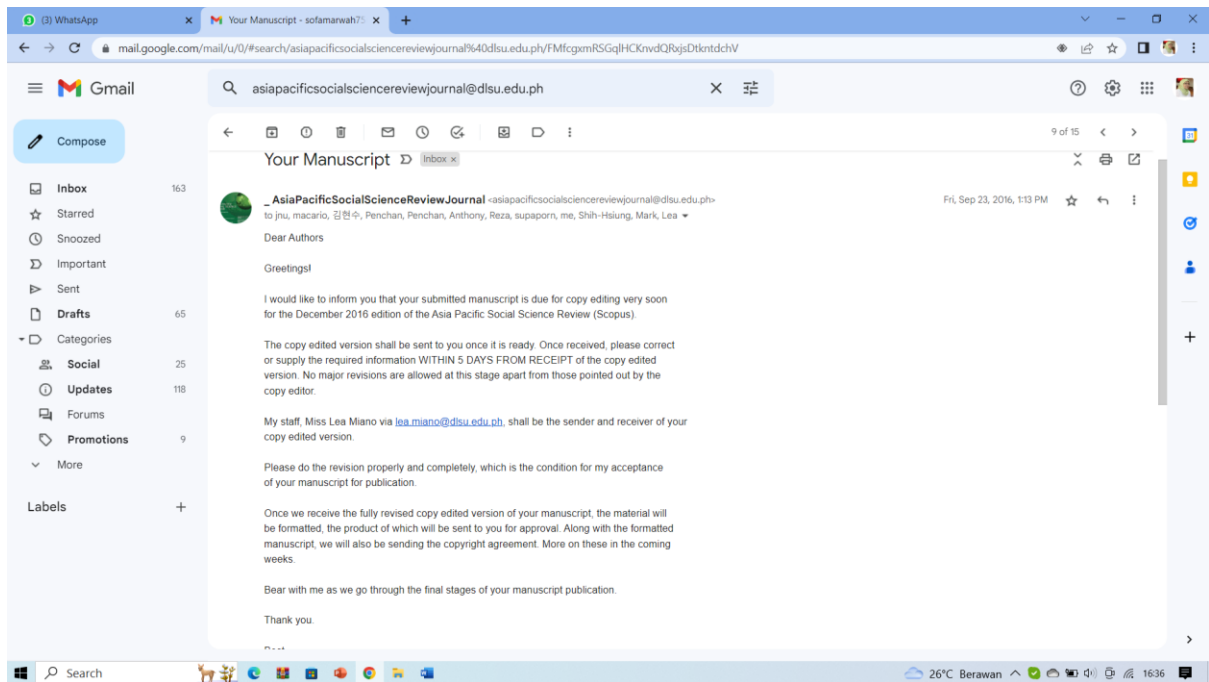
BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Benedict R.O.G. (1991). Gagasan tentang kekuasaan dalam kebudayaan Jawa. In Mirriam Budiarjo (Eds.), *Aneka pemikiran tentang kuasa dan wibawa* (pp.58-59). Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Baso, Ahmad. (2005). Ke arah feminisme postradisional. In Edi Hidayat (Eds.), *Perempuan multikultural : negosiasi dan representasi* (pp.3-28). Jakarta : Desantara.
- Dahl, Robert. (1957). Power as the control of behaviour. In Steven Lukes (Eds.), *Power*. Oxford : Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Geertz, Hildred. (1961). The Javanese family : study of kinship and socialization. New York : The Free Press of Glencoe.
- Handayani, Christina & Ardhian Novianto. (2008). Kuasa wanita Jawa. Yogyakarta : LKiS.
- Koentjaraningrat. (1967). Villages in Indonesia. Ithaca : Cornell University Press.
- Lovenduski, Joni. (2005). Feminizing politics. Cambridge : Polity Press.
- Magnis Suseno, Frans. (1987). Etika politik: prinsip-prinsip moral dasar kenegaraan modern. Jakarta : Gramedia.
- Matland, Richard E. (2002). The effect of development and culture on women's representation. In Azza Karam (Eds.), *Women in parliament : beyond numbers* (65-88). Varberg : Broderna Carlssons.
- Marwah, Sofa. (2012). Representasi politik perempuan di Banyumas: antara kultur dan realitas politik. Indonesia University : Dissertation of Political Science Doctoral Program.
- Moertono, Soemarsaid. (1985). Negara dan usaha bina negara di Jawa masa lampau: studi tentang zaman Mataram II abad XVI dan XIX. Jakarta : Yayasan Obor.
- Phillips, Anne. (1995). The Politics of presence: the political representation of gender, ethnicity and race. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rai, Shirin M. (2002). Gender and the political economy of development. Cambridge : Polity Press.
- Scholten, Locherand Niehof. (1992). Indonesian women in focus. Leiden: KITLV.
- Strauss, Anselm & Juliet Corbin. (1998). Basics of qualitative research : grounded theory and techniques. London : Sage Publications.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

My name is Dr. Sofa Marwah. I am a lecturer in Department Political Science, Faculty of Social Science and Political Science, Jenderal Soedirman University, Purwokerto, Central Java, Indonesia. I was graduated from Political Science Doctoral Program, Indonesia University Jakarta, on July 2012. I am female. I was born in Kediri East Java on 26 April 1975. My interests are women's studies, culture, and politics.





Political Representation for Javanese Women in the Affirmation Policy in Indonesia

Sofa Marwah
Jenderal Soedirman University, Indonesia
sofamarwah75@gmail.com

Since the Reform Era in Indonesia, ~~The W~~omen in ~~D~~evelopment (WID) ~~approach~~ has shifted into ~~G~~ender and ~~D~~evelopment (GAD). In politics, the perspective is characterized by an electoral system that set the minimal quota, ~~30%-percent~~, for women's representation in the parliament. So far, Indonesia has held three elections with that minimal quota. However, ~~until-with the~~ 2014 election, the representation of women in the national parliament is under ~~30%-percent~~. Besides,

~~Java~~ is the most advanced island in Indonesia, meaning that the development of education in this island is more than the other Indonesian areas. ~~Still, Java cannot also failed~~ to attain the desired ~~30%~~ target. Among six provinces in Java, none of them has attained the ~~30%-percent~~ women representation. ~~This can be seen through the representation of women in~~ Jakarta Province (~~26.6%-percent~~), Banten Province (~~18.8%-percent~~), West Java Province (~~22%-percent~~), Central Java Province (~~24%-percent~~), Yogyakarta Province (~~25%-percent~~), and East Java Province (~~25%-percent~~).

~~Then, a~~ According to Richard Matland (2002), the most important characteristic of the society associated with the representation of women, is development. Development may cause weakening of traditional values, increasing urbanization and education, raising women labor force participation, and changing perspective about the proper role for women. Thus, one obvious result of the development is the ~~decreasing-decrease~~ of women's barriers to be

dell
Formatted: Font: Not Italic

dell
Formatted: Font: Not Italic

dell
Formatted: Font: Not Italic

dell
Formatted: Font: Not Italic

dell
Formatted: Font: Not Italic

active in politics. This is because culture has a very close relation to development, and development can encourage women to have equal status with men. Therefore, although Matland ~~recognizes-recognized~~ that it is hard to see the immediate effect of culture on women's representation, Matland ~~he~~ still ~~emphasizes-emphasized~~ that culture is correlated with women's representation, in which the development is going to be followed by the change of culture.

Hence, this article aims to describe the substantive representation of Javanese women in the parliament and study it in a local cultural perspective to understand why, even though the Javanese community has advanced in educational development, women's political representation cannot achieve maximum results. The substantive representation is interpreted as a substantial impact because women's representation may influence policies which are beneficial for women. In addition, the term descriptive representation will be applied, meaning the attendance of women ~~-s~~ in politics is a symbol of women's existence because of quota (Anne-Phillips, 1995, p.5).

This study is a literary study conducted through analyzing papers, books, journals, magazines, and any related source. Data are collected by reviewing documents, books, journals, and other related sources. Finally, open coding data analysis is conducted by processing, checking, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing (Anselm-Strauss & Juliet Corbin, 1998).

~~The~~ Women's Role and Position in Javanese Culture

It is known that Javanese culture ~~has-theis~~ regionally ~~variations-varied of culture~~. All the variants centered on Nagariung region in Jogjakarta and Solo as the central of Mataram Kingdom in the past (see Graph-Figure 1). It meant ~~that the~~ Mataram Kingdom -bequeathed strict culture structure and feudalism values in Javanese culture. Javanese society has social level based on the master and the servant; and the status in social system. The lower system is

del

Per APA 3.18, refer to the work of another researcher in the past.
•Patterson (2012) presented, found, stated, discovered...

del

Formatted: Centered

ordinary people (*kawula*) and the higher one is rulers (*gusti*) (Soemarsaid Mbertono, 1985, p. 19).

Graph 1. The regional variations of Japanese culture

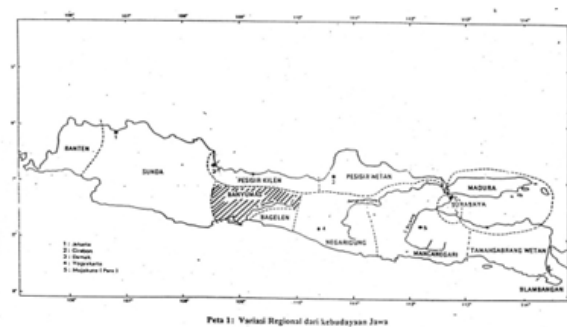


Figure 1. The regional variations of Javanese culture.

Source: Koentjaraningrat, 1984.

Before discussing the dynamics of the political representation of Japanese women in local perspective, this paper is going to present the role and position of women in Japanese culture. The perspective on Japanese women is important ~~as a basis~~ to illustrate the meaning of political representation for Japanese women. Hence, this crucial explanation is presented in the next section.

Several studies on the role and position of women in Javanese culture show that women are responsible to manage household's income and expenditure. This is emphasized by Koentjaraningrat (1967) who agrees-agreed that women and men as husband and wife in the household are complementary living beings, in which the women give a substantial contribution to the family economy through active participation in productive activities. In line with Koentjaraningrat, Hildred-Geertz (1961, p.48) has stated that the position of women in Javanese society in general is powerful. A wife will take-make decisions, mostly, if they are domestic problems. Also, the wife controls all the family finances even though they still

dell
There is no need to cite the first name, only the surname is required

dell
Formatted: Font: Not Italic

dell
There is no reference entry found that corresponds this citation. Pl: provide

dell
Formatted: Font: Not Italic

dell
Are all the examples as cited below?

give a formal tribute to the husband. Therefore, although the wife listens to her husband's consideration in major problems, commonly, the wife is dominant. Most jobs, such as, working in the fields, trading, doing business, and teaching are carried out by Javanese women. Moreover, Geertz also ~~mentions-mentioned~~ that Javanese family centers on the figure of the mother. ~~Again~~, emphasizing the dominance and the position of women in the family.

However, beside it, there are experts who see the subordinate position of Javanese women because there is cultural and institutional obstacles to play a role in various sectors. The patriarchal system -is an obstacle for Javanese women -to obtain the equal role with men. In Javanese society with strict social system and feudalism values, women's destiny is determined mainly by how women obey their husband. That is why, there are many obstacles which are caused by cultural and ~~institusional~~~~institutional~~ system ~~faced-by~~~~for~~ women to get important roles in any sector. ~~Experts are of the view such as according to Locher-Scholten & and Niehof (1992) ; and Berninghausen & and Kerstan (1992).~~ But according to Prof. Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra (year) ~~said~~, the views ~~influented-were influenced~~ by Mataram Kingdom's values, which ~~were~~ reflected by historiography books like *Serat Centhini*, *Serat Cendrarini*, and *Serat Wulangputri*. -It mean that -the views ~~-is-are~~ incompatible -to see the role of women in Javanese villages.

Furthermore, the mother figure in Javanese culture ~~has-is~~ a very important position as the mother is always trusted. Hence, a mother is always respected in the family. Besides, Javanese women have a decisive role in the family, even the decision concerning the public. Javanese women who are *sumeleh* or patient, calm, and flexible can build power through her devotion to ~~their-her~~ family. Structurally, there is men's hegemony against women, but there is a strategy to have a dominant position vis-a-vis men from the inside, hence promoting women's hegemony within domestic arena. The strategy is "*memangku*" which is about

dell

There is no reference entry found that corresponds this citation. Pl provide

dell

Pls. cite properly the source and provide a corresponding reference entry

understanding, forgiving, accepting, protecting, and comforting their husband through ~~serving~~service, ~~devoting~~devotion, and respecting. Women do not destroy formal structure because ~~she-they~~ keeps the men as the most powerful and respected. This proves the greatness of Javanese women who are attached by maternal instincts to protect, maintain, and provide others gently. That is why, in this condition, the men become dependent on women, but they do not feel the mastery over them (Christina-Handayani & Ardhan-Novianto, 2008).

Moreover, the phenomenal study from Benedict Anderson (1991) ~~shows~~-showed that power in Javanese tradition is signed by the ability to concentrate. It includes the ability to absorb power from outside and centralize opposite things. Harmony to maintain and restore order is a social sign of power and king's task. This is because, in the context of authority, in Java, the position of a king as the reflection of God makes a king maintain and restore order (Seemarsaid-Moertono, 1985, p.52). In this case, feminine dimensions in social sign of centralization power are about fertility, prosperity, stability, and glory. Moreover, harmony and orderliness are also feminism dimensions as women have the ability to give in, think unselfishly, and understand.

The Javanese also has a tradition called asceticism or "*laku tapa*" which is done in order not to think of their own interests or "*sepi ing pamrih*." This means that the Javanese has the will to apply asceticism to achieve inner strength to refrain from worldly pleasures. The sincerity in this asceticism contains feminine dimensions. Javanese society also emphasizes fertility and harmony manifested in the principle of "*tata tentrem karta raharja*" which means orderly, peacefully, prosperously, and happily. Fertility contained in the principle of "*tata tentrem karta raharja*" also reflects feminine dimension. This is explained by the study conducted by Christina-Handayani ~~et.al~~and Novianto (2008) who ~~says~~-said that fertility is about agricultural land, and the land is closely related to agrarian culture of

Javanese society. Hence, since the land is the source of people's lives, Javanese expresses it by "*ibu pertiwi*" or motherland.

Feminine dimension is also proven in the point of view of Javanese which centers on harmony, tranquility, and equanimity. This principle of life is very prominent in the Javanese tradition shown by spirit to live in harmony and respect. Moreover, Javanese always conduct themselves gently and control their behavior well. A ruler in Java is required to have nobility in conducting his administration, and this nobility is ~~perquisite~~prerequisite. This is strengthened by Frans Magnis Suseno (1987, p.42) saying that nobility is an element of religious legitimacy of a ruler besides having supernatural power and having the ability to create justice and prosperity. That is why, maintaining harmony, tranquility, equanimity, and nobility describes feminine dimensions. In social relations, Javanese society has a model of social stratification called "*kawula-gusti*" which means subordinate-supervisor. The relationship is smooth and familial, but it still applies respect (~~Soemarsaid~~Moertono, 1985, p. 19). In connection with *kawula-gusti*, the feminine dimension is dominant because the pattern implies conquering the outer world and developing the inner world—;requires sympathy, attention, and respect—;and maintains the position of social hierarchy. Hence, Javanese women have the ability to apply such connection—, ~~act~~ caring and compassionate to others—, and maintain social status.

The description given by the experts on the role and position of women in Javanese culture implies that the feminine dimension is strongly associated with Javanese women. In this context, feminine dimensions are characterized by a loving nature, having high sympathy, understanding, being unselfish, gentle, compliant, patient, and so forth. Women are the managers of the household. Household management requires precision, patience, and ~~certainly~~ unselfishness. Even when a woman contributes to the family economy, the characteristic of a mother is someone who always cares. In such circumstances, when a

del1
It is best that these are named and referenced

Javanese woman devotes her life to serve the family, she is building power in her domestic space. However, power in the Javanese tradition is in essence different from power in the tradition of Western political science as it is described in the study of Anderson (1991). Generally understood in political science, the meaning of power starts on Max Weber's point of view of power quoted by Robert Dahl (1951) which illustrates that power (macht) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on the which this probability rests. On the other hand, Anderson (1991) saw that the essence of power in Javanese tradition emphasizes -the ability to concentrate, adjust, maintain order and sincerity, and achieve balance, gentleness, and compassion. Therefore, as Javanese women have a role and position that is in line with feminine dimensions within the meaning of power in Javanese culture, the question which needs to be answered is how the substance of women's representation in modern politics is represented when the state interferes with women's representation through affirmative policies.

Javanese Women's Political Representation: A Contestation Arena

Quota policy to increase the political representation of women in parliament was enacted in Indonesia in during the 2004 election. On the one hand, the policy can be interpreted as a success story of the feminist movement in Indonesia in seeking electoral system that integrates quota policy for women's representation. Of course it is a great success for the feminist movement in Indonesia, considering that during the New Order which applied the Women in Development (WID) framework places women only as men's companion and convince women that having a role in politics is inappropriate. However, On the other hand, the affirmative policies in the electoral system in Indonesia also show that the struggle of women demands state's intervention. In this context, Shirin M-Rai (2002, p. 8) states, "In the development discourse, women's struggle will not be separated from the

del

The reference entry found is dated 1957. Which is the correct year of publication? Pls. match

del

This looks like a word for word copy from Weber's article. In cases like this, it should be in quotation marks with cited page number to avoid plagiarism

del

Formatted: Centered

economic and political agenda determined by the national elite.” It means that the impact of state intervention on the issue of the advancement of women in developing countries can produce varied situations, and it may result in negative situation. Of course, each country has the its ~~values the own~~ local culture ~~values, which~~ may wholly not apply ~~in a~~ democracy, face economic inequality and poverty, and have not established welfare state structures. ~~yYet, the~~ ~~impact of~~ the implementation of affirmative policies ~~impact~~ can vary among various countries. Thus, affirmative policy does not resolve all of the issues in the various places. Furthermore, Matland (2002) ~~shows showed~~ that the representation of women in developing countries are different from that of developed countries, where higher education for women, labor force participation, and literacy rate ~~becomes variables vary, which that~~ affect the political representation of women. When there is a significant highly educated and skilled female population, the effectiveness in relation to realizing gender equality is ~~potentially high~~. In this case, the development is an important part to support the achievement of the condition (Richard E-Matland, 2002, p.29). Thus, women in a particular country will understand and get different experience from women in other countries because of development. The next question which is needed to be answered are the significant meanings of political representation for women in Indonesia, especially for Javanese women and whether the quota policy for women in Indonesia is the right answer to accelerate the ~~live~~-quality ~~of life~~ of Indonesian women.

~~Studies conducted by~~ Sofa Marwah (2012) ~~conducted studies~~ in several places in Java which are influenced by Javanese culture. ~~The studies in, namely,~~ Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, Banyumas, and Cilacap district in Central Java Province showed that the number of women legislator did not reach 30% ~~percent~~, and only a few number of women legislator had occupied strategic positions, such as board chairman, faction chairman, commission chairman, special committee chairman, and board of fittings chairman such as legislation

board, budgeting agency, deliberative board, and honorees board. Political parties also had difficulty ~~to-in~~ fulfilling the 30% ~~percent~~ quota of women candidates, so the candidates had to be recruited from the political non-cadres. Besides, the support of their fathers or husbands to be elected in parliament election was really needed, ~~-~~reinforcing the affirmation that male hegemony is ~~indees-indeed~~ very present in the ~~“outside”~~ world as opposed to the domestic arena where the women can exercise a certain level of authority and decision-making power. Furthermore, ~~after-when~~ elected, just a few women contributed in legal drafting discussion and public hearing. The women legislators could not always defend their interests. They represented their political party or community constituency interests more. Ironically, several of the women legislators did not feel themselves as representatives of women (~~Sefa~~-Marwah, 2012).

This paper attempts to understand the political representation for Javanese women who have not yet reached substantive representation in perspective of local culture. In this regard, the role of women in the Javanese family as the family manager where they totally devote themselves to the family constructs their power from domestic space. Feminine dimension is associated with patience, compassion, unselfishness, accuracy, tranquility, and harmony, and these can be valid and accepted women's values in politics. Javanese community believes that women roles in the domestic sphere have power. In this private space women are able to build and exert their power for the well-being of their family. That also means that when the public office is held by women, women promote their Java feminine dimension as political representation. In this case, women in Java and possibly in other regions in Indonesia have "its own agreement" on their role. They believe that being in the domestic sphere is not always inferior, and if they have opportunity to be in public spaces, they do not become superior. It is time for Indonesian women and Javanese women to speak up and convey their point of view. Feminine dimensions should be continuously produced to

demonstrate the power of women and women's issues in the parliament. Theoretically, the real idea also inspired by Joni Lovenduski (2005, p.34) when analyzing feminizing politics. She states that the political representation of women in parliament institution follows the precise rules constructed by men. It is time for feminine politics to change the practices and political nature in which feminist theory should take a part in the process of political representation. Maybe, the emphasis of this paper contributes political practice purposed by Lovenduski. It is time for Javanese women and women in various other areas in Indonesia to realize their strengths based on their local values. Thus, affirmative policy must be supported by strengthening the local identity in each community.

Thus, political representation for women's representation in Indonesia, especially, in Java, is difficult to be developed based only on modern principles and state's intervention which is conducted by supporting the quota of women's representation. This is because major principles in applying liberal democracy. In this case, women in parliament should promote local values to form medium contestation in the parliament as public space by showing their strengths based on feminine dimensions. Furthermore, according to Franz Fanon (year), it is time for women in the Third World to free themselves from the grip of the public space by doing resistance from domestic space. When the public space is occupied by modernity, the only medium that allows women to have the resistance is precisely from the private sphere. In this case, the domestic space is a contestation arena where women show their abilities (Ahmad-Baso, 2005).

This paper also seeks to convey the importance of formulating the direction of the feminist movement in Indonesia, including in Java, to improve women's quality of life. The formulation of the feminist movement that does not solely follow the demands of modern women and country's rules may be the ideal formula. However, the policy of quota policy

dell
Pls. cite year of publication and provide corresponding reference entry

for women's political representation is still important to be implemented, but the representation of women in parliament bodies is also necessary to promote feminine dimensions, ~~dimension that are~~ based on local values on women's roles ~~in~~ the family. It is beneficial to formulate local identity of women in Indonesia when they involve ~~themselves~~ in the public space ~~in-of~~ the parliament. From that, the description about the identity of local women in Indonesia will be reflected ~~in the direction~~ to achieve the goal in which advocating for certain women's issues is included.

Conclusion

Substantive political representation for women is a political process that lasts long and gradually. In that regard, the meaning of political representation for women in various parts of the world may be different. In this case, the meaning of political representation for Javanese women is related to women's roles as managers in the management of the household. From the domestic space, Javanese women can build power. Javanese society has a local meaning of power and the meaning of it precisely represents feminine dimensions. The role of women as the central manager of the household that is parallel to the meaning of power for the Javanese -society confirms that the local dimensions of feminism narrowed to the value of patience, affection, tranquility, unselfishness, gentleness, and sympathy. When the state ~~implements-implemented~~ the quota policy because of the principles of modernity, Javanese women understand and find different experiences. In this case, the number of women representation has not reached the ideal number. In addition, substantive representation of women cannot also be achieved. Finally, it is important to ~~be-formulated~~ and ~~implemented~~ actions on how to strengthen feminine dimension values based on the role of women in the local culture.

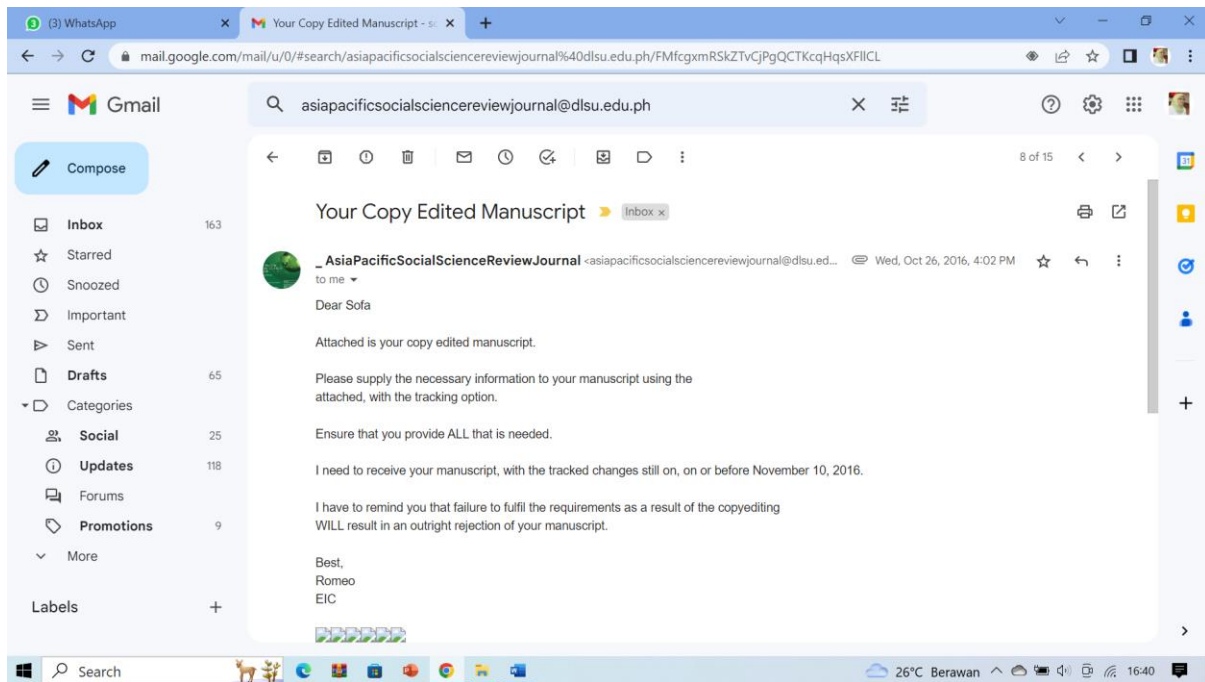
References

dell
Formatted: Centered

dell
Formatted: Centered

Anderson, Benedict R. O. G. (1991). Gagasan tentang kekuasaan dalam kebudayaan Jawa [English translation here]. In M. Ariam Budiarjo (Eds.), <i>Aneka pemikiran tentang kuasa dan wibawa</i> (pp. 58-59). Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.	dell	Pls. replace with the info indicated
Baso, Ahmad. (2005). Ke arah feminisme postradisional [English translation here]. In E. Hidayat (Eds.), <i>Perempuan multikultural: Negosiasi dan representasi</i> (pp. 3-28). Jakarta: Desantara.	dell	Pls. replace with the info indicated
Dahl, Robert. (1957). Power as the control of behaviour. In Steven Lukes (Eds.), <i>Power</i> (pp. xx-xx). Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.	dell	The citation found is dated 1951. Which is
Geertz, Hildred. (1961). <i>The Javanese family: A study of kinship and socialization</i> . New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.	dell	Formatted
Handayani, Christina & Ardian-Novianto, A. (2008). <i>Kuasa wanita Jawa</i> [English translation here]. Yogyakarta: LKiS.	dell	Formatted
Koentjaraningrat (Ed). (1967). <i>Villages in Indonesia</i> . Ithaca: Cornell University Press.	dell	Formatted
Lovenduski, Jomi. (2005). <i>Feminizing politics</i> . Cambridge: Polity Press.	dell	Formatted
Magne Suseno, Frans M. (1987). <i>Etika politik: Prinsip-prinsip moral dasar kenegaraan modern</i> [English translation here]. Jakarta: Gramedia.	dell	Formatted
Matland, Richard E. (2002). The effect of development and culture on women's representation. In Azza Karam (Eds.), <i>Women in parliament: Beyond numbers</i> (pp. 65-88). Varberg: Broderne Carlssons.	dell	Only one name but there are Eds. Who are
Marwah, Sofia. (2012). <i>Representasi politik perempuan di Banyumas: Antara kultur dan realitas politik</i> [English translation here] (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Indonesia University: Dissertation of Political Science Doctoral Program. Location	dell	Formatted
Moertono, Soemarsaid. (1985). <i>Negara dan usaha bina negara di Jawa masa lampau: Studi tentang zaman Mataram II abad XVI dan XIX</i> [English translation here]. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor.	dell	Pls. replace with the info indicated

Phillips, Anne. (1995). <i>The Politics of presence: The political representation of gender, ethnicity and race</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press.	TOSHIBA Formatted: Font: Italic
Rai, Shirin M. (2002). <i>Gender and the political economy of development</i> . Cambridge: Polity Press.	TOSHIBA Formatted: Font: Italic
Scholten, E. L. & Niehof, A. (1992). <i>Indonesian women in focus</i> . Leiden: KITLV.	TOSHIBA Formatted: Font: Italic
Strauss, Anselm & Juliet Corbin, J. (1998). <i>Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory and techniques</i> . London: Sage Publications.	TOSHIBA Formatted: Font: Italic



Research Brief

Political Representation for Javanese Women in the Affirmation Policy in Indonesia

Sofa Marwah

Jenderal Soedirman University, Indonesia

sofamarwah75@gmail.com

Since the Reform Era in Indonesia, the women in development (WID) approach has shifted into gender and development (GAD). In politics, the perspective is characterized by an electoral system that set the minimal quota, 30%, for women's representation in the parliament. So far, Indonesia has held three elections with that minimal quota. However, with the 2014 election, the representation of women in the national parliament is under 30%.

Java is the most advanced island in Indonesia, meaning that the development of education in this island is more than the other Indonesian areas. Still, Java also failed to attain the desired 30% target. Among six provinces in Java, none of them has attained the 30% women representation—Jakarta Province (26.6%), Banten Province (18.8%), West Java Province

(22%), Central Java Province (24%), Yogyakarta Province (25%), and East Java Province (25%).

According to Richard Matland (2002), the most important characteristic of the society associated with the representation of women, is development. Development may cause weakening of traditional values, increasing urbanization and education, raising women labor force participation, and changing perspective about the proper role for women. Thus, one obvious result of the development is the decrease of women's barriers to be active in politics. This is because culture has a very close relation to development, and development can encourage women to have equal status with men. Therefore, although Matland recognized that it is hard to see the immediate effect of culture on women's representation, he still emphasized that culture is correlated with women's representation, in which the development is going to be followed by the change of culture.

Hence, this article aims to describe the substantive representation of Javanese women in the parliament and study it in a local cultural perspective to understand why, even though the Javanese community has advanced in educational development, women's political representation cannot achieve maximum results. The substantive representation is interpreted as a substantial impact because women's representation may influence policies which are beneficial for women. In addition, the term descriptive representation will be applied, meaning the attendance of women in politics is a symbol of women's existence because of quota (Phillips, 1995, p. 5).

This study is a literary study conducted through analyzing papers, books, journals, magazines, and any related source. Data are collected by reviewing documents, books, journals, and other related sources. Finally, open coding data analysis is conducted by processing, checking, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Women's Role and Position in Javanese Culture

It is known that Javanese culture is regionally varied . All the variants centered on Nagariung region in Jogjakarta and Solo as the central of Mataram Kingdom in the past (see Figure 1). It meant that the Mataram Kingdom bequeathed strict culture structure and feudalism values in Javanese culture. Javanese society has social level based on the master and the servant; and the status in social system. The lower system is ordinary people (*kawula*) and the higher one is rulers (*gusti*) (Moertono, 1985, p. 19).

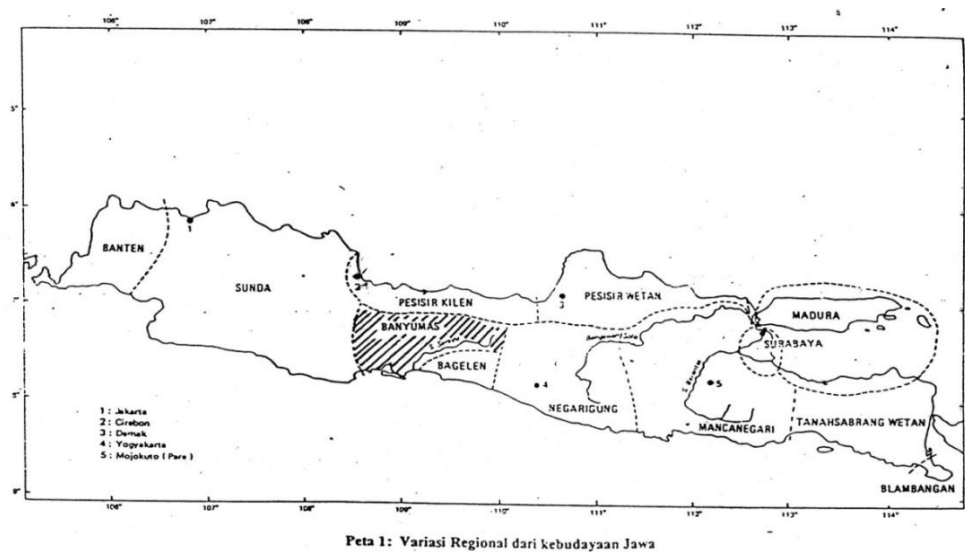


Figure 1. The regional variations of Javanese culture.

Source: Koentjaraningrat, 1984

Before discussing the dynamics of the political representation of Javanese women in local perspective, this paper is going to present the role and position of women in Javanese culture. The perspective on Javanese women is important to illustrate the meaning of political representation for Javanese women. Hence, this crucial explanation is presented in the next section.

Several studies on the role and position of women in Javanese culture show that women are responsible to manage household's income and expenditure. This is emphasized by Koentjaraningrat (1967) who agreed that women and men as husband and wife in the household are complementary living beings, in which the women give a substantial contribution to the family economy through active participation in productive activities. In line with

Koentjaraningrat, Geertz (1961, p. 48) has stated that the position of women in Javanese society in general is powerful. A wife will make decisions, mostly, if they are domestic problems. Also, the wife controls all the family finances even though they still give a formal tribute to the husband. Therefore, although the wife listens to her husband's consideration in major problems, commonly, the wife is dominant. Most jobs, such as working in the fields, trading, doing business, and teaching are carried out by Javanese women. Moreover, Geertz also mentioned that Javanese family centers on the figure of the mother; again, emphasizing the dominance and the position of women in the family.

However, beside it, there are experts who see the subordinate position of Javanese women because there is cultural and institutional obstacles to play a role in various sectors. The patriarchal system is an obstacle for Javanese women to obtain the equal role with men. In Javanese society with strict social system and feudalism values, women's destiny is determined mainly by how women obey their husband. That is why there are many obstacles which are caused by cultural and institutional system for women to get important roles in any sector, according to Scholten and Niehof (1992) and Berninghausen and Kerstan (1992). But according to Prof. Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra (year), the views were influenced by Mataram Kingdom's values, which were reflected by historiography books like *Serat Centhini*, *Serat Cendrarini* and *Serat Wulangputri*. It mean that the views are incompatible to see the role of women in Javanese villages.

Furthermore, the mother figure in Javanese culture is a very important position as the mother is always trusted. Hence, a mother is always respected in the family. Besides, Javanese women have a decisive role in the family, even the decision concerning the public. Javanese women who are *sumeleh* or patient, calm, and flexible can build power through her devotion to her family. Structurally, there is men's hegemony against women, but there is a strategy to have a dominant position vis-a-vis men from the inside, hence promoting women's hegemony

within domestic arena. The strategy is “*memangku*” which is about understanding, forgiving, accepting, protecting, and comforting their husband through service, devotion, and respect. Women do not destroy formal structure because they keep the men as the most powerful and respected. This proves the greatness of Javanese women who are attached by maternal instincts to protect, maintain, and provide others gently. That is why, in this condition, the men become dependent on women, but they do not feel the mastery over them (Handayani & Novianto, 2008).

Moreover, the phenomenal study from Benedict Anderson (1991) showed that power in Javanese tradition is signed by the ability to concentrate. It includes the ability to absorb power from outside and centralize opposite things. Harmony to maintain and restore order is a social sign of power and king’s task. This is because, in the context of authority in Java, the position of a king as the reflection of God makes a king maintain and restore order (Moertono, 1985, p. 52). In this case, feminine dimensions in social sign of centralization power are about fertility, prosperity, stability, and glory. Moreover, harmony and orderliness are also feminism dimensions as women have the ability to give in, think unselfishly, and understand.

The Javanese also has a tradition called asceticism or *laku tapa* which is done in order not to think of their own interests or *sepi ing pamrih*. This means that the Javanese has the will to apply asceticism to achieve inner strength to refrain from worldly pleasures. The sincerity in this asceticism contains feminine dimensions. Javanese society also emphasizes fertility and harmony manifested in the principle of *tata tentrem karta raharja* which means orderly, peacefully, prosperously, and happily. Fertility contained in the principle of *tata tentrem karta raharja* also reflects feminine dimension. This is explained by the study conducted by Handayani and Novianto (2008) who said that fertility is about agricultural land, and the land is closely related to agrarian culture of Javanese society. Hence, since the land is the source of people's lives, Javanese expresses it by *ibu pertiwi* or motherland.

Feminine dimension is also proven in the point of view of Javanese which centers on harmony, tranquility, and equanimity. This principle of life is very prominent in the Javanese tradition shown by spirit to live in harmony and respect. Moreover, Javanese always conduct themselves gently and control their behavior well. A ruler in Java is required to have nobility in conducting his administration, and this nobility is prerequisite. This is strengthened by Frans Magnis Suseno (1987, p.42) saying that nobility is an element of religious legitimacy of a ruler besides having supernatural power and having the ability to create justice and prosperity. That is why maintaining harmony, tranquility, equanimity, and nobility describe feminine dimensions. In social relations, Javanese society has a model of social stratification called *kawula-gusti* which means subordinate-supervisor. The relationship is smooth and familial, but it still applies respect (Moertono, 1985, p. 19). In connection with *kawula-gusti*, the feminine dimension is dominant because the pattern implies conquering the outer world and developing the inner world—requires sympathy, attention, and respect and maintains the position of social hierarchy. Hence, Javanese women have the ability to apply such connection—caring and compassionate to others—and maintain social status.

The description given by the experts on the role and position of women in Javanese culture implies that the feminine dimension is strongly associated with Javanese women. In this context, feminine dimensions are characterized by a loving nature, having high sympathy, understanding, being unselfish, gentle, compliant, patient, and so forth. Women are the managers of the household. Household management requires precision, patience, and unselfishness. Even when a woman contributes to the family economy, the characteristic of a mother is someone who always cares. In such circumstances, when a Javanese woman devotes her life to serve the family, she is building power in her domestic space. However, power in the Javanese tradition is in essence different from power in the tradition of Western political science as it is described in the study of Anderson (1991). Generally understood in political

science, the meaning of power starts on Max Weber's point of view of power quoted by Robert Dahl (1951) which illustrates that power (*macht*) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on the which this probability rests. On the other hand, Anderson (1991) saw that the essence of power in Javanese tradition emphasizes the ability to concentrate, adjust, maintain order and sincerity, and achieve balance, gentleness, and compassion. Therefore, as Javanese women have a role and position that is in line with feminine dimensions within the meaning of power in Javanese culture, the question which needs to be answered is how the substance of women's representation in modern politics is represented when the state interferes with women's representation through affirmative policies.

Javanese Women's Political Representation: A Contestation Arena

Quota policy to increase the political representation of women in parliament was enacted in Indonesia during the 2004 election. On the one hand, the policy can be interpreted as a success story of the feminist movement in Indonesia in seeking electoral system that integrates quota policy for women's representation. It is a great success for the feminist movement in Indonesia, considering that during the New Order which applied the WID framework places women only as men's companion and convince women that having a role in politics is inappropriate. On the other hand, the affirmative policies in the electoral system in Indonesia also show that the struggle of women demands state's intervention. In this context, Rai (2002, p. 8) stated, "In the development discourse, women's struggle will not be separated from the economic and political agenda determined by the national elite." It means that the impact of state intervention on the issue of the advancement of women in developing countries can produce varied situations, and it may result in negative situation. Of course, each country has the its own local culture values, which may wholly not apply in a democracy, face economic inequality and poverty, and have not established welfare state structures. Yet, the impact of the

implementation of affirmative policies can vary among various countries. Thus, affirmative policy does not resolve all of the issues in the various places. Furthermore, Matland (2002) showed that the representation of women in developing countries are different from that of developed countries, where higher education for women, labor force participation, and literacy rate vary, which affect the political representation of women. When there is a significant highly educated and skilled female population, the effectiveness in relation to realizing gender equality is high. In this case, the development is an important part to support the achievement of the condition (Matland, 2002, p. 29). Thus, women in a particular country will understand and get different experience from women in other countries because of development. The next question which is needed to be answered are the significant meanings of political representation for women in Indonesia, especially for Javanese women and whether the quota policy for women in Indonesia is the right answer to accelerate the quality of life of Indonesian women.

Sofa Marwah (2012) conducted studies in several places in Java which are influenced by Javanese culture. The studies in Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, Banyumas, and Cilacap district in Central Java Province showed that the number of women legislator did not reach 30%, and only a few number of women legislator had occupied strategic positions, such as board chairman, faction chairman, commission chairman, special committee chairman, and board of fittings chairman such as legislation board, budgeting agency, deliberative board, and honorees board. Political parties also had difficulty in fulfilling the 30% quota of women candidates, so the candidates had to be recruited from the political non-cadres. Besides, the support of their fathers or husbands to be elected in parliament election was really needed, reinforcing the affirmation that male hegemony is indeed very present in the “outside” world as opposed to the domestic arena where the women can exercise a certain level of authority and decision-making power. Furthermore, when elected, just a few women contributed in legal drafting discussion and public hearing. The women legislators could not always defend their interests.

They represented their political party or community constituency interests more. Ironically, several of the women legislators did not feel themselves as representatives of women (Marwah, 2012).

This paper attempts to understand the political representation for Javanese women who have not yet reached substantive representation in perspective of local culture. In this regard, the role of women in the Javanese family as the family manager where they totally devote themselves to the family constructs their power from domestic space. Feminine dimension is associated with patience, compassion, unselfishness, accuracy, tranquility, and harmony, and these can be valid and accepted women's values in politics. Javanese community believes that women roles in the domestic sphere have power. In this private space women are able to build and exert their power for the well-being of their family. That also means that when the public office is held by women, women promote their Java feminine dimension as political representation. In this case, women in Java and possibly in other regions in Indonesia have "its own agreement" on their role. They believe that being in the domestic sphere is not always inferior, and if they have opportunity to be in public spaces, they do not become superior. It is time for Indonesian women and Javanese women to speak up and convey their point of view. Feminine dimensions should be continuously produced to demonstrate the power of women and women's issues in the parliament. Theoretically, the real idea also inspired Joni Lovenduski (2005, p. 34) when analyzing feminizing politics. She stated that the political representation of women in parliament institution follows the precise rules constructed by men. It is time for feminine politics to change the practices and political nature in which feminist theory should take a part in the process of political representation. Maybe, the emphasis of this paper contributes political practice purposed by Lovenduski. It is time for Javanese women and women in various other areas in Indonesia to realize their strengths based on their local values.

Thus, affirmative policy must be supported by strengthening the local identity in each community.

Thus, political representation for women's representation in Indonesia, especially, in Java, is difficult to be developed based only on modern principles and state's intervention which is conducted by supporting the quota of women's representation. This is because major principles apply in liberal democracy. In this case, women in parliament should promote local values to form medium contestation in the parliament as public space by showing their strengths based on feminine dimensions. Furthermore, according to Franz Fanon (year), it is time for women in the Third World to free themselves from the grip of the public space by doing resistance from domestic space. When the public space is occupied by modernity, the only medium that allows women to have the resistance is precisely from the private sphere. In this case, the domestic space is a contestation arena where women show their abilities (Baso, 2005).

This paper also seeks to convey the importance of formulating the direction of the feminist movement in Indonesia, including in Java, to improve women's quality of life. The formulation of the feminist movement that does not solely follow the demands of modern women and country's rules may be the ideal formula. The quota policy for women's political representation is still important to be implemented, but the representation of women in parliament bodies is also necessary to promote feminine dimensions that are based on local values on women's roles in the family. It is beneficial to formulate local identity of women in Indonesia when they involve themselves in the public space of the parliament. From that, the description about the identity of local women in Indonesia will be reflected to achieve the goal in which advocating for certain women's issues is included.

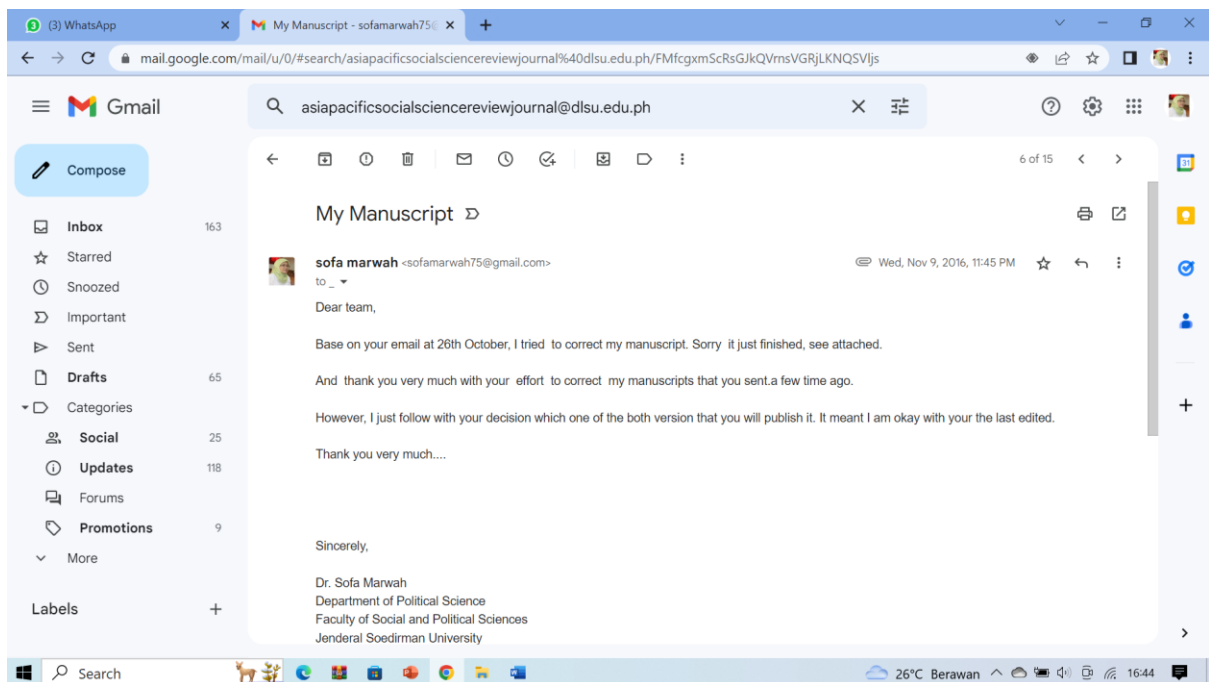
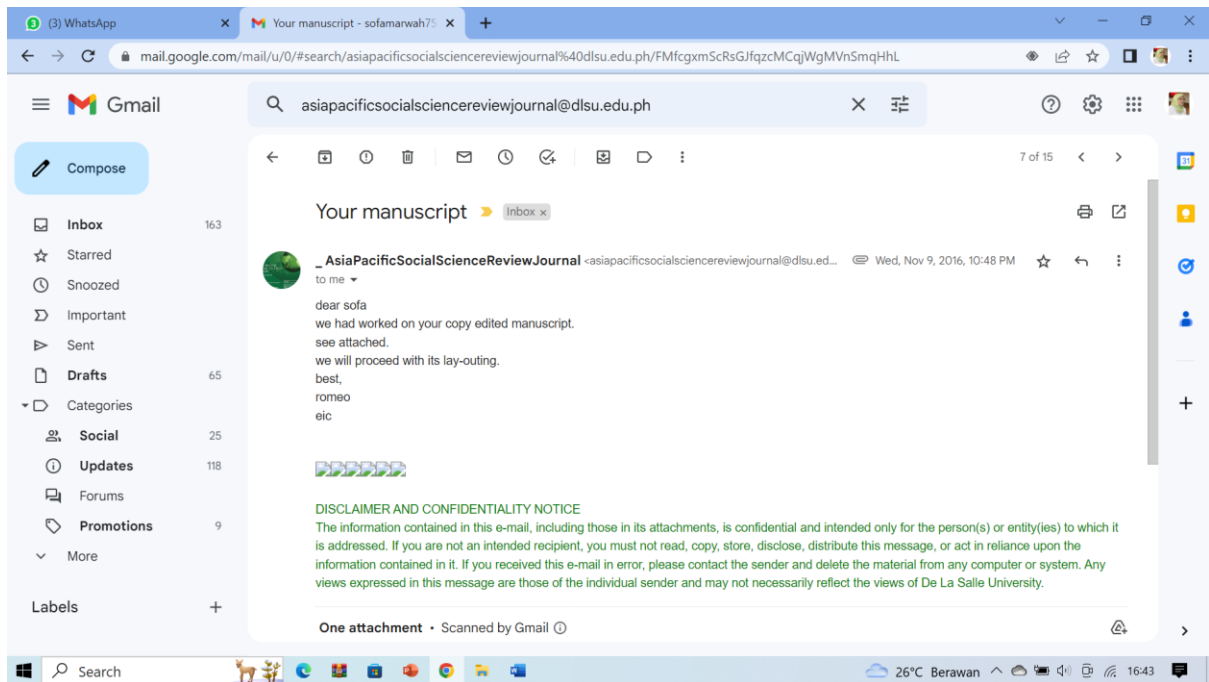
Conclusion

Substantive political representation for women is a political process that lasts long and gradually. In that regard, the meaning of political representation for women in various parts of the world may be different. In this case, the meaning of political representation for Javanese women is related to women's roles as managers in the management of the household. From the domestic space, Javanese women can build power. Javanese society has a local meaning of power and the meaning of it precisely represents feminine dimensions. The role of women as the central manager of the household that is parallel to the meaning of power for the Javanese society confirms that the local dimensions of feminism narrowed to the value of patience, affection, tranquility, unselfishness, gentleness, and sympathy. When the state implemented the quota policy because of the principles of modernity, Javanese women understand and find different experiences. In this case, the number of women representation has not reached the ideal number. In addition, substantive representation of women cannot also be achieved. Finally, it is important to formulate and implement actions on how to strengthen feminine dimension values based on the role of women in the local culture.

References

- Anderson, B. R. O. G. (1991). Gagasan tentang kekuasaan dalam kebudayaan Jawa [English translation here]. In M. Budiarjo (Ed.), *Aneka pemikiran tentang kuasa dan wibawa* (pp. 58-59). Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Baso, A. (2005). Ke arah feminisme postradisional [English translation here]. In E. Hidayat (Ed.), *Perempuan multikultural: Negosiasi dan representasi* (pp. 3-28). Jakarta: Desantara.
- Dahl, R. (1957). Power as the control of behaviour. In S. Lukes (Ed.), *Power* (pp. xx-xx). Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Geertz, H. (1961). *The Javanese family: Study of kinship and socialization*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.

- Handayani, C., & Novianto, A. (2008). *Kuasa wanita Jawa* [English translation here]. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- Koentjaraningrat (Ed). (1967). *Villages in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Lovenduski, J. (2005). *Feminizing politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Suseno, F. M. (1987). *Etika politik: Prinsip-prinsip moral dasar kenegaraan modern* [English translation here]. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Matland, R. E. (2002). The effect of development and culture on women's representation. In A. Karam (Eds.), *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers* (pp. 65-88). Varberg: Broderna Carlssons.
- Marwah, S. (2012). *Representasi politik perempuan di Banyumas: Antara kultur dan realitas politik* [English translation here] (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Indonesia University, Location.
- Moertono, S. (1985). *Negara dan usaha bina negara di Jawa masa lampau: Studi tentang zaman Mataram II abad XVI dan XIX* [English translation here]. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor.
- Phillips, A. (1995). *The Politics of presence: The political representation of gender, ethnicity and race*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rai, S. M. (2002). *Gender and the political economy of development*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Scholten, E. L., & Niehof, A. (1992). *Indonesian women in focus*. Leiden: KITLV.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory and techniques*. London: Sage Publications.



Research Brief

Political Representation for Javanese Women in the Affirmation Policy in Indonesia

Sofa Marwah

Jenderal Soedirman University, Indonesia
sofamarwah75@gmail.com

Since the Reform Era in Indonesia, the women in development (WID) approach has shifted into gender and development (GAD). In politics, the perspective is characterized by an electoral system that set the minimal quota, 30%, for women's representation in the parliament. So far, Indonesia has held three elections with that minimal quota. However, with the 2014 election, the representation of women in the national parliament is under 30%.

Java is the most advanced island in Indonesia, meaning that the development of economy and education in this island is more than the other Indonesian areas. Still, Java also failed to attain the desired 30% target. Among six provinces in Java, none of them has attained the 30% women representation. Jakarta Province (26.6%), Banten Province (18.8%), West Java Province (22%), Central Java Province (24%), Yogyakarta Province (25%), and East Java Province (25%).

According to Richard Matland (2002), the most important characteristic of the society associated with the representation of women, is development. Development may cause weakening of traditional values, increasing urbanization and education, raising women labor force participation, and changing perspective about the proper role for women. Thus, one obvious result of the development is the decrease of women's barriers to be active in politics. This is because culture has a very close relation to development, and development can encourage women to have equal status with men. In line with Matland, Baykan (2008, p.234) stated that in the developing countries, the position of women identic with traditional or

domestic roles. Related to the condition, the development of the countries can eliminate poverty and increase the equality between women and men.

Hence, this article aims to describe the substantive representation of Javanese women in the parliament and study it in a local cultural perspective to understand why, even though the Javanese community has advanced educational development, women's political representation cannot achieve maximum results. The substantive representation is interpreted as a substantial impact because women's representation may influence policies which are beneficial for women. In addition, the term descriptive representation will be applied meaning the attendance of women in politics is a symbol of women's existence because of quota (Phillips, 1995, p.5).

This study is a literary study conducted through analyzing papers, books, journals, magazines, and any related source. Data are collected by reviewing documents, books, journals, and other related sources. Finally, open coding data analysis is conducted by processing, checking, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Women's Role and Position in Javanese Culture

It is known that Javanese culture is regionally varied. All the variants centered on Nagariung region in Jogjakarta and Solo as the central of Mataram Kingdom in the past (see Figure 1). It meant that the Mataram Kingdom bequeathed strict culture structure and feudalism values in Javanese culture. Javanese society has social level based on the master and the servant; and the status in social system. The lower system is ordinary people (*kawula*) and the higher one is rulers (*gusti*) (Moertono, 1985, p.19).

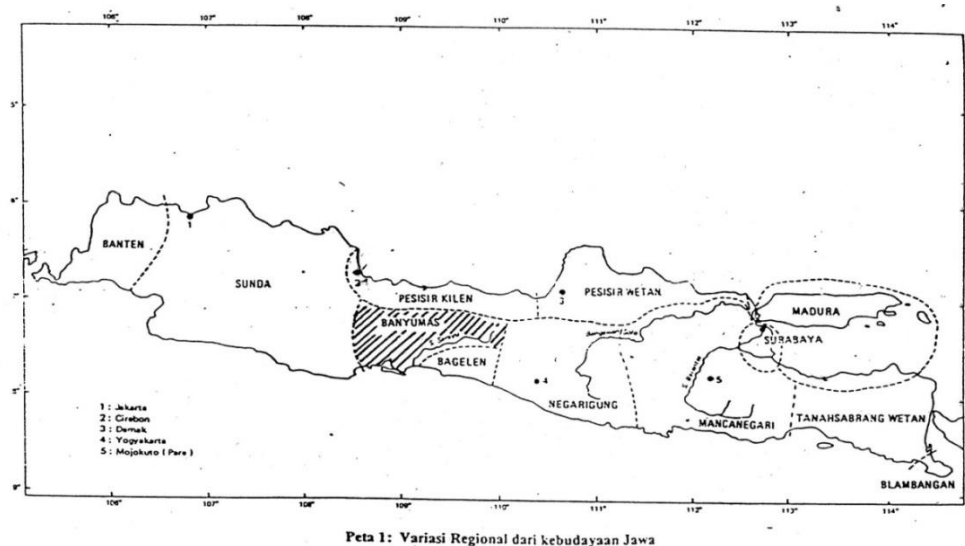


Figure 1. The regional variations of Javanese culture
Source: Koentjaraningrat, 1984

Before discussing the dynamics of the political representation of Javanese women in local perspective, this paper is going to present the role and position of women in Javanese culture. The perspective on Javanese women is important to illustrate the meaning of political representation for Javanese women. Hence, this crucial explanation is presented in the next section.

At least three experts who explained on the role and position of women in Javanese culture show that women are always respected in the family and responsible to manage household's income and expenditure. This is emphasized by Koentjaraningrat (1967) who agreed that women and men as husband and wife in the household are complementary living beings, in which the women give a substantial contribution to the family economy through active participation in productive activities. In line with Koentjaraningrat, Geertz (1961, p.48) has stated that the position of women in Javanese society in general is powerful. A wife will make decisions, mostly, if they are domestic problems. Also, the wife controls all the family finances even though they still give a formal tribute to the husband. Therefore, although the wife listens to her husband's consideration in major problems, commonly, the wife is dominant. Most jobs, such as, working in the fields, trading, doing business, and teaching are carried out

by Javanese women. Moreover, Geertz also mentioned that Javanese family centers on the figure of the mother; again, emphasizing the dominance and the position of women in the family.

Furthermore, Handayani and Novianto (2008) presented that the mother figure in Javanese culture is a very important position as the mother is always trusted. Hence, a mother is always respected in the family. Besides, Javanese women have a decisive role in the family, even the decision concerning the public. Javanese women who are *sumeleh* or patient, calm, and flexible can build power through her devotion to her family. Structurally, there is men's hegemony against women, but there is a strategy to have a dominant position vis-a-vis men from the inside, hence promoting women's hegemony within domestic arena. The strategy is *memangku* which is about understanding, forgiving, accepting, protecting, and comforting their husband through service, devotion, and respect. Women do not destroy formal structure because they keep the men as the most powerful and respected. This proves the greatness of Javanese women who are attached by maternal instincts to protect, maintain, and provide others gently. That is why, in this condition, the men become dependent on women, but they do not feel the mastery over them.

However, beside it, there are experts who see the subordinate position of Javanese women because there is cultural and institutional obstacles to play a role in various sectors. The patriarchal system is an obstacle for Javanese women to obtain the equal role with men. In Javanese society with strict social system and feudalism values, women's destiny is determined mainly by how women obey their husband. That is why there are many obstacles which are caused by cultural and institutional system for women to get important roles in any sector, according to Scholten and Niehof (1992) and Berninghausen and Kerstan (1992). Based on the interview with Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra, he stated that the views were influenced by Mataram Kingdom's values which were reflected by historiography books like *Serat Centhini*, *Serat*

Cendrarini, and *Serat Wulangputri*. It means that the views are incompatible to see the role of women in Javanese villages (Marwah, 2012).

Moreover, the phenomenal study from Benedict Anderson (1991) showed that power in Javanese tradition is signed by the ability to concentrate. It includes the ability to absorb power from outside and centralize opposite things. Harmony to maintain and restore order is a social sign of power and king's task. This is because, in the context of authority in Java, the position of a king as the reflection of God makes a king maintain and restore order (Moertono, 1985, p.52). In this case, feminine dimensions in social sign of centralization power are about fertility, prosperity, stability, and glory. Moreover, harmony and orderliness are also feminism dimensions as women have the ability to give in, think unselfishly, and understand.

The Javanese also has a tradition called asceticism or *laku tapa* which is done in order not to think of their own interests or *sepi ing pamrih*. This means that the Javanese has the will to apply asceticism to achieve inner strength to refrain from worldly pleasures. The sincerity in this asceticism contains feminine dimensions. Javanese society also emphasizes fertility and harmony manifested in the principle of *tata tentrem karta raharja* which means orderly, peacefully, prosperously, and happily. Fertility contained in the principle of *tata tentrem karta raharja* also reflects feminine dimension. This is explained by the study conducted by Handayani and Novianto (2008) who said that fertility is about agricultural land, and the land is closely related to agrarian culture of Javanese society. Hence, since the land is the source of people's lives, Javanese expresses it by *ibu pertiwi* or motherland.

Feminine dimension is also proven in the point of view of Javanese which centers on harmony, tranquility, and equanimity. This principle of life is very prominent in the Javanese tradition shown by spirit to live in harmony and respect. Moreover, Javanese always conduct themselves gently and control their behavior well. A ruler in Java is required to have nobility in conducting his administration, and this nobility is prerequisite. This is strengthened by Frans

Magnis Suseno (1987, p.42) saying that nobility is an element of religious legitimacy of a ruler besides having supernatural power and having the ability to create justice and prosperity. That is why maintaining harmony, tranquility, equanimity, and nobility describe feminine dimensions. In social relations, Javanese society has a model of social stratification called *kawula–gusti* which means subordinate-supervisor. The relationship is smooth and familial, but it still applies respect (Moertono, 1985, p. 19). In connection with *kawula-gusti*, the feminine dimension is dominant because the pattern implies conquering the outer world and developing the inner world, sympathy, attention, respect, and maintains the position of social hierarchy. Hence, Javanese women have the ability to apply such connection, caring and compassionate to others, and maintain social status.

The description given by the experts, i.e. Koentjaraningrat (1967), Geertz (1961), and Handayani and Novianto (2008) on the role and position of women in Javanese culture implies that the feminine dimension is strongly associated with Javanese women. In this context, feminine dimensions are characterized by a loving nature, having high sympathy, understanding, being unselfish, gentle, compliant, patient, and so forth. Women are the managers of the household. Household management requires precision, patience, and unselfishness. Even when a woman contributes to the family economy, the characteristic of a mother is someone who always cares. In such circumstances, when a Javanese woman devotes her life to serve the family, she is building power in her domestic space. However, power in the Javanese tradition is in essence different from power in the tradition of Western political science as it is described in the study of Anderson (1991). Generally understood in political science, Robert Dahl (1957, p.203) said that power is a principal concept and he stated, “A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do.” It means the power related to the ability a person or a group to affect behavior of a person or other groups in ways that are in line with the need and desire the one who has the power. On

the other hand, Anderson (1991) saw that the essence of power in Javanese tradition emphasizes the ability to concentrate, adjust, maintain order and sincerity, and achieve balance, gentleness, and compassion. Therefore, as Javanese women have a role and position that is in line with feminine dimensions within the meaning of power in Javanese culture, the question which needs to be answered is how the substance of women's representation in modern politics is represented when the state interferes with women's representation through affirmative policies.

Javanese Women's Political Representation: A Contestation Arena

Quota policy to increase the political representation of women in parliament was enacted in Indonesia during the 2004 election. On the one hand, the policy can be interpreted as a success story of the feminist movement in Indonesia in seeking electoral system that integrates quota policy for women's representation. It is a great success for the feminist movement in Indonesia, considering that during the New Order which applied the WID framework places women only as men's companion and convince women that having a role in politics is inappropriate. On the other hand, the affirmative policies in the electoral system in Indonesia also show that the struggle of women demands state's intervention. In this context, Rai (2002, p.8) stated, "In the development discourse, women's struggle will not be separated from the economic and political agenda determined by the national elite." It means that the impact of state intervention on the issue of the advancement of women in developing countries can produce varied situations, and it may result in negative situation. Of course, each country has the its own local culture values, which may wholly not apply in a democracy, face economic inequality and poverty, and have not established welfare state structures. Yet, the impact of the implementation affirmative policies can vary among various countries. Thus, affirmative policy does not resolve all of the issues in the various places. Furthermore, Matland (2002) showed that the representation of women in developing countries are different from that of

developed countries, where higher education for women, labor force participation, and literacy rate vary, which affect the political representation of women. When there is a significant highly educated and skilled female population, the effectiveness in relation to realizing gender equality is high. In this case, the development is an important part to support the achievement of the condition (Matland, 2002, p.29). Thus, women in a particular country will understand and get different experience from women in other countries because of development. The next question which is needed to be answered are the significant meanings of political representation for women in Indonesia, especially for Javanese women and whether the quota policy for women in Indonesia is the right answer to accelerate the quality of life of Indonesian women.

Sofa Marwah (2012) conducted studies in several places in Java which are influenced by Javanese culture. The studies in Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, Banyumas, and Cilacap district in Central Java Province showed that the number of women legislator did not reach 30%, and only a few number of women legislator had occupied strategic positions, such as board chairman, faction chairman, commission chairman, special committee chairman, and board of fittings chairman such as legislation board, budgeting agency, deliberative board, and honorees board. Political parties also had difficulty in fulfilling the 30% quota of women candidates, so the candidates had to be recruited from the political non-cadres. Besides, the support of their fathers or husbands to be elected in parliament election was really needed, reinforcing the affirmation that male hegemony is indeed very present in the outside world as opposed to the domestic arena where the women can exercise a certain level of authority and decision-making power. Furthermore, when elected, just a few women contributed in legal drafting discussion and public hearing. The women legislators could not always defend their interests. They represented their political party or community constituency interests more. Ironically, several of the women legislators did not feel themselves as representatives of women (Marwah, 2012).

This paper attempts to understand the political representation for Javanese women who have not yet reached substantive representation in perspective of local culture. In this regard, the role of women in the Javanese family as the family manager where they totally devote themselves to the family constructs their power from domestic space. Feminine dimension is associated with patience, compassion, unselfishness, accuracy, tranquility, and harmony, and these can be valid and accepted women's values in politics. Javanese community believes that women roles in the domestic sphere have power. In this private space women are able to build and exert their power for the well-being of their family. That also means that when the public office is held by women, women promote their Java feminine dimension as political representation. In this case, women in Java and possibly in other regions in Indonesia have "its own agreement" on their role. They believe that being in the domestic sphere is not always inferior, and if they have opportunity to be in public spaces, they do not become superior. It is time for Indonesian women and Javanese women to speak up and convey their point of view. Feminine dimensions should be continuously produced to demonstrate the power of women and women's issues in the parliament. Theoretically, the real idea also inspired Joni Lovenduski (2005, p.34) when analyzing feminizing politics. She stated that the political representation of women in parliament institution follows the precise rules constructed by men. It is time for feminine politics to change the practices and political nature in which feminist theory should take a part in the process of political representation. Maybe, the emphasis of this paper contributes political practice purposed by Lovenduski. It is time for Javanese women and women in various other areas in Indonesia to realize their strengths based on their local values. Thus, affirmative policy must be supported by strengthening the local identity in each community.

Thus, political representation for women's representation in Indonesia, especially, in Java, is difficult to be developed based only on modern principles and state's intervention

which is conducted by supporting the quota of women's representation. This is because major principles apply in liberal democracy. In this case, women in parliament should promote local values to form medium contestation in the parliament as public space by showing their strengths based on feminine dimensions. Furthermore, according to Franz Fanon in Leela Gandhi (1998, p.93-94), it is time for women in the Third World to free themselves from the grip of the public space by doing resistance from domestic space. When the public space is occupied by modernity, the only medium that allows women to have the resistance is precisely from the private sphere. In this case, the domestic space is a contestation arena where women show their abilities.

This paper also seeks to convey the importance of formulating the direction of the feminist movement in Indonesia, including in Java, to improve women's quality of life. The formulation of the feminist movement that does not solely follow the demands of modern women and country's rules may be the ideal formula. The quota policy for women's political representation is still important to be implemented, but the representation of women in parliament bodies is also necessary to promote feminine dimensions, that are based on local values on women's roles in the family. It is beneficial to formulate local identity of women in Indonesia when they involve themselves in the public space of the parliament. From that, the description about the identity of local women in Indonesia will be reflected to achieve the goal in which advocating for certain women's issues is included.

Conclusion

Substantive political representation for women is a political process that lasts long and gradually. In that regard, the meaning of political representation for women in various parts of the world may be different. In this case, the meaning of political representation for Javanese women is related to women's roles as managers in the management of the household. From the domestic space, Javanese women can build power. Javanese society has a local meaning of

power and the meaning of it precisely represents feminine dimensions. The role of women as the central manager of the household that is parallel to the meaning of power for the Javanese society confirms that the local dimensions of feminism narrowed to the value of patience, affection, tranquility, unselfishness, gentleness, and sympathy. When the state implemented the quota policy because of the principles of modernity, Javanese women understand and find different experiences. In this case, the number of women representation has not reached the ideal number. In addition, substantive representation of women cannot also be achieved. Finally, it is important to formulate and implement actions on how to strengthen feminine dimension values based on the role of women in the local culture.

References

- Anderson, B.R.O.G. (1991). Gagasan tentang kekuasaan dalam kebudayaan Jawa (The idea on power in Javanese culture). In M. Budiarjo (Ed), *Aneka pemikiran tentang kuasa dan wibawa* (pp.47-123). Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Baykan, A. (2008). Perempuan, antara fundamentalisme dan modernitas (Women, between fundamentalism and modernity). In B.S. Turner (Ed), *Teori-teori Sosiologi Modernitas Posmodernitas* (pp. 229-245). Yogyakarta : Pustaka Pelajar Offset.
- Berninghausen, J., & Kerstan, B.(1992). *Indonesian forging new paths: Feminist social methodology and rural women in Java*. London and New Jersey : Zed Book Ltd.
- Dahl, R.A. (1957). The concept of power. *Behavioral Science*, 2:3, pp.201-215.
- Gandhi, L.(1998). Postcolonialism and feminism. In *Postcolonial theory : A critical introduction* (pp.81-101). New York : Columbia University Press.
- Geertz, H. (1961). *The Javanese family: Study of kinship and socialization*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.

- Handayani, C., & Novianto, A. (2008). *Kuasa wanita Jawa (The power of Javanese women)*. Yogyakarta : LKiS.
- Koentjaraningrat (Ed). (1967). *Villages in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Koentjaraningrat. (1984). *Kebudayaan Jawa (Javanese culture)*. Jakarta : PN Balai Pustaka.
- Lovenduski, J. (2005). *Feminizing politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Suseno, F.M. (1987). *Etika politik: prinsip-prinsip moral dasar kenegaraan modern (The political ethics: The basic moral principles of modern statehood)*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Matland, R.E. (2002). The effect of development and culture on women's representation. In A. Karam (Ed), *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers* (pp. 29). Varberg: Broderne Carlssons.
- Marwah, S. (2012). *Representasi politik perempuan di Banyumas: Antara kultur dan realitas politik (Political representation of women in Banyumas: Between culture and political realities)* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Indonesia University, Jakarta.
- Moertono, S. (1985). *Negara dan usaha bina negara di Jawa masa lampau: Studi tentang zaman Mataram II abad XVI dan XIX (State and state building efforts in the past Java: A study on Mataram era II in XVI and XIX)*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor.
- Phillips, A. (1995). *The Politics of presence: The political representation of gender, ethnicity and race*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rai, S.M. (2002). *Gender and the political economy of development*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Scholten, E.L., & Niehof, A. (1992). *Indonesian women in focus*. Leiden: KITLV.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory and techniques*. London: Sage Publications.

WhatsApp

Your Manuscript pdf and Copy...

mail.google.com/mail/u/0/#search/asiapacificsocialsciencereviewjournal%40dsu.edu.ph/FMfgemSccQgGnLXXQGLZWidsFjLpMW

Gmail

Compose

Inbox163

Starred

Snoozed

Important

Sent

Drafts65

Categories

Social25

Updates118

Forums

Promotions9

More

Labels+

asiapacificsocialsciencereviewjournal@dsu.edu.ph

Your Manuscript pdf and Copyright Form

Inbox X

AsiaPacificSocialScienceReviewJournal

to me

Dear Author

See attached.

Check your pdf. You are not allowed to make any change in it.

If there are major formatting errors, please let me know by indicating these errors in the pdf, and returning the corrected pdf to me asap.

Also, please accomplish and return the Copyright Form.

All the above should be returned to me on or before 20 November 2016.

Thank you for publishing with APSSR.

Best,
Romeo
EIC

DISCLAIMER AND CONFIDENTIALITY NOTICE

The information contained in this e-mail, including those in its attachments, is confidential and intended only for the person(s) or entity(ies) to which it is addressed. If you are not an intended recipient, you must not read, copy, store, disclose, distribute this message, or act in reliance upon the information contained in it. If you received this e-mail in error, please contact the sender and delete the material from any computer or system. Any views expressed in this message are those of the individual sender and may not necessarily reflect the views of De La Salle University.

2 Attachments • Scanned by Gmail

T_Marwah.pdf

Copyright Agree...

5 of 15

Search

26°C Berawan

16:45

RESEARCH BRIEF

Political Representation for Javanese Women in the Affirmation Policy in Indonesia

Sofa Marwah

Jenderal Soedirman University, Indonesia

sofamarwah75@gmail.com

Since the Reform Era in Indonesia, the women in development (WID) approach has shifted into gender and development (GAD). In politics, the perspective is characterized by an electoral system that set the minimal quota, 30%, for women's representation in the parliament. So far, Indonesia has held three elections with that minimal quota. However, with the 2014 election, the representation of women in the national parliament is under 30%.

Java is the most advanced island in Indonesia, meaning that the development of education in this island is more than the other Indonesian areas. Still, Java also failed to attain the desired 30% target. Among six provinces in Java, none of them has attained the 30% women representation—Jakarta Province (26.6%), Banten Province (18.8%), West Java Province (22%), Central Java Province (24%), Yogyakarta Province (25%), and East Java Province (25%).

According to Richard Matland (2002), the most important characteristic of the society associated with the representation of women, is development. Development may cause weakening of traditional values, increasing urbanization and education, raising women labor force participation, and changing perspective about the proper role for women. Thus, one obvious result of the development is the

decrease of women's barriers to be active in politics. This is because culture has a very close relation to development, and development can encourage women to have equal status with men. Therefore, although Matland recognized that it is hard to see the immediate effect of culture on women's representation, he still emphasized that culture is correlated with women's representation, in which the development is going to be followed by the change of culture.

Hence, this article aims to describe the substantive representation of Javanese women in the parliament and study it in a local cultural perspective to understand why, even though the Javanese community has advanced in educational development, women's political representation cannot achieve maximum results. The substantive representation is interpreted as a substantial impact because women's representation may influence policies which are beneficial for women. In addition, the term descriptive representation will be applied, meaning the attendance of women in politics is a symbol of women's existence because of quota (Phillips, 1995, p. 5).

This study is a literary study conducted through analyzing papers, books, journals, magazines, and any related source. Data are collected by reviewing documents, books, journals, and other related sources. Finally, open coding data analysis is conducted by

processing, checking, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Women's Role and Position in Javanese Culture

It is known that Javanese culture is regionally varied. All the variants centered on Nagariung region in Jogjakarta and Solo as the central of Mataram Kingdom in the past (see Figure 1). It meant that the Mataram Kingdom bequeathed strict culture structure and feudalism values in Javanese culture. Javanese society has social level based on the master and the servant; and the status in social system. The lower system is ordinary people (*kawula*) and the higher one is rulers (*gusti*) (Moertono, 1985, p. 19).

Before discussing the dynamics of the political representation of Javanese women in local perspective, this paper is going to present the role and position of women in Javanese culture. The perspective on Javanese women is important to illustrate the meaning of political representation for Javanese women. Hence, this crucial explanation is presented in the next section.

Several studies on the role and position of women in Javanese culture show that women are responsible to manage household's income and expenditure.

This is emphasized by Koentjaraningrat (1967) who agreed that women and men as husband and wife in the household are complementary living beings, in which the women give a substantial contribution to the family economy through active participation in productive activities. In line with Koentjaraningrat, Geertz (1961, p. 48) has stated that the position of women in Javanese society in general is powerful. A wife will make decisions, mostly, if they are domestic problems. Also, the wife controls all the family finances even though they still give a formal tribute to the husband. Therefore, although the wife listens to her husband's consideration in major problems, commonly, the wife is dominant. Most jobs, such as working in the fields, trading, doing business, and teaching are carried out by Javanese women. Moreover, Geertz also mentioned that Javanese family centers on the figure of the mother; again, emphasizing the dominance and the position of women in the family.

However, beside it, there are experts who see the subordinate position of Javanese women because there is cultural and institutional obstacles to play a role in various sectors. The patriarchal system is an obstacle for Javanese women to obtain the equal role with men. In Javanese society with strict social system and feudalism values, women's destiny is determined mainly by how women obey their

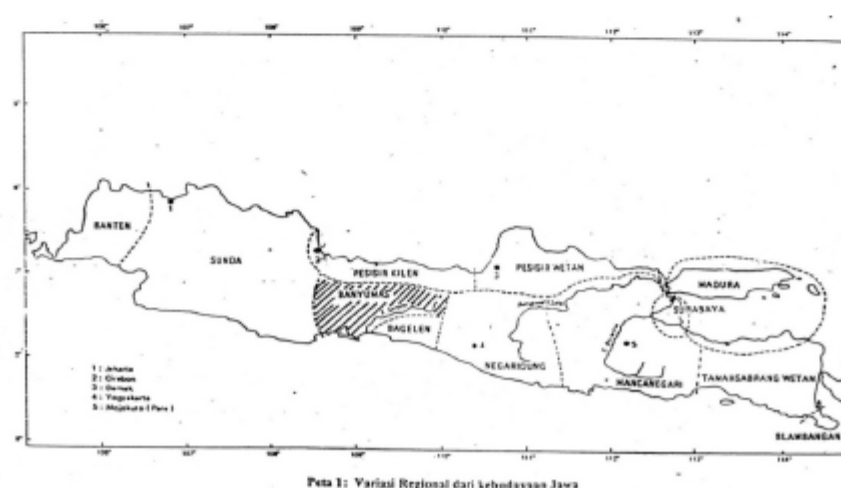


Fig. 1 The regional variations of Javanese culture (Koentjaraningrat, 1984).

husband. That is why there are many obstacles which are caused by cultural and institutional system for women to get important roles in any sector, according to Scholten and Niehof (1992) and Berninghausen and Kerstan (1992). But according to Prof. Heddy Shri Ahimsa Putra, the views were influenced by Mataram Kingdom's values, which were reflected by historiography books like *Serat Centhini*, *Serat Cendrarini* and *Serat Wulangputri*. It means that the views are incompatible to see the role of women in Javanese villages.

Furthermore, the mother figure in Javanese culture is a very important position as the mother is always trusted. Hence, a mother is always respected in the family. Besides, Javanese women have a decisive role in the family, even the decision concerning the public. Javanese women who are *sumeleh* or patient, calm, and flexible can build power through her devotion to her family. Structurally, there is men's hegemony against women, but there is a strategy to have a dominant position vis-a-vis men from the inside, hence promoting women's hegemony within domestic arena. The strategy is "*memangku*" which is about understanding, forgiving, accepting, protecting, and comforting their husband through service, devotion, and respect. Women do not destroy formal structure because they keep the men as the most powerful and respected. This proves the greatness of Javanese women who are attached by maternal instincts to protect, maintain, and provide others gently. That is why, in this condition, the men become dependent on women, but they do not feel the mastery over them (Handayani & Novianto, 2008).

Moreover, the phenomenal study from Benedict Anderson (1991) showed that power in Javanese tradition is signed by the ability to concentrate. It includes the ability to absorb power from outside and centralize opposite things. Harmony to maintain and restore order is a social sign of power and king's task. This is because, in the context of authority in Java, the position of a king as the reflection of God makes a king maintain and restore order (Moertono, 1985, p. 52). In this case, feminine dimensions in social sign of centralization power are about fertility, prosperity, stability, and glory. Moreover, harmony and orderliness are also feminism dimensions as

women have the ability to give in, think unselfishly, and understand.

The Javanese also has a tradition called asceticism or *laku tapa* which is done in order not to think of their own interests or *sepi ing pamrih*. This means that the Javanese has the will to apply asceticism to achieve inner strength to refrain from worldly pleasures. The sincerity in this asceticism contains feminine dimensions. Javanese society also emphasizes fertility and harmony manifested in the principle of *tata tentrem karta raharja* which means orderly, peacefully, prosperously, and happily. Fertility contained in the principle of *tata tentrem karta raharja* also reflects feminine dimension. This is explained by the study conducted by Handayani and Novianto (2008) who said that fertility is about agricultural land, and the land is closely related to agrarian culture of Javanese society. Hence, since the land is the source of people's lives, Javanese expresses it by *ibu pertiwi* or motherland.

Feminine dimension is also proven in the point of view of Javanese which centers on harmony, tranquility, and equanimity. This principle of life is very prominent in the Javanese tradition shown by spirit to live in harmony and respect. Moreover, Javanese always conduct themselves gently and control their behavior well. A ruler in Java is required to have nobility in conducting his administration, and this nobility is prerequisite. This is strengthened by Frans Magnis Suseno (1987, p.42) saying that nobility is an element of religious legitimacy of a ruler besides having supernatural power and having the ability to create justice and prosperity. That is why maintaining harmony, tranquility, equanimity, and nobility describe feminine dimensions. In social relations, Javanese society has a model of social stratification called *kawula-gusti* which means subordinate-supervisor. The relationship is smooth and familial, but it still applies respect (Moertono, 1985, p. 19). In connection with *kawula-gusti*, the feminine dimension is dominant because the pattern implies conquering the outer world and developing the inner world—requires sympathy, attention, and respect and maintains the position of social hierarchy.

Hence, Javanese women have the ability to apply such connection—caring and compassionate to others—and maintain social status.

The description given by the experts on the role and position of women in Javanese culture implies that the feminine dimension is strongly associated with Javanese women. In this context, feminine dimensions are characterized by a loving nature, having high sympathy, understanding, being unselfish, gentle, compliant, patient, and so forth. Women are the managers of the household. Household management requires precision, patience, and unselfishness. Even when a woman contributes to the family economy, the characteristic of a mother is someone who always cares. In such circumstances, when a Javanese woman devotes her life to serve the family, she is building power in her domestic space. However, power in the Javanese tradition is in essence different from power in the tradition of Western political science as it is described in the study of Anderson (1991). Generally understood in political science, the meaning of power starts on Max Weber's point of view of power quoted by Robert Dahl (1957) which illustrates "that power (*macht*) is the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on the which this probability rests" (p. 202). On the other hand, Anderson (1991) saw that the essence of power in Javanese tradition emphasizes the ability to concentrate, adjust, maintain order and sincerity, and achieve balance, gentleness, and compassion. Therefore, as Javanese women have a role and position that is in line with feminine dimensions within the meaning of power in Javanese culture, the question which needs to be answered is how the substance of women's representation in modern politics is represented when the state interferes with women's representation through affirmative policies.

Javanese Women's Political Representation: A Contestation Arena

Quota policy to increase the political representation of women in parliament was enacted in Indonesia during the 2004 election. On the one hand, the

policy can be interpreted as a success story of the feminist movement in Indonesia in seeking electoral system that integrates quota policy for women's representation. It is a great success for the feminist movement in Indonesia, considering that during the New Order which applied the WID framework places women only as men's companion and convince women that having a role in politics is inappropriate. On the other hand, the affirmative policies in the electoral system in Indonesia also show that the struggle of women demands state's intervention. In this context, Rai (2002, p. 8) stated, "In the development discourse, women's struggle will not be separated from the economic and political agenda determined by the national elite." It means that the impact of state intervention on the issue of the advancement of women in developing countries can produce varied situations, and it may result in negative situation. Of course, each country has the its own local culture values, which may wholly not apply in a democracy, face economic inequality and poverty, and have not established welfare state structures. Yet, the impact of the implementation of affirmative policies can vary among various countries. Thus, affirmative policy does not resolve all of the issues in the various places. Furthermore, Matland (2002) showed that the representation of women in developing countries are different from that of developed countries, where higher education for women, labor force participation, and literacy rate vary, which affect the political representation of women. When there is a significant highly educated and skilled female population, the effectiveness in relation to realizing gender equality is high. In this case, the development is an important part to support the achievement of the condition (Matland, 2002, p. 29). Thus, women in a particular country will understand and get different experience from women in other countries because of development. The next question which is needed to be answered are the significant meanings of political representation for women in Indonesia, especially for Javanese women and whether the quota policy for women in Indonesia is the right answer to accelerate the quality of life of Indonesian women.

Sofa Marwah (2012) conducted studies in several places in Java which are influenced by Javanese

culture. The studies in Banjarnegara, Purbalingga, Banyumas, and Cilacap district in Central Java Province showed that the number of women legislator did not reach 30%, and only a few number of women legislator had occupied strategic positions, such as board chairman, faction chairman, commission chairman, special committee chairman, and board of fittings chairman such as legislation board, budgeting agency, deliberative board, and honorees board. Political parties also had difficulty in fulfilling the 30% quota of women candidates, so the candidates had to be recruited from the political non-cadres. Besides, the support of their fathers or husbands to be elected in parliament election was really needed, reinforcing the affirmation that male hegemony is indeed very present in the "outside" world as opposed to the domestic arena where the women can exercise a certain level of authority and decision-making power. Furthermore, when elected, just a few women contributed in legal drafting discussion and public hearing. The women legislators could not always defend their interests. They represented their political party or community constituency interests more. Ironically, several of the women legislators did not feel themselves as representatives of women (Marwah, 2012).

This paper attempts to understand the political representation for Javanese women who have not yet reached substantive representation in perspective of local culture. In this regard, the role of women in the Javanese family as the family manager where they totally devote themselves to the family constructs their power from domestic space. Feminine dimension is associated with patience, compassion, unselfishness, accuracy, tranquility, and harmony, and these can be valid and accepted women's values in politics. Javanese community believes that women roles in the domestic sphere have power. In this private space women are able to build and exert their power for the well-being of their family. That also means that when the public office is held by women, women promote their Java feminine dimension as political representation. In this case, women in Java and possibly in other regions in Indonesia have "its own agreement" on their role. They believe that being in the domestic sphere is not always inferior, and if they

have opportunity to be in public spaces, they do not become superior. It is time for Indonesian women and Javanese women to speak up and convey their point of view. Feminine dimensions should be continuously produced to demonstrate the power of women and women's issues in the parliament. Theoretically, the real idea also inspired Joni Lovenduski (2005, p. 34) when analyzing feminizing politics. She stated that the political representation of women in parliament institution follows the precise rules constructed by men. It is time for feminine politics to change the practices and political nature in which feminist theory should take a part in the process of political representation. Maybe, the emphasis of this paper contributes political practice purposed by Lovenduski. It is time for Javanese women and women in various other areas in Indonesia to realize their strengths based on their local values. Thus, affirmative policy must be supported by strengthening the local identity in each community.

Thus, political representation for women's representation in Indonesia, especially, in Java, is difficult to be developed based only on modern principles and state's intervention which is conducted by supporting the quota of women's representation. This is because major principles apply in liberal democracy. In this case, women in parliament should promote local values to form medium contestation in the parliament as public space by showing their strengths based on feminine dimensions. Furthermore, according to Franz Fanon, it is time for women in the Third World to free themselves from the grip of the public space by doing resistance from domestic space. When the public space is occupied by modernity, the only medium that allows women to have the resistance is precisely from the private sphere. In this case, the domestic space is a contestation arena where women show their abilities (Baso, 2005).

This paper also seeks to convey the importance of formulating the direction of the feminist movement in Indonesia, including in Java, to improve women's quality of life. The formulation of the feminist movement that does not solely follow the demands of modern women and country's rules may be the ideal formula. The quota policy for women's political representation is still important to be implemented,

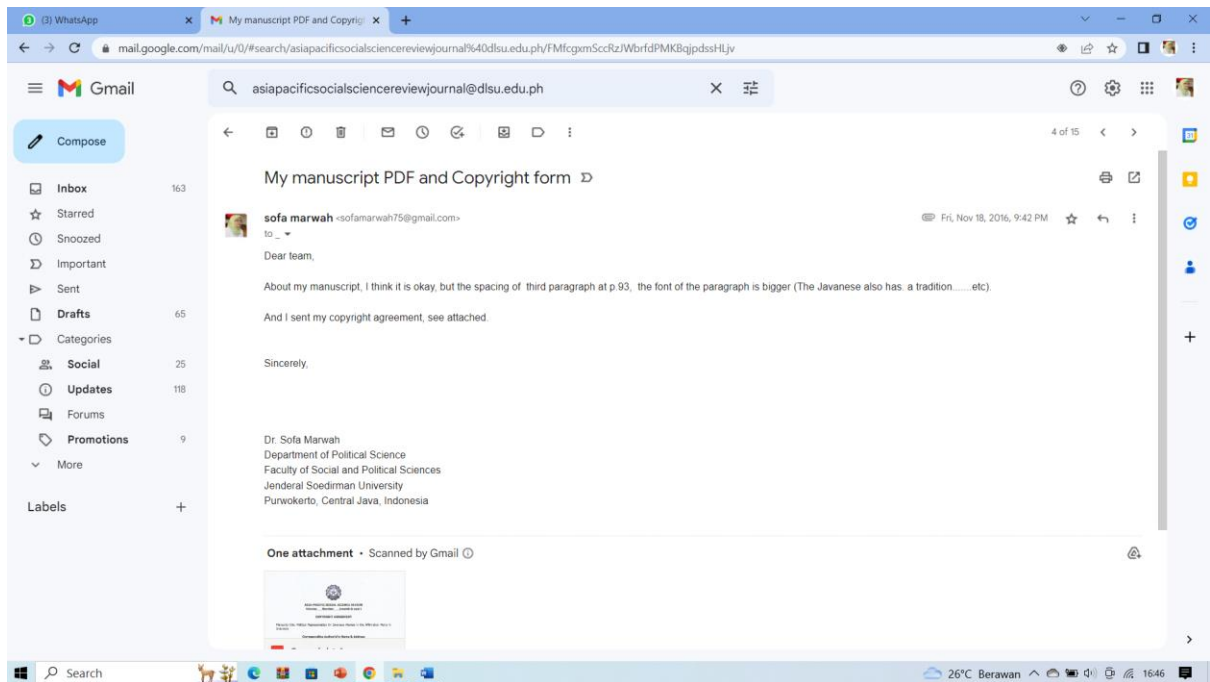
but the representation of women in parliament bodies is also necessary to promote feminine dimensions that are based on local values on women's roles in the family. It is beneficial to formulate local identity of women in Indonesia when they involve themselves in the public space of the parliament. From that, the description about the identity of local women in Indonesia will be reflected to achieve the goal in which advocating for certain women's issues is included.

Conclusion

Substantive political representation for women is a political process that lasts long and gradually. In that regard, the meaning of political representation for women in various parts of the world may be different. In this case, the meaning of political representation for Javanese women is related to women's roles as managers in the management of the household. From the domestic space, Javanese women can build power. Javanese society has a local meaning of power and the meaning of it precisely represents feminine dimensions. The role of women as the central manager of the household that is parallel to the meaning of power for the Javanese society confirms that the local dimensions of feminism narrowed to the value of patience, affection, tranquility, unselfishness, gentleness, and sympathy. When the state implemented the quota policy because of the principles of modernity, Javanese women understand and find different experiences. In this case, the number of women representation has not reached the ideal number. In addition, substantive representation of women cannot also be achieved. Finally, it is important to formulate and implement actions on how to strengthen feminine dimension values based on the role of women in the local culture.

References

- Anderson, B. R. O. G. (1991). Gagasan tentang kekuasaan dalam kebudayaan Jawa. In M. Budiarjo (Ed.), *Aneka pemikiran tentang kuasa dan wibawa* (pp. 58-59). Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan.
- Baso, A. (2005). Ke arah feminisme postradisional. In E. Hidayat (Ed.), *Perempuan multikultural: Negosiasi dan representasi* (pp. 3-28). Jakarta: Desantara.
- Berninghausen & Kerstan. (1992). Forging new paths: Feminist social methodology and rural women in Java. London & New Jersey: Sed Book Ltd.
- Dahl, R. (1957). The concept of power. *Behavioral Science*, 2, 201-215.
- Geertz, H. (1961). *The Javanese family: Study of kinship and socialization*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.
- Handayani, C., & Novianto, A. (2008). *Kuasa wanita Jawa*. Yogyakarta: LKiS.
- Koentjaraningrat. (1984). *Kebudayaan jawa* (Seri Ethnografi Indonesia No. 2). Jakarta: PN Balai Pustaka.
- Koentjaraningrat. (Ed). (1967). *Villages in Indonesia*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Lovenduski, J. (2005). *Feminizing politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Suseno, F. M. (1987). *Etika politik: Prinsip-prinsip moral dasar kenegaraan modern*. Jakarta: Gramedia.
- Matland, R. E. (2002). The effect of development and culture on women's representation. In A. Karam (Eds.), *Women in parliament: Beyond numbers* (pp. 65-88). Varberg: Broderma Carlssons.
- Marwah, S. (2012). *Representasi politik perempuan di Banyumas: Antara kultur dan realitas politik*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Indonesia University, Jakarta.
- Moertono, S. (1985). *Negara dan usaha bina negara di Jawa masa lampau: Studi tentang zaman Mataram II abad XVI dan XIX*. Jakarta: Yayasan Obor.
- Phillips, A. (1995). *The Politics of presence: The political representation of gender, ethnicity and race*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rai, S. M. (2002). *Gender and the political economy of development*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Scholten, E. L., & Niehof, A. (1992). *Indonesian women in focus*. Leiden: KITLV.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of qualitative research: Grounded theory and techniques*. London: Sage Publications.





ASIA-PASIFIC SOSIAL SCIENCE REVIEW
Volume____Number____(month & year)

COPYRIGHT AGREEMENT

Manuscript title: Political Representation for Javanese Women in the Affirmation Policy in Indonesia

Corresponding Author(s)'s Name & Address

Name and Complete Postal Address : Sofa Marwah Griya Satria Indah Sumampir Emerald Street EA/20 North Purwokerto 53125 Purwokerto-Central Java-Indonesia	Email: sofamarwah75@gmail.com Phone: +628161678309 Fax: +622816577439
Name and Complete Postal Address :	Email: Phone: Fax :
Name and Complete Postal Address :	Email: Phone: Fax:

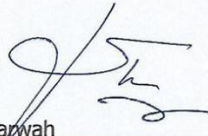
The undersigned author(s) hereby assign his/her/their entire copyright interest in the manuscript cited above, including its abstract (subsequently referred to as the "work"), to the De La Salle University Publishing House (DLSUPH) of De La Salle University, Manila (hereinafter referred to as "Publisher") and its successors or assigns effective upon execution of this agreement by the author(s). The publisher shall have the right to publish the work in any medium and form, or by any means, subject to the following:

1. The publisher claims no other proprietary right other than rights arising from copyright.
2. The underdesigned Author(s) retains non-exclusive right to revise, adapt, prepare derivative works, present orally, or distribute the work, provided that all such use is for the personal noncommercial benefit of the undersigned and is consistent with any prior contractual agreement between the undersigned and his/her/their employer.

3. The Author(s) warrants to the Publisher that he/she/they have the right to assign the copyright and that no portion of the copyright to the work has been previously assigned.
4. The Author(s) may reprint the work in anthologies or books which are comprised of the Authors(s) writings and agrees to notify the Editor and the Publisher of any such reprints of the work.
5. Whenever the Publisher is approached by third parties for individual permission to use, reprint or republish to the work, the Publisher will confer with the Author(s) but shall retain the right to grant or withhold permission for such use in its sole discretion.
6. The Author(s) agrees to hold harmless and indemnify the Publisher against any claim, demand, suit or action arising from claims of plagiarism, libel, defamation, obscenity, unlawfulness or invasion of privacy or copyright infringement in the Work. The Author(s) shall be responsible for the integrity of the contents of the Work.
7. The Publisher shall provide the Author(s) with two (2) complimentary copies of the issue in which the Work appears, and grants the Authors(s) permission to reproduce additional copies of the Work.
8. In case of on-line publication of the work, the Publisher retains the copyright over the said work.
9. It is understood that the Author(s) received no monetary compensation for the assignment of copyright and publication of the Work.
10. I certify that my/our manuscript is an original piece of work. We have properly acknowledged and cited the sources of information and data presented in my/our manuscript.

In witness whereof, I/We have set our hand/s this 18th day of November 2016 in Purwokerto-Central Java-Indonesia.

Printed Name and Signature


Sofa Marwah
Printed Name and Signature

Printed Name and Signature

Printed Name and Signature

CONFORME :
DAVID JONATHAN Y. BAYOT, Ph.D
Executive Publisher
De La Salle University Publishing House

Online Release of APSSR December 2016 Edition

Dear Authors,

I am pleased to inform you that your manuscript is now available online and is downloadable at <http://ejournals.ph/issue.php?id=924#prod>

Please inform your colleagues and friends about your manuscript and our December edition.

Thank you for publishing with APSSR.

Best,
Romeo
EIC

DISCLAIMER AND CONFIDENTIALITY NOTICE
The information contained in this e-mail, including those in its attachments, is confidential and intended only for the person(s) or entity(ies) to which it is addressed. If you are not an intended recipient, you must not read, copy, store, disclose, distribute this message, or act in reliance upon the information contained in it. If you received this e-mail in error, please contact the sender and delete the material from any computer or system. Any views expressed in this message are those of the individual sender and may not necessarily reflect the views of De La Salle University.

sofa marwah <sofamarwah75@gmail.com>
Thu, Dec 22, 2016, 11:33 AM

Thank a bunch.

Thanks you

Dear...

I received the document, APSSR Journal, thanks you very much with all of your attention.

regards,

Dr. Sofa Marwah
Department of Political Science
Faculty of Social and Political Sciences
Jenderal Soedirman University
Purwokerto, Central Java, Indonesia

Reply Reply all Forward